

UNIVERSIDAD COMPLUTENSE DE MADRID
FACULTAD DE GEOGRAFÍA E HISTORIA



TESIS DOCTORAL

**¿Adoctrinamiento del odio mutuo? Dominio británico en
Irlanda – una comparación transnacional de libros de textos
de Historia en la enseñanza secundaria**

**Indoctrinating mutual hatred? British rule in Ireland – a
transnational comparison of secondary school History
textbooks**

MEMORIA PARA OPTAR AL GRADO DE DOCTOR

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This thesis is dedicated to every person who has managed to look beyond the easily assimilated nationalist mantra – often propagated by textbooks and many other media surrounding our everyday life –, and has instead reached a status that sees the good and bad equally in every nation. I am convinced that nationalism is one of the most dangerous ideologies because its message is very easy to absorb and the out-group can be identified effortlessly. Over the last two hundred years it has provided a convenient escape for many politicians challenged by public discontent. However, more often than not, this sowed the seeds of even greater evils. Can a healthy level of nationalism (or patriotism) exist? In theory yes, but I think many of us can only see that we have exceeded the limits of such patriotism when it is too late. This is why it is so important that we teach a well-balanced narrative of our past that helps to establish a mutual appreciation of our neighbours.

I would like to thank my wife María, my son Patrick and my daughter Blanca for their continued support during the nearly five years that I have largely dedicated to the preparation of this thesis. Patrick and Blanca are graduate historians and thus I could count with their expert opinion on many questions. I would also like to thank my academic supervisor and tutor, José María Faraldo Jarillo, for guiding me through the process and for his patience when reviewing the different early versions of the thesis; and the external expert reviewers, Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas and Juan Carlos Colomer Rubio, for their highly appreciated assessment and recommendations.

Special thanks to my parents for inspiring conversations about nationalism and for urging me to consider the others' perspectives; to my in-laws for familiarising me with many aspects of Irish history; to my wife for instigating my move to Spain and subsequently enabling my transfer to the United Kingdom and thus opening me up to new cultures and historical traditions; to my secondary school history teacher for trying to teach an unbiased view of the past; and to every scholar who in the last few years had the patience to listen to my first conclusions in seminars, conferences, congresses or one-to-one conversations and provided me with highly valuable feedback.

Madrid, May 2024

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1. SUMMARY

1.1 Summary in English

The aim of this thesis – titled *Indoctrinating mutual hatred? British rule in Ireland – a transnational comparison of secondary school History textbooks* – is to identify and analyse biased representations of the past in secondary school history textbooks, across nations with a contested common past. These biased narratives could represent the ‘other’ as an ‘enemy’ – the side that was always to blame and ‘our side’ only ever responded to previous provocations and grievances. For this purpose, this thesis compares textbook narratives between neighbouring countries with a controversial history, from the point of view of historical accuracy. It is not the objective of this thesis to evaluate the didactic quality of textbooks or their use in classrooms.

The main case study of the thesis is British rule in Ireland, from its beginnings in the 12th century until the late 20th century. For this case study textbooks from three sides have been compared: England, Ireland and Northern Ireland, published since 1980.

As a first step, a quantitative analysis has been carried out on textbooks used in England, not dedicated to Anglo-Irish history, but British history in general. 90 of these textbooks have been considered. This quantitative analysis consists of a frequency analysis measuring how often different contents are included in the textbook narrative. For this, an abbreviated narrative of 44 events has been created. The results show a ‘popularity’ ranking of these 44 events, also allowing comparisons by decade of publication, publisher, historical period and level of studies.

In the next step, these 90 textbooks plus 26 textbooks dedicated to Anglo-Irish history (of these 8 are from England, 13 from Northern Ireland and 5 from Ireland) have been reviewed in a qualitative analysis, with the purpose of evaluating the tone of the narrative and its historical accuracy. Two acclaimed books have been used as the guiding narrative for the evaluation, both highly regarded for their impartiality.

Additionally, as part of the qualitative analysis, five different deep dives compare quantitatively the frequency with which different narratives appear in textbooks that have treated these events. These deep dives in total consider 555 different contents and refer to periods that frequently appear in textbooks: Cromwell; William III and the Penal Laws; the Great Famine; Home Rule movement and Partition; and the Troubles.

In a secondary case study – for comparative purposes – textbooks on the history of the Kingdom of Hungary have been analysed, during the period in which it belonged to the Habsburg Empire (1526-1918). In this case, on the one hand, Austrian and Hungarian textbook narratives have been compared (written in German and Hungarian). On the other hand, textbooks from Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania and Serbia – and translated into Hungarian for the Hungarian minorities living in those countries – have been compared with Hungarian textbooks. In this case, similarly textbooks from the last 40 years have been considered. The number of available textbooks in this secondary case study is much more limited, thus only a qualitative comparison was possible. A first analysis is dedicated to 20 textbooks and atlases from the socialist period: 11 from Hungary, 3 from Czechoslovakia, 3 from the Soviet Union, 2 from Romania and 1 from Yugoslavia. A second analysis on post-socialist textbooks and atlases considers 34 from Hungary, 14 from Romania, 8 from Serbia and 2 from Slovakia (in addition to 7 recent Austrian textbooks).

The differences between textbooks from England, Ireland and Northern Ireland are relatively small: the contents do not diverge much and there is not much debate about historical facts. Nevertheless, there is a level of selectivity about which events they discuss in detail – the ones which best fit into their respective national master narratives. There are also interesting events which are missing from most textbooks in England and Ireland, as they do not fit into the stereotypes on either side. However, this selectivity in some textbooks allows to form a narrative where the ‘other’ is either seen as a ‘rebel’ (the Irish) or as an ‘oppressor’ (the British). Furthermore, textbooks from all sides can display many forms of bias in their narrative, from downplaying the importance of their nation’s own mistakes to using negative adjectives about the ‘other’. However, for every example of a biased narrative, there are others from the same side that tell a more holistic story. Interestingly, textbooks from Northern Ireland show a higher degree of sensitivity to the two perspectives – but there are significant differences between two editorial lines within Northern Ireland.

The situation between Austrian and Hungarian textbooks is similar to the Anglo-Irish case: they allow us to identify a level of emotional connection with the moments of glory of each nation, but the contents explained are similar. The differences become much bigger when socialist textbooks are examined: Yugoslavian and – to a lesser extent – Hungarian textbooks are written on a largely non-nationalist basis, while Czechoslovak,

Soviet and Romanian textbooks celebrate their national past. Several scholars have referred to the dogmas of antiquity, continuity, independence and unity in Romanian historiography before 1989 and this thesis shows that – although less clearly – these concepts are also visible in Czechoslovak and Soviet textbooks. After 1989 there have been movements in both directions, however, some of the changes are not as transformative as is often claimed.

Naturally, textbooks need to select and condense contents in order to facilitate pupils' and students' learning process. Thus, there will be contents missing for all tastes. However, the main suggestion of this thesis is that authors and publishers should establish a balance between both positive and negative contents for which different parties had a historical responsibility, and in this way create a 'parity of esteem', so that future generations cannot perpetuate negative connotations of the 'other'.

1.2 Resumen en castellano

El objetivo de esta tesis, titulada *¿Adoctrinamiento del odio mutuo? Dominio británico en Irlanda: una comparación transnacional de libros de textos de Historia en la enseñanza secundaria*, es identificar y analizar representaciones sesgadas del pasado en los libros de texto de historia de la escuela secundaria, entre naciones con un pasado común cuestionado. Estas narrativas sesgadas podrían representar al “otro” como un “enemigo”: el lado que siempre tuvo la culpa y “nuestro lado” solo respondió a provocaciones y agravios previos. Para ello, esta tesis compara las narrativas de libros de texto entre países vecinos con una historia controvertida, desde el punto de vista de la exactitud histórica. No es objetivo de esta tesis evaluar la calidad didáctica de los libros de texto ni su uso en las aulas.

El principal caso de estudio de la tesis es el dominio británico en Irlanda, desde sus inicios en el siglo XII hasta finales del siglo XX. Se han comparado libros de texto de tres lados: Inglaterra, Irlanda e Irlanda del Norte, publicados desde 1980.

Como primer paso, se ha llevado a cabo un análisis cuantitativo de los libros de texto utilizados en Inglaterra, no dedicados a la historia anglo irlandesa, sino a la historia británica en general. Se han considerado 90 de estos libros de texto. Este análisis cuantitativo consiste en un análisis que mide la frecuencia con la que se incluyen diferentes contenidos en las narrativas de los libros de texto. Para esta finalidad se ha creado una narrativa abreviada de 44 eventos. Los resultados muestran un ranking de “popularidad” de estos 44 eventos, permitiendo también comparaciones por década de publicación, editorial, período histórico y nivel de estudios.

En el siguiente paso, estos 90 libros de texto más 26 libros de texto dedicados a la historia anglo irlandesa (de estos 8 son de Inglaterra, 13 de Irlanda del Norte y 5 de Irlanda) han sido revisados en un análisis cualitativo, con el propósito de evaluar el tono de la narrativa y su exactitud histórica. Como narrativa guía para la evaluación se han utilizado dos libros, ambos apreciados por su imparcialidad.

Además, como parte del análisis cualitativo, cinco diferentes análisis profundos comparan cuantitativamente la frecuencia con la que aparecen diferentes narrativas en los libros de texto que han tratado estos eventos. Estos cinco análisis profundos en total consideran 555 contenidos diferentes y se refieren a períodos que aparecen con frecuencia

en los libros de texto: Cromwell; Guillermo III y las Leyes Penales; la Gran Hambruna; movimiento por la autonomía y Partición; y el conflicto norirlandés.

En un caso de estudio secundario –con fines comparativos– se han analizado libros de texto sobre la historia del Reino de Hungría, durante el período en el que perteneció al Imperio de los Habsburgo (1526-1918). En este caso, por un lado, se han comparado narrativas de libros de texto austriacos y húngaros (escritos en alemán y húngaro). Por otro lado, se han comparado los libros de texto de Eslovaquia, Ucrania, Rumania y Serbia (y traducidos al húngaro para las minorías húngaras que viven en esos países) con los libros de texto húngaros. También en este caso se han considerado libros de texto de los últimos 40 años. El número de libros de texto disponibles en este estudio es mucho más limitado, por lo que sólo fue posible una comparación cualitativa. Un primer análisis se dedica a 20 libros de texto y atlas del período socialista: 11 de Hungría, 3 de Checoslovaquia, 3 de la Unión Soviética, 2 de Rumanía y 1 de Yugoslavia. Un segundo análisis sobre los libros de texto y atlas pos-socialistas considera 34 de Hungría, 14 de Rumania, 8 de Serbia y 2 de Eslovaquia (además de 7 libros de texto recientes de Austria).

Las diferencias entre los libros de texto de Inglaterra, Irlanda e Irlanda del Norte son relativamente pequeñas: los contenidos no difieren mucho y no hay mucho debate sobre hechos históricos. Sin embargo, existe un nivel de selectividad sobre qué eventos tratan en detalle: cuales encajan mejor en sus respectivas narrativas maestras nacionales. También hay acontecimientos interesantes que faltan en la mayoría de los libros de texto en Inglaterra e Irlanda, ya que no encajan en los estereotipos de ninguno de los lados. Sin embargo, esta selectividad en algunos libros de texto permite formar una narrativa en la que el “otro” es visto como un “rebelde” (los irlandeses) o como un “opresor” (los británicos). Además, los libros de texto de todos los lados pueden mostrar muchas formas de sesgo en su narrativa, desde minimizar la importancia de los propios errores de su nación hasta usar adjetivos negativos sobre el “otro”. Sin embargo, por cada ejemplo de narrativa sesgada, hay otros del mismo lado que cuentan una historia más holística. Curiosamente, los libros de texto de Irlanda del Norte muestran un mayor grado de sensibilidad frente a las dos perspectivas, pero existen diferencias significativas entre dos líneas editoriales dentro de Irlanda del Norte.

La situación entre los libros de texto austriacos y húngaros es similar al caso anglo irlandés: permiten identificar un nivel de conexión emocional con los momentos de gloria

de cada nación, pero los contenidos explicados son similares. Las diferencias se vuelven mucho mayores cuando se examinan los libros de texto socialistas: los libros de texto yugoslavos y, en menor grado, los húngaros se sitúan sobre una base mayoritariamente no nacionalista, mientras que los libros de texto checoslovacos, soviéticos y rumanos celebran su pasado nacional. Varios académicos se han referido a los dogmas de antigüedad, continuidad, independencia y unidad en la historiografía rumana antes de 1989 y esta tesis muestra que, aunque de manera menos clara, estos conceptos también son visibles en los libros de texto checoslovacos y soviéticos. Después de 1989 ha habido movimientos en ambas direcciones; sin embargo, algunos de los cambios no son tan transformadores como se suele afirmar.

Naturalmente, los libros de texto necesitan seleccionar y condensar contenidos para facilitar el proceso de aprendizaje de los estudiantes. Así, faltarán contenidos para todos los gustos. Sin embargo, la principal sugerencia de esta tesis es que los autores y editores deberían establecer un equilibrio entre los contenidos tanto positivos como negativos en los que las diferentes partes tenían una responsabilidad histórica, y de esta manera crear una “paridad de estima”, de modo que las generaciones futuras no puedan perpetuar las connotaciones negativas del “otro”.

2. INTRODUCTION

I was born in Hungary and grew up there. Although it was during the communist-socialist regime, and consequently any teaching of nationalistic pride was not desirable, it could not escape the attention of any person interested in history that some neighbouring - supposedly also communist-socialist - countries had a very different understanding of the joint shared history – not who could be blamed for something that happened a long time ago, but rather if a certain region effectively formed part of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. For someone who loved old maps, and has seen quite a few of them with German, French or Latin inscriptions, this was really surprising: as a secondary school student I thought naively that these are supposed to be objective facts! In fact, the version of history taught in Romanian schools has even become the subject of the accession negotiations to the European Union in the early 2000s (see *Section 2.3*).

The impact of this teaching was clearly visible when in 2006, already living in Spain, our new cleaning lady – recommended by a joint friend – started her first day of work. When she introduced herself, she added that she was from Romania, to which I answered with a big smile that I also come from the same region; from Hungary. Her next question was whether I also think that Transylvania is part of Hungary. I was a bit surprised; it seemed a bit unconventional in an employee-employer relationship as the first question to the employer, but I answered that no, Transylvania clearly forms part of Romania, no one I know thinks that the opposite is true (by then Viktor Orbán was not the prime minister of Hungary and his political party was still very far from the current nationalistic tone). I have also added that Transylvania used to belong to Hungary a long time ago, but that is history. With that, we managed to overcome the bumpy start...

Going deeper into my personal motivation on the choice of subject for my research; in 1993 I met my future wife, of Northern Irish and Spanish heritage. Soon I started to learn from her and from my future mother-in-law the Irish perspective on the joint Anglo-Irish history. I learned quite a lot of European history in school, but ‘of course’ not much about Ireland, apart from the fact that it formed part of the British Empire and that it had some folkloristic connections with Hungary in the 19th century, when both countries lived a moment of cultural revival. Additionally, you could hear all the shocking news about ‘the Troubles’ in Northern Ireland. In 2013 we moved to London

and it was also very interesting to live the English perspective on history and empire (and most importantly one of the most remarkable recent social experiments: Brexit).

In-between, from 1997 to 2013, we lived in Spain. I remember that during one of my first weeks in the Madrid office one of my Catalan colleagues pointed out that he didn't understand why Cristina of Bourbon got married in Barcelona 'as if it was part of Spain'. I also had the opportunity to work for a prolonged time on different projects in Catalonia – at some point I was even considering moving there. However, when looking into the children's education, it became clear it is unfortunately a no-go. I remember telling colleagues in Barcelona in 2000 where it will probably end – based on the experience of the Central and Eastern European countries that succeeded the Habsburg Empire after the First World War – I wish history would not repeat itself so often and that I was wrong back then...

Hence, when the idea of completing a PhD in History surfaced, the topic was obvious: history teaching in secondary schools across European countries with a joint and conflicted past. I believe the 3 pairs of countries/nations/regions introduced above can be very powerful examples of how history education can influence national identity, based on certain foundational myths that became part of the population's shared memory. The main underlying hypothesis is that history teaching is often one-sided and thus can lead to a certain degree of indoctrination against the 'other'.

From the three pairs of countries/nations/regions mentioned above I have chosen British rule in Ireland as the main case study: *Section 2.2* will try to provide an explanation why I thought it was an appropriate example.

As a secondary case study, for comparative purposes only, I have also analysed the history of the Kingdom of Hungary when it belonged to the Habsburg Empire (1526-1918) and how the related events are being narrated in Hungary and the neighbouring countries. The situation of the Kingdom of Hungary in this period is also remarkable, as on one hand the Habsburg dynasty tried to control Hungary, eliminating religious and administrative freedoms (sometimes these becoming attempts of assimilation), however, at the same time, Hungary also tried to control (and in certain periods assimilate) its national 'minorities' of diverse ethnicity (Slovakian, Romanian, Serbian, Ukrainian, ...).

Given the already considerable scope of this thesis I have decided not to investigate textbooks used in Catalonia and in the rest of Spain.

2.1 Why should we study how history is taught?

The need for belonging to a group of people is a natural human desire and the creation of nation-states has provided an easy way for each individual to find a larger group to which one can belong¹, celebrating its collective achievements and mourning its misfortunes (usually blaming someone else for them)². Hobsbawm refers to Stalin's definition for what constitutes a nation: 'a nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture' (Stalin, 1912, p. 8) and warns that the shifting and ambiguous nature of the underlying criteria 'makes them unusually convenient for propagandistic and programmatic, as distinct from descriptive purposes' (Hobsbawm, 1992, p. 6). Hobsbawm also describes other definitions of nationalism, for instance Karl Renner's subjective 'individual's national membership' (p. 7), which then can lead to 'nation-building by consciousness-raising' (p. 8). Therefore, Hobsbawm also emphasises 'the element of artefact, invention and social engineering which enters into the making of nations', hence 'nations do not make states and nationalisms but the other way around' (p. 10). Moreno-Luzón and Núñez Seixas (2017) also highlight the concept of 'imagined community' when analysing nationalism, defined by Benedict Anderson.

The making of nations – as Hobsbawm explains – was the work of the 19th century, the concept of nation only acquired its current meaning in the last third of the 19th century (1992, pp. 14-24), it became a significant political issue from the 1880s as the mass appeal of nationalistic propaganda started to become relevant³, and it was thought that a minimum threshold is needed in order to achieve the status of a viable nation - with differing interpretations if a country as large as for instance Ireland would reach said critical size (pp. 30-37). For those people who did not reach the threshold a

¹ The relevance of the emotion of belonging in nationalisms is referred to by Stynen, Van Ginderachter and Núñez Seixas (2020, p. 8).

² For example, see pages 26-28 in M. E. Smith's work. E.g. 'particularly for oppressed groups, a national ideology can meet needs for dignity and self-esteem' (2005, p. 28). Also Núñez Seixas refers to the need of nationalisms to define an 'oppressor' enemy (2017, p. 449).

³ '...from the 1880s on the debate about "the national question" becomes serious and intensive, especially among the socialists, because the political appeal of national slogans to masses of potential or actual voters or supporters of mass political movements was now a matter of real political concern. (Hobsbawm, 1992, pp. 43-44)

subordinated status was attached⁴ or they were labelled ‘conservative resistance to the inevitable advance of history’ (p. 41).

The ideology of this collective belonging is still transmitted through everyday life (e.g. sports events)⁵, but also through the education system, and one of its main pillars is the teaching of history. Ira, Michonneau and Sonkoly emphasize how the late 19th century saw history to provide ‘a reassuring sense of continuity and progression, sanctioning national claims and rooting these claims in the past’ and thus ‘history was in evidence virtually everywhere: from the founding of new museums to historically-informed street naming, from school curricula to urban heritage preservation initiatives’ (Ira, Michonneau, & Sonkoly, 2023, p. 929). How far history teaching could have a role in nationalisms, the following quote from an ethnic German teacher in Western Hungary at the beginning of the 19th century can provide a hint: ‘the damned nationalism, this unnatural hate among the nations, is woken up also through the teaching of history’ (Ács, 1986, p. 230)⁶. Sergiu also highlights the impact historians can have when promoting nationalism through textbooks: ‘the criticism that society does not follow historians fails when faced with the institutionalization of a rigid ethno-centred approach to history’ (Sergiu, 2014). In the same sense, Filipović stresses how history textbooks are subject to political and ideological manipulation:

While scholarly research is intended for small groups of people and for experts, history textbooks are written for a broader group. They serve as a basis for the transfer of ideology that is to be instilled in the mind of every citizen of the country for which the textbook is written. Moreover, history textbooks often lack a methodological basis and a

⁴ ‘The small people, language or culture fitted into progress only insofar as it accepted subordinate status to some larger unit or retired from battle to become a repository of nostalgia and other sentiments...’ (Hobsbawm, 1992, p. 41)

⁵ The term ‘banal nationalism’ refers to this, as introduced by Michael Billig (Moreno-Luzón & Núñez Seixas, 2017).

⁶ Bidelaux and Jeffries argue that the main difference between the development of Western and East Central Europe consisted that while in Western Europe nationalism surged after the creation of proto-national states and they were based on the belonging to these territories, in East Central Europe nationalism surfaced in multinational empires before the creation of the nation-states and therefore they were based on ethnic and linguistic differences from the beginning. This led in their words to ‘in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century East Central Europe and the Balkans, most experiments in democracy degenerated into intolerant majoritarianism, trampling underfoot the rights of minorities – and ultimately those of the majorities as well. Under the sway of ethnic nationalism and ethnic collectivism, democratization empowered and buttressed the claims of potentially oppressive collectivities much more than it empowered and buttressed the rights of individuals. So long as each dominant ethnic group believed that it had exclusive title to particular states and territories, there would always remain considerable potential for violent inter-ethnic conflict in these benighted and war-scarred regions.’ (Bideleux & Jeffries, 2007, pp. 19-20)

scientific apparatus, which allows for a manipulation of their content, in accordance with already-established educational goals. (Filipović, 2017, p. 20)

Historic memory is one of the main building blocks of national identity, in words of M. E. Smith: ‘history is critical to the creation of ethnic groups and nations, given that shared past experience, or the perception of shared past experience, is the strongest rationale for the existence of the group’ (Smith M. E., 2005, p. 13).

Korostelina explains how ‘existing regimes use history education to justify past wrongdoings and violence as well as to defend current policies’ and as a consequence, ‘history textbooks portray other groups as allies or enemies and highlight contradictions between Us and Them’ (Korostelina, 2013, p. 20).

Zajda points out that ‘history textbooks and their new Master Narratives, depicting significant events in the nation-building process, have been used by different nations to instil the values of patriotism, national identity and cultural heritage’ (Zajda, 2015, pp. 190-191).

Cajani also highlights the nation-building character of history textbooks, describing how ‘history was introduced as a fundamental part of school education during the nineteenth century in Europe and then worldwide, with the main intent of constructing a homogeneous national identity’. He also states that ‘it was a political instrument, the aim of which was to create a good patriot, and a good patriot also had to be a good soldier’ (Cajani, 2023, p. 33).

Lopez, Carretero, & Rodriguez-Moneo affirm that during the generalisation of school attendance in the nineteenth century ‘each nation found the subject of history a convenient tool for teaching national values and developing loyalties in the students’. In this sense, ‘the goals of history education were more focused on developing emotional and identity issues than on understanding the past’ (Lopez, Carretero, & Rodriguez-Moneo, 2014, p. 211).

Hobsbawm quotes Renan to explain that nationalism necessarily includes a certain degree of truth-bending: ‘getting its history wrong is part of being a nation’ (Hobsbawm, 1992, p. 12).

Burston in his *Handbook for History Teachers* when looking for ‘the place of History in Education’ also describes that ‘sometimes, as in Victorian times, history was seen as the “school of statesmen”, at others, more crudely as engendering the right kind

of patriotism by making the student aware of his heritage' (Burston, 1972 (1), p. 3). Sergiu summarises Boia's academic thoughts as 'reaching the conclusion that what is being taught as Romanian history is mostly a well-plotted narrative instrumentalized from its earliest beginnings qua science for the sole purpose of nation-building.' (Sergiu, 2014). For Northern Ireland, McCully concludes:

It has been long recognised that, in NI, events from the past have been used in selective and partisan ways to justify the contemporary political positions of one community and denigrate the other. ...when two communities see the present from such different perspectives, a common and agreed-upon narrative of the past is unlikely. (McCully, 2019, p. 425)

As national identity is largely based on a proud understanding of past glories^{7 8 9}, it is not surprising that events that a given country considers to be its most splendid moment in history can coincide with the deepest tragedies of another. Different nations explain the same events and developments in very different lights. This can lead to identifying other groups of people as 'the enemy', especially in case of countries with a shared – and disputed – history. Interpretations not only reconfirm the identity of the given nation, they can also shape future intentions of its inhabitants.

The wider population generally comes into contact with the history when it is taught as a subject in secondary school¹⁰. Therefore, it is essential that children and young

⁷ 'There is no better way of building a modern, inclusive patriotism than by teaching all British citizens to take pride in this country's historic achievements. Which is why the next Conservative Government will ensure the curriculum teaches the proper narrative of British History – so that every Briton can take pride in this nation.' (Gove, 2009), quoted by Haydn (Haydn, 2019, p. 710).

⁸ '... those who attain power will tell their story in a way that legitimizes their power ... the historical memory of the society confirms in considerable measure to the regime's account of the past and is articulated in the written history of the society' (Smith M. E., 2005, p. 15)

⁹ The Austrian History textbook for year 8 (Age 13, *Zeitbilder* 4), dedicates a couple of pages to the culture of remembrance, with a paragraph self-critically explaining how history can be used for creating identity and also as a business:

The Habsburg myth is based on a nostalgia after a glorified past. Especially after the Second World War was Austrian history intentionally made into a kind of kitsch, in order to create a new identity. Tourism and the film industry contributed most to this. The Sissy-films produced in the 1950s are still popular today. They show the imperial couple in a romantic transfigured love relationship. This representation does not correspond in any way to the two historic personalities. The tourism uses the history of the Habsburgs (Imperial Austria) and its myth successfully for the marketing of Austria. (Ebenhoch, Kronberger-Schmid, Scheucher, & Wald, 2019, p. 49)

¹⁰ As a 2003 study confirms, in both England and Northern Ireland, history classes are by far the most influential source for historic knowledge, for both 11-14 and 15-18-year-old students (McCully, Barton, & Conway, 2003). Gómez Carrasco and Chapman also refer to the relevance of textbooks: 'Textbooks are probably the most read historical narrative in the society as a whole, and maybe the only history narrative used during the lifetime of an individual together with other informal media of knowledge (mass media, museums, other historic centres of interest, ...)' (Gómez Carrasco & Chapman, 2017, p. 332)

adults learn a balanced version of the history that teaches them tolerance and respect for the ‘other’. In the words of Edmund Burke, quoted by Ohlmeyer: ‘those who don’t know history are destined to repeat it’ (Bew, Bew, Clark, McBride, & Ohlmeyer, 2019). Burston emphasises the importance of teaching a truthful and not politically doctored version of history which should enable children to learn from the ‘lessons of history’:

For history to bring the benefits which we have indicated, it is essential that it should be, as far as human scholarship can contrive, the past as it really was, and not the past distorted for some present political purpose whether it be a contemporary ideal or some evolutionary justification of an institution. In this sense, the past conceived as a contrast with the present lies at the centre of the educational benefits of studying history, and it is only by studying history ‘for its own sake’ that it can be what it should be, an independent check on our political thinking. (Burston, 1972 (1), p. 13)

As an example, for what a one-sided narrative can bring, O’Toole writes that ‘I knew from history lessons in school that the English only ever did bad things to Irish people’ (O’Toole, 2018, p. IX).

There is some evidence from Northern Ireland that school education might enhance sectarian identities even after establishing a joint curriculum: Barton and McCully – based on student interviews carried out in 2000-2001 – concluded that ‘...as students move through the required curriculum, their identification with Unionist or Nationalist history actually intensifies, and they appear to draw selectively from the school curriculum in order to bolster their developing understanding of partisan historical narratives’ (Barton & McCully, 2005, p. 111).

Vinh, Hoang & Tuan also summarise their conclusions that ‘... history textbooks aim to contribute to a distinctly patriotic history education ... Vietnamese history textbooks have been used to shape national identity and educate young students in patriotism and nationalism’ (Vinh, Hoang, & Tuan, 2018, p. 314).

Szakács writes in the same sense: ‘I assume that education in general and textbook writing in particular, are some of the officially sanctioned tools for constructing national identity’ (Szakács, 2007, p. 24). She also stresses the importance of how specific national heroes are portrayed: ‘...the national gallery of individual heroes and leaders is one of the most powerful identity construction tools in history textbooks, allowing school children to identify with the characters and consider them the embodiment of the national community’. In this sense, ‘the mythical aura bestowed upon these characters in history

textbooks in terms of breadth of description, affective connotations of terms and portrayed traits, as well as overall evaluation and characterization emphasis is a helpful indication of the value attached to national identity' (p. 35).

In line with the above, Bak and Maier a bit ironically reflect in their preface to the dossier *Mutual Images – Textbook Representations of Historical Neighbours in the East of Europe* on the fact that many textbooks suggest a continuous existence of their nation state: 'overall, it would be perhaps too much demanded from schoolbooks not to regard the present-day states (or even nations) as eternal entities whose existence is to be seen as a more or less unbroken continuum' (Bak & Maier, 2017, p. 5).

Antolković highlights the role of history textbooks in differentiating between the 'in-group' and the 'out-group', emphasizing the differences between 'us' and 'them' and also to embolden the 'nations' "glorious moments" ' (Antolković, 2017, p. 8).

As Pérez Garzón explains, governments dedicate much attention to history teaching: the profession of historians was largely born as public servants of nation-states which required specialists to formulate and teach their newly formed identity and thus - not surprisingly - history textbooks especially in the secondary school are still focused on a patriotic 19th century content (Pérez Garzón, 2022).

M. E. Smith also refers to the nation-building role history education plays, especially in the nineteenth century, as '... history teaching in schools was considered the backbone of the enterprise to create a unified national mind-set' (Smith M. E., 2005, p. xiii). In addition, she highlights the role of historians in this process: '... professional historians participated in the promotion of state nationalisms, writing history that glorified their own states at the expense of others' (p. 3). This happened as a consequence of the aim of political leaders to support '... history writing that supplied them with a foundation myth and a national story' (p. 19). Hence, even in democracies - which do not tend to serve minorities well - 'school texts ... are one of the most useful instruments of cultural hegemony' and thus 'history teaching is of additional importance, because it supports the narrative, and hence the legitimacy, of the regime itself' (p. 15). A particularly interesting aspect of history is that it 'is assisting in the project of social construction by suggesting that the group has a longer existence than it actually has' (p. 22), thus supporting the claim for ethnic boundaries.

Similarly, Hobsbawm explains that one of the main arguments nation-states use for their existence and to justify sovereignty over a certain territory is to highlight that such territory belonged previously to the nation for a certain period of time: ‘fairly lengthy and recent past’ (Hobsbawm, 1992, p. 37). Also Núñez Seixas highlights how ‘every nationalist movement sustains that their nation is different and unique, because of their ethnocultural or social specificity or because of their distinctive history, which legitimates its vindication of sovereignty’ (Núñez-Seixas, 2017, p. 449).

Ács points out the relevance of history writing during the 19th century romanticism in Central and Eastern Europe, as ‘... the ideas of the enlightenment and romanticism have formed the search for the national origins (which started already in this era and still influences national consciousness today) and the fitting mythical approach to history, both for Hungarians and the neighbouring peoples’ (Ács, 1986, p. 226).

M. E. Smith introduces her book *Reckoning with the Past. Teaching History in Northern Ireland* with the hope that education can play a part in intervening in the vicious cycle of an ethnic conflict:

Historical memories operate in a number of ways in ethnic conflicts. First, they assist group definition by supplying a ‘story’ that gives cohesion to the group. Second, they supply groups with negative material about each other that strengthens each group’s self-definition. Third, once a conflict is underway, historical material is drawn upon by both sides to articulate grievances. Because narratives exacerbate the conflict, they also, as a consequence, harden group identity and thus perpetuate conflict. Many identity-based conflicts demonstrate a cycle of this kind. This study addresses the question of whether education can provide an effective means to intervene in the cycle. (Smith M. E., 2005, p. xiii)

Barton and McCully also elaborate on the role history education can and should play in diminishing ethnic differences, as ‘... the past can be used to justify and perpetuate discord’. Therefore, ‘... educators and policymakers, in Northern Ireland and elsewhere, frequently look to the formal study of history as a way of countering such divisiveness’. This can be achieved by ‘... either by providing them with neutral and balanced portrayals of controversial historical issues or by emphasizing non-politicized skills of academic study’ (Barton & McCully, 2005).

Sáiz Serrano and López Facal carried out a survey of 134 secondary school students and 150 future primary and secondary school teachers during their university

years and found that history teaching still emphasises ‘essentialist views of the nation’, as ‘the teaching of history in the secondary education system does not prepare people to critically evaluate the representation of their own national identity, which is perceived to be natural’. They also established that this view persists among trainee teachers, especially for the primary school (Sáiz Serrano & López Facal, 2016, p. 137).

Pingel refers to two conflicting aims of history education in post-conflict societies: ‘(1) to explain why the conflict happened and (2) to deliver a new narrative that consolidates the rifts of the past and strengthens inner cohesion in a shattered society’, and he adds that ‘laying bare possible reasons for the conflict is painful and controversial and may divide rather than unite society’ (Pingel, 2008, pp. 184-185). Thus, it might not be easy to serve both purposes at the same time, especially in post-conflict societies (Pingel showcases this with the examples of Rwanda, South Africa and Bosnia and Herzegovina). However, it is my conviction that this should not be a limitation to narrate events with a reasonable level of objectivity and keen interest in why the conflict happened, if these conflicts happened several centuries ago in European countries which currently are arguably allies. Pingel also adds that ‘the condition for rapprochement adheres to an unwritten sequence: without recognition of crimes, there can be no reconciliation’ (Pingel, 2008, p. 194) – therefore making clear that inner cohesion of the society at all cost is not a viable route. I shall refer to this golden rule later in my thesis.

Lässig defines the concept of reconciliation in the following way:

...arduous, complex, lengthy, and potentially reversible processes that are dependent on a number of uncertain factors. In the course of these processes, societies and social groups and states show their willingness and (re)claim their capability to coexist in peace and to move beyond experiences of violence and conflict, to interact with a minimum of empathy, to overcome victim-perpetrator dichotomies as key patterns of interpretation for their past, present and future, and form relationships of trust. (Lässig, 2013, p. 7)

In this sense, my Anglo-Irish case study is dedicated to countries and communities which have already moved ahead with the process of reconciliation: Ireland and Britain have been peacefully collaborating with each other for a long time (as for instance the repeated agreements between the governments of the Republic of Ireland and the UK in 1973, 1985 and 1998 demonstrate this). In Northern Ireland, where the open conflict had ended in 1998, willingness to coexist had been demonstrated even by the extreme segments of the society when Ian Paisley and Martin McGuinness started their power-

sharing government in 2007. Thus, the challenges in these countries do not seem to relate any more to post-conflict reconciliation. Still, textbooks might show signs of limited empathy and present the past with victim-perpetrator dichotomies.

Korostelina emphasises the importance of calling out ‘so-called forensic truths, the “who did what to whom” facts’, as ‘denying them would result in dangerous moral relativism’ (Korostelina, 2013, p. 23). Lässig also describes the ‘widely established assumption that an understanding between former enemies cannot be achieved without the readiness to write a history that pays tribute to basic facts of past atrocities and allows for critical analysis’ (Lässig, 2013, pp. 11-12). This is certainly the case in the academic historiography Anglo-Irish relations, but do Anglo-Irish textbooks also follow this rule? As we will see, not necessarily.

Even though historians of two neighbouring countries might have reached an agreement about the most reasonable interpretation of a historic event, frequently these remain in the academic sphere¹¹ and the wider population might still believe in less scientific versions of its glorious past, where ‘good’ conveniently coincides with the actions of its own nation or community and ‘bad’ with the deeds of one of the neighbouring countries or groups of people¹². In line with many of the previous quotes, I agree that these biased beliefs can also be based on what the population has learnt during compulsory education, which needs to oversimplify complex stories in order to ease the learning process¹³.

As Zambrano Quintero confirms, political violence is always justified by a previous harm suffered (Zambrano Quintero, 2021). Therefore, any side can find ‘explanation’ for its actions by some grievances committed against them in the past, also conveniently remaining silent about other tragic events perpetrated by themselves that could ‘justify’ the actions of the other. This is why a well-balanced history education is crucial for the future understanding across communities. M.E. Smith also highlights the relevance of the (mis)use of history in ‘remembering traumas of past generations’, ‘contributing to group identity while creating and ongoing sense of victimization’ (Smith

¹¹ E.g. the *Irish Historical Studies*, founded already in 1938, is a joint journal of the *Irish Historical Society* (Dublin) and the *Ulster Society for Irish Historical Studies* (Belfast) (Irish Historical Studies, 2022).

¹² In Foster’s foreword to *The Oxford Illustrated History of Ireland*: ‘The scholars ... are highly conscious that their findings must be made as accessible to the general reader as the ancient, popular versions.’ (Foster, 1989, p. v).

¹³ Burston also highlights that ‘any syllabus is an attempt to abridge and simplify a subject for school purposes’ (Burston, 1972 (2), p. 60).

M. E., 2005, p. 13). She explains how ‘chosen traumas reflect an unconscious choice to define identity through transgenerational transmission’ (p. 31).

Lässig highlights the deliberate choices textbook authors have to make in order ‘condense, structure, reduce and generalize information’, and while this process in most countries is sanctioned by the state this is ‘often perceived either as particularly objective, truthful and relevant or, from the perspective of minority or victim groups striving for recognition, for instance, as an issue of fundamental mistrust’ (Lässig, 2013, p. 1).

The nationalistic indoctrination potential of history education can also be evidenced by the *V-Indoc* (Varieties of Indoctrination) dataset which has been published as the result of inputs from 760 experts covering 160 countries since 1945 (Neundorf, et al., 2023). This remarkable dataset shows that what they call *patriotic indoctrination content in education*^{14 15} decreased over time in many countries that transitioned from different forms and political colours of dictatorship into democracy: for instance, in Spain from a relatively high score of 0.7 to 0.75 in a scale of 0 to 1, measured since the beginning of the dataset in 1945 until 1969, to a level of near 0 from 1990 onwards. Or, in Romania, from a score around 0.85 to 0.9 measured since 1950 until 1989, to a level of 0.2 to 0.25 ever since. Interpreting this dataset, lacking a democratic system does not necessarily cause patriotic indoctrination: in Hungary, which in theory suffered the same political ideology during the Cold War as Romania, the index measured a value of below 0.5 (and thus below global average) from 1948 up until the fall of communism in 1989. The transition to democracy did not modify the positioning of the educational system up to 2000 and the index decreased below 0.4 from 2000 to 2010. However, Orbán’s second term in power, from 2010, also meant the gradual increase of patriotic indoctrination, up to a level of 0.75 in 2020, similar to which had been experienced in Spain during the

¹⁴ Description provided by the authors (Neundorf, et al., 2023):

Question: To what extent is the indoctrination content in education patriotic?

Variable Type: Index.

Clarification: Patriotism is another key tool that regimes can use to build political support for the broader political community. This index measures the extent of patriotic content in education by focusing on patriotic content in the curriculum as well as the celebration of patriotic symbols in schools more generally.

Sources:

Patriotic education in the curriculum

Celebration of patriotic symbols

Scale: Interval, from low to high (0-1).

¹⁵ Although the specific variable measured refers to indoctrination content in language studies and the celebration of patriotic symbols, it can be considered a reasonable initial proxy for the history curriculum (Neundorf, Nazrullaeva, Northmore-Ball, Tertychnaya, & Kim, 2024, pp. 8, 21).

Franco regime. Maybe surprisingly, this level is very similar to what the United States – considered one of the birthplaces of modern democracy – has ever shown: they scored 0.7-0.75 throughout the whole period of 1945-2022. Of course, one can doubt the exact results, as it is based on expert interviews, and experts also have a political opinion about the regime in a given country which might influence their evaluation, but the above-mentioned results are directionally in line with what someone knowledgeable about the different educational systems would expect¹⁶.

The two countries subject to my study, Ireland and the United Kingdom, are positioned among the lowest for patriotic indoctrination. The Irish dataset is available since 2000 and it has always shown 0.16 and the UK started with an already low 0.2 in 1945 and decreased gradually even further to below 0.1 since 1990. Thus, my analysis is focused on two countries, where the level of patriotic indoctrination in education is among the lowest. Even so, as we will see, there are many examples of bias that my research identified in history textbooks. A particularly appropriate description of the relevance of history interpretations can be found in the introduction of the relevant chapter in the A-level textbook *Britain 1929-98* published in 2004, which explains the history of the ‘Troubles’:

Like in the conflicts in the Balkans and the Middle East, the problems of Northern Ireland also involved past history. Few events happened without an immediate, usually disputed historical significance being claimed for them. Everything in the recent history of Northern Ireland is linked back to clashing interpretations of the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 or to the Irish rebellion of 1798 or to the Great Famine of 1845-51 or to the Easter Rebellion and Anglo-Irish conflict of 1916-21; or to Irish neutrality (often painted as sympathy with the Nazis) from 1939-45. After the onset of the ‘Troubles’, there was a never-ending ‘politics of the last atrocity’, with any Republican outrage always to be matched against the latest Loyalist action. (Rowe, 2004, p. 137)

A similar narrative can be found in *Twentieth Century Britain*:

In the study of Irish history the writer is often an advocate rather than an impartial but involved commentator. The mythology of the past still prevents a lasting solution to the colonial dilemma. (Brown & Daniels, 1982, p. 25)

To showcase how ambiguous the past is: the author of the first example, Rowe, after explaining how different interpretations of history shaped the ‘Troubles’, straight

¹⁶ I will refer to this question at the end of *Section 6.6*.

away includes a sectarian explanation of the Battle of the Boyne: ‘Catholic rebels in Ireland were defeated by forces of King William III’ (Rowe, 2004, p. 137) – we shall see later that the qualification of those supporting James II as rebels is not a straight-forward historic fact.

The objective of my research is not to establish a casuistic connection between what has been taught in secondary school and the beliefs of the wider population, but to analyse the narrative of secondary school history textbooks and to evaluate in which ways they represent the past with bias – which eventually could lead to a certain degree of indoctrination in the population against the ‘other’.

Thus, the topic of my thesis is comparative transnational textbook analysis, from the perspective of the historic content included in the textbooks, following the aim stated by Fuchs and Henne: ‘textbook revision today is still governed by its objective to rid textbooks of nationalist, chauvinist, and one-sided interpretations in order to contribute towards international peace and understanding’ (Fuchs & Henne, 2018, p. 27).

It is not my objective to understand and evaluate the didactical quality of textbooks, therefore I will not analyse how the material is effectively taught in the classroom, what students actually learn from it, nor the written, production or pedagogical quality of textbooks. In a certain sense, I assume that students assimilate correctly all contents included in the textbooks¹⁷. Therefore, my research is more focused on the characteristics of history as a ‘body of knowledge’ than as a ‘form of knowledge’¹⁸.

There are many studies about how images and activities for students can influence their learning process and outcome¹⁹. Nevertheless, this thesis only engages in the analysis of images and activities when they add significant additional contents to the national narratives contained in the written texts. For instance, when the size of William III’s navy arriving in (and effectively conquering) England is not explained, but an image shows the enormous size of his navy. Or, when an activity asks about which side can be

¹⁷ Naturally, there are also contrary proof points, e.g. in a Northern Irish study more than three quarters of teachers said they cannot change homegrown ideas of students (Smith M. E., 2005, p. 150).

¹⁸ Using the terms provided by Haydn, in which he defines ‘forms of knowledge’ as ‘rules and conventions for handling information and ascertaining the validity of claims to knowledge’. (Haydn, 2019, p. 710). Haydn (p. 711) also refers to the difference between forms and body of knowledge in a quotation from Lee and Ashby who compare ‘substantive history’ and ‘second-order or procedural ideas about history’ (Lee & Ashby, 2000).

¹⁹ About the usage of images and related activities for children in the age group of 10 to 12 see the article of Bel Martínez, Colomer Rubio, and Valls Montés (2019). The usage of activities in general for the same age group is analysed by Sáiz Serrano and Colomer Rubio (2014).

blamed for the Northern Ireland Troubles, but only the actions of one side are portrayed in the previous pages, therefore, the activity in itself leads to a false perception of impartiality of a biased narrative. Maps are highly relevant for the justification of current borders and I analyse them in several instances. I also evaluate examples of misleading source materials which can make students believe a specific version of the events. However, this thesis does not have the objective to evaluate images, activities, source materials or other qualities of textbooks from a pedagogical perspective.

Reflections on the methodology of discourse analysis

In order to carry out this comparative transnational textbook analysis, the obvious main primary sources are textbooks²⁰, and for their study we need to consider the methodological frameworks set out by scholars of qualitative research and discourse analysis. As Denzin and Lincoln state in the 5th edition of *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*, a text itself ‘creates the world’: ‘we have left the world of naive realism, knowing now that a text does not mirror the world; it creates the world’ (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018, p. 18). At the same time, they also advocate for transnational approaches: ‘this is a post- or neo-colonial world. It is necessary to think beyond the nation or the local group as the focus of inquiry’ (p. 20). In their words, qualitative studies have a certain level of moral perspective: ‘a moral, allegorical, and therapeutic project’ (p. 21). They believe that ‘the ethnographer writes tiny moral tales, tales that do more than celebrate cultural difference or bring another culture alive’ (p. 21). I find that this concept fits well my personal motivation for researching textbooks and attempting to highlight where one-sided interpretations of the joint history could foster further mistrust.

Although I attempt to study the different narratives to the same story – e.g. in case of British rule in Ireland those from England, Ireland and Northern Ireland – and thus I try not to identify myself with any of these perspectives, it is important to consider that qualitative analysis necessarily involves a degree of subjectivity: ‘...there is no external world or final arbiter – lived experience, for example – against which a text is judged’ (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018, p. 18). Therefore, we need to be highly conscious of our own background when writing these ‘tiny moral tales’²¹, recognising that our own subjective

²⁰ National curriculums and exam board specifications are also relevant primary sources, however, as we will see, the main conclusions of this thesis will derive from the analysis of textbooks.

²¹ Hence the description of my own background in the first pages of this Chapter 2 Introduction.

‘perspectives, politics, and ideology’ (Erickson, 2018, p. 105) can lead to bias, as ‘qualitative research reports are often ... done from within the standpoints of the life experience of the researcher’ and therefore their objectivity is similar to ‘that of novels and poetry – a pointing toward “truths” that are not literal’ (p. 113)²².

Hobsbawm also refers to one’s own limitations when he suggests that no nationalists should be historians of nationalism:

... I cannot but add that no serious historian of nations and nationalism can be a committed political nationalist... Nationalism requires too much belief in what is patiently not so ... To be Irish and proudly attached to Ireland – even to be proudly Irish-Catholic or Ulster-Protestant Irish – is not itself incompatible with the serious study of Irish history. To be a Fenian or an Orangeman, I would judge is not so compatible ... Fortunately, in setting out to write the present book I have not needed to leave my non-historical convictions behind. (Hobsbawm, 1992, pp. 12-13)

In this sense, a very interesting perspective is the internationalism of nationalism, as explained by Núñez Seixas (2017) when referring to how different nationalist movements cross-fertilise each other. As nationalism requires a degree of bias – explained by Hobsbawm in the above quote – nationalists sometimes struggle to classify in their binary world if another nationalism is ‘good’ or ‘bad’: in the example of Núñez Seixas the Basque nationalists in 1916 were not sure if the Easter Rising in Ireland was a positive example, as it fought against the British empire, which they supposed to be a progressive and tolerant force fighting against the real oppressors of small nations, the Germans and Astro-Hungarians. However, as this example shows, we cannot always justify that the ‘enemy of my enemy’ was morally correct.

Antaki, Billig, Edwards and Potter identify six different types of analytic shortcomings in discourse analysis, and I hope to have been able to avoid all of them in this thesis:

... (1) under-analysis through summary; (2) under-analysis through taking sides; (3) under-analysis through over-quotation or through isolated quotation; (4) the circular identification of discourses and mental constructs; (5) false survey; and (6) analysis that consists in simply spotting features. (Antaki, Billig, Michael, Edwards, & Potter, 2002, p. 1)

²² Although in the above examples Erickson refers to dangers of subjectivity in ethnographic research, his conclusions could also be valid in other qualitative studies.

The concept of ‘under-analysis through summary’ stresses that transcription is not the substitute of analysis and that only summarising the discourse does not add anything, rather it eliminates relevant details.

The authors explain that they do not agree among themselves whether it is desirable that ‘discourse analysts ... should take positions with respect to the material that they study’ (p. 9), however they represent the opinion that ‘under-analysis can occur when the analyst substitutes sympathy or scolding for detailed examination of what the speakers are saying’ (p. 10). In this sense, they are not against criticising or supporting the opinions expressed in the analysed text, but against limiting the analysis to this aspect.

Regarding quotations, the authors highlight the need to go beyond simply repeating the analysed text, avoiding a ‘low ratio of analyst's comments to data extracts’ (p. 11), however they do not explain what is the right measure of analyst comments compared to the quoted text. Similarly, they warn against singling out isolated texts out of context as a ‘self-evident specimen’ (p. 11).

‘The circular identification of discourses and mental constructs’ refers to the error of identifying specific parts of a the analysed text as appearances of ‘wider, socially shared “repertoires”, “ideologies”, “discourses” etc.’ (p. 12) without substantiating the existence of such repertoires/ideologies/discourses independently from the analysed text.

The authors also warn about generalising conclusions for a wider population from a few data points under the ‘false survey’ concept. Maybe interestingly, their recommendation is less about increasing the sample size in order to be able to draw adequate conclusions than about refraining from generalisations not supported by data²³.

The above quoted paper refers to an ‘analysis that consists in simply spotting features’ as one that only recognises the existence of different discursive features, but does not show ‘what the feature does, how it is used, what it is used to, how it is handled sequentially and rhetorically, and so on’ (p. 15).

Denzin and Lincoln describe five different phases of qualitative research:

Phase 1: The Researcher as a Multicultural Subject. Phase 2. Theoretical Paradigms and Perspectives. Phase 3. Research Strategies. Phase 4. Methods of Collection and Analysis.

²³ In this thesis, wherever possible, I preferred to drastically increase the sample size (of analysed textbooks) in order to be able to draw more over-arching conclusions.

Phase 5: The Art, Practices and Politics of Interpretation and Evaluation. (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018, p. 55)

In this sense, my background is a multi-cultural individual who has lived in seven different countries (Hungary, Austria, Germany, Switzerland, Spain, the United Kingdom and Singapore) – explained in the initial pages of this *Chapter 2. Introduction* – and has seen many different expressions of nationalism and, therefore, someone who would love to experience a reduced interference of nationalisms in the everyday life of especially Europe. However, at the same time, I am also conscious of the fact that certain sympathies acquired during the time spent in the above countries cannot be fully eliminated from this research²⁴.

The theoretical paradigms and perspectives behind this inquiry are driven by my desire to be as positivist as possible (in the naïve belief that the analysed texts should have a similar meaning to any ‘objective’ reader), however the actual analysis is only performed by myself. Therefore, one need to recognise that this research is also based on the constructivist paradigm in the sense that potentially there could be different readings of the analysed texts, especially in terms of ethnic studies, as people belonging to different nationalities could potentially evaluate the analysed texts very differently (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018, pp. 57-58). Hence nationalism and its potential impact on the educational systems (as introduced in the earlier pages of this *Section 2.1*) are key theoretical concepts behind this research.

The research strategy is based on the expected outcome: to understand in which ways secondary school history textbooks represent the past with a certain (‘nationalist’) bias. Therefore, the research strategy is textbook research, with the aim to a) represent the different points of view shown in textbooks from different countries with a shared and disputed history and b) achieve such a large sample size as possible, in order to combine qualitative and quantitative analysis.

In terms of methods of collection and analysis and regarding the ‘art, practices and politics of interpretation and evaluation’, *Section 3.1 Methodology* will provide the details.

²⁴ Hence also the choice of British rule in Ireland as my main topic of investigation in this thesis, instead of the Kingdom of Hungary during the Habsburg Empire.

When in *Section 3.1* of this thesis I explain the chosen methodology for my main case study of British rule in Ireland, I mention both qualitative and quantitative analysis. The connection between the two is well explained by Erickson, highlighting that in social sciences, qualitative analysis is the foundation of quantitative research: ‘...quantitative inquiry can be seen as always being preceded by foundational qualitative inquiry’, given that on contrary, ‘... it then ends up counting the wrong kinds of things ...’ (Erickson, 2018, p. 87). In this sense, my quantitative analysis of textbooks is based on the qualitative analysis in which I study how textbooks narrate different historic events; as a result I can establish a guiding narrative; and only after this I measure in the quantitative analysis whether specific textbooks include the defined contents²⁵.

The ‘use of quasi-statistics (frequencies, percentages)’ (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018, p. 30) in the thesis has not been motivated by ‘an effort to make their work more palatable to positivist colleagues’ (p. 30), but by the seemingly self-explanatory understanding that numbers and percentages make it easier to evaluate potential bias and to present the conclusions in such a way that most people understand. Hence, I also resort to a quantitative representation of the results of the qualitative analysis when the number of textbooks which includes the specific event is high enough: this happens specifically with the narrative of the Cromwellian Conquest: 23 different (qualitative) aspects have been coded into a deep dive analysis of 26 non-specialised and 2 specialised textbooks used in England. Similarly, another deep dive analysis has been carried out regarding the ‘Glorious Revolution’ and the Penal Laws: for the ‘Glorious Revolution’ 25 different aspects have been measured in 30 textbooks used in England and for the Penal Laws 35 different aspects in 20 textbooks. For the Great Famine, 44 different points have been codified based on the analysis of 26 non-specialised English textbooks, 3 specialised A-level textbooks from England, 4 Irish Junior Certificate textbooks and 3 Northern Irish textbooks. It might be because of the recency of the series of events linked to the Irish Home Rule movement (from the Great Famine to Partition) – and thus their more detailed treatment in the textbooks – that I classified their narrative into 293 different points that could be measured individually in each textbook dealing with the period. Similarly, the narrative of the Troubles includes 135 different points analysed. Given this level of complexity, for the visualisation of the outcomes of these periods I have also created

²⁵ Erickson refers to this methodology as ‘formal “coding” of qualitative “data”’, although he mostly refers to how computer programmes can perform this task and the disadvantages that this can bring (in terms of ‘premature typification’) (Erickson, 2018, pp. 117-118).

several composite indicators e.g. net support for Unionism, for Irish Nationalists and for the Liberal government as expressed in the tone of the narrative; or classified the different points whether they support a particular point of view and then measured their frequency in a consolidated form.

Applied to textbook analysis, Abadia and Collins confirm that ‘language is in fact a crucial element in constructing representations’, citing a number of examples of biased representation, for instance ‘depicting selected historical facts as matters of opinions’. (Abadia & Collins, 2018, pp. 66-67). My (qualitative) analysis will show similar examples. Stradling highlights the importance of analysing the language in textbook analysis, citing as examples: ‘use of false analogies; use of stereotypes; limitations of appeal to “lessons of history”; use of emotive language; appeals to the prejudice of the reader, listener or viewer’ (Stradling, 2001, p. 101). This thesis also identifies similar examples.

2.2 Why focus on British rule in Ireland?

A very long shared history exists between Ireland and Great Britain, since the 12th century. It is particularly insightful to observe how history has been taught in both countries, especially as:

- Ireland was the first foreign country that England controlled and many others followed later – we can compare the narratives.
- Irish nationalism was seen as an example by other small nations who aimed to follow their steps (Núñez-Seixas, 2017).
- British rule in Ireland contributed to an armed conflict in Western Europe well into the 20th century.
- After the Brexit Referendum in the United Kingdom, the ‘Irish question’ resurfaced again in the negotiations between the United Kingdom and the European Union.
- Nevertheless, sufficient time (a century) has gone by since Partition, so that by now mainstream politicians in Ireland and the United Kingdom promote peaceful mutual understanding. This leads to an additional hypothesis that history education probably has not been as much influenced by politics as it happened in similar situations among other countries.
- There is a specific curriculum in Northern Ireland, different from that of England.
- These countries share a common language and so it is easy to compare texts.

British rule in Ireland seems a highly appropriate case for deeper study, considering that between the 12th and 20th centuries it combined a feudalistic conquest, medieval ethnic discrimination, religious discrimination, a proto-colonial relationship between two European countries²⁶, expropriations and redistribution of land ownership

²⁶ Whether this relationship amounted to colonisation, can also be source of sensibilities. As Foster highlights in his foreword to *The Oxford Illustrated History of Ireland*, there was an ‘... inexorable shift of emphasis in English intervention “from acquiring lordship over men to colonising land”. The word “colonial” impinges at an early stage; the language itself, in naming people and things, reflects it’ and he

along ethnic and religious lines, several rebellions (or wars of independence), a very severe famine in the world's wealthiest economy, movements to achieve autonomy by peaceful means, allowing the indigenous population to buy back land property, civil-war-like situation leading to partition of a country, a civil rights movement, paramilitary fights in the late 20th century in Western Europe, ... *Figure 1* illustrates the relevance of Anglo-Irish history for the choice of this thesis.



Even Hobsbawm refers to the Irish question in his book *Nations and nationalism since 1780*, as an exception and ‘permanent anomaly’ within the United Kingdom, in the period of 1870-1880, when in Western Europe ‘... by and large, ... nations and nationalism were not a major domestic problem for political entities which had reached the status of “nation-states” ’ (Hobsbawm, 1992, p. 43).

A particularly aptly titled article in *History Today* discusses *why do the British know so little about Irish history?* None of the participating historians mentioned the English education system, or teaching of History, however, they explained why the history of Ireland does not attract as much attention in Britain as it should. In their contribution, Bew&Bew explain that ‘for as long as Ireland was part of the Union of 1801, Britain paid close attention to Ireland, particularly its elite’, however after the end of Union this changed ‘to the significance of a “cabbage garden” ’. Therefore, ‘... that the

also refers to ‘new waves of colonization in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries’, making clear that he believes it was a colonisation from the early stages (Foster, 1989, p. vi).

British did not pay attention to Irish concerns at the time of the Brexit referendum is less surprising when seen in context' (Bew, Bew, Clark, McBride, & Ohlmeyer, 2019).

Clark in the same article adds that academic history is 'somewhere in between' the 'blindness to the legacies of Ireland's colonisation' of the British government and the Irish folk memory, into which 'the conquerors' misdemeanours, stretching back to at least to 16th-century English and Scottish Plantations and persisting since 1800 via the Union, are, by contrast, deeply enshrined' (Bew, Bew, Clark, McBride, & Ohlmeyer, 2019).

In McBride's opinion, the main issue is asymmetry (of relevance/importance): while Irishness had been 'defined in opposition to England', 'British national identity developed ... in opposition to the French or, more generally, to Catholic Europe'. A second point is the lack of political legitimacy of Ireland in comparison to Britain ('when I speak of Britain here, I really mean England'):

Until recently, the English have enjoyed a sense of identity so secure as to be almost subconscious. They tended to conflate being English with being normal. The problem was to explain why other nations had diverged from this [sic] orderly processes of constitutional development. As Herbert Butterfield put it in *The Englishman and His History* (1944): 'We do not have to set about the deliberate manufacture of a national consciousness, or to strain ourselves, like the Irish, in order to create a "nationalism" out of broken fragments of tradition'. With the basic shape of the nation state apparently resolved, British historians concentrated on 'proper' history: parliamentary government, the industrial revolution and class politics. These were the areas in which Britain was a world-leader and in which Ireland was marginal. (Bew, Bew, Clark, McBride, & Ohlmeyer, 2019)

However, McBride also observes that 'as universities and schools turn to global history, we may discover that Ireland's experience – of colonisation, insurgency and civil war, of poverty, emigration and diaspora – is actually more normal than Britain's' (Bew, Bew, Clark, McBride, & Ohlmeyer, 2019).

Ohlmeyer reminds us of 'the adage that the Irish never forget their history and the English never remember it' and that 'Brexit certainly illustrates how the "Irish Question" never dies; it just gets reformulated' (Bew, Bew, Clark, McBride, & Ohlmeyer, 2019).

Hall in a newspaper article interviewing David Olusoga also highlights the need to teach the history of the four nations that compose the UK, including of Northern Ireland, as otherwise the union could be weakened: 'the fact that A-level pupils in

England do not learn much about the history of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland and vice versa means that Britons struggle to understand key contemporary political issues in the other nations, for example the Scottish independence movement or sectarianism in Northern Ireland, Olusoga said'. He continues to quote Olusoga: 'I just don't think ignorance is ever really a positive background factor in nations being drawn together' (Hall, 2023).

A practical example might further highlight the relevance of the question in the public opinion: the United Kingdom has finally left the European Union on 31 January 2020. Some of us remember that one of the most contentious issues during the negotiations of the Withdrawal Agreement in 2019 was the so-called Irish Backstop. Many people in the United Kingdom were surprised how 'tiny Ireland' managed to place this question on top of the European Union's agenda.

Many people became furious when the British press reported that a British government source debriefed a conversation between Boris Johnson and Angela Merkel as: 'Merkel said that if Germany wanted to leave the EU they could do it no problem, but the UK cannot leave without leaving Northern Ireland behind in a customs union and in full alignment forever' (Mason, Boffey, & Oltermann, 2019). See below some selected readers' comments reacting to the same news on *The Telegraph* (one of the generally Brexit-friendly newspapers), the same day (Mikhailova, Sheridan, Diver, & Jones, 2019).

Some comments referred to the Irish as terrorists:

Ah, those dimwitted Irish terrorists had to be the stick in the mud. Everything else on every side was negotiable...

So the Irish terrorists get their way. Congratulations, terrorists!

Many readers criticised Merkel and the Germans with a reference to their limitations in terms of democratic tradition:

Northern Ireland the new Sudetenland.

The Germans appear to believe in "third time lucky" ... They are in for a big surprise!

Der EU Fuehrer has spoken. Merkel once again demonstrating that, all EU actions and decisions must be authorised by Berlin first.

Why would anyone be surprised? Merkel is the last Soviet-trained politician in a position of power in Europe. She presided over a country, half of whose population first

voted in democratic elections in the 1990s. She sees the purpose of the EU as being to impose ideological orthodoxy.

Remarkable is that some comments suggested that somehow the United Kingdom has the eternal right to govern the entire island of Ireland – and those who disagree should leave to the continent:

...Tell whichever part of Ireland is the problem, they can rejoin the union [the UK] or your [sic] happy to relocate them to the continent and the other union [the EU] (individuals wishing to stay may of course choose to do so) (individuals from the rest of the union wanting to remain in the EU can go with them too, they can claim refugee status) ...

...how did a once mighty nation as the uk end up a colony of the eu? and a little country like ireland tells it what to do? what could be done with ireland?

However, the most insightful comment calls out precisely the subject matter of this thesis – why and how is the UK public so uneducated about history:

What it really reflects is the appalling lack of education of the English public. Just look at the comments on what is supposed to [be] a quality broadsheet!

So, how did the Irish backstop question surprise and incite furious comments from so many in Britain? The largest part of this thesis will analyse history textbooks which have been used in England in the last forty years with the aim to provide a potential answer for the lack of knowledge and many disbeliefs in the wider English population about the joint Anglo-Irish history. In continuation, I will also evaluate textbooks used in Ireland and Northern Ireland in order to provide a comparative analysis of the narratives of the three countries in question (England, Ireland and Northern Ireland).

2.3 Textbook research – a brief review of the discipline

History textbooks have been a relevant field of academic research. Without the aim to provide a holistic summary of the current academic thought about teaching history (there are already many excellent examples for it, for instance in the work of Carretero and his colleagues (Lopez, Carretero, & Rodriguez-Moneo, 2014), (Van der Vlies, 2017)), nor of the many attempts to harmonise history textbooks (Cajani, 2023), it is important to mention the specialised research centre in Braunschweig, Germany focused on textbook research: *Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research*, founded in 1975 (<http://www.gei.de/en/home.html>). Some of the researchers mentioned below are affiliated with this institute. This research centre has a large library, which has 180,000 volumes of textbooks from over 175 countries plus 9,000 curricula (Georg Eckert Institute, n.d.). The purpose of researching how history is taught can be easily understood looking at the examples listed below (all by researchers associated with the *Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research*), provided as review summaries for 3 different academic books analysing textbooks:

Textbooks can help form national identities by developing a society's collective memory; this might involve a historical narrative which may be self-contradictory or even fabricated to a certain extent, including myths, symbols and collective memories that divide 'us' from 'them', and ultimately resulting a dichotomy between the Self and the Other. (Amazon, n.d. (1))

The book argues that the education system's structural and organisational evolution through time is decoupled from its self-depiction by ultimately serving a nation-building agenda. (Amazon, n.d. (2))

It has long been established that history textbooks play a key role in shaping the next generation's understanding of both past events and the concept of 'friend' and 'foe'... (Amazon, n.d. (3))

Lässig highlights the specific challenges history textbooks face in international comparison, as their frequent aim is to serve the nation-building process:

There are unquestionably significant differences regarding homogeneity or plurality of interpretations when concepts of history education are compared internationally. Even so, in both authoritarian and democratic countries, history textbooks tend, strongly or moderately, to trace specific self-images and images of alleged "others" back into the past and to lend them specific validity, in specific cases to the point of constructing and

legitimizing national superiority, collective victimhood, or hostility. History textbooks are usually seen as a key resource for shaping collective memories and fostering social cohesion. (Lässig, 2013, p. 1)

A UNESCO guidebook has also been completed on textbook research, which explains the history of the discipline and the methodology, although I believe it would have been better to include concrete examples of ‘dos’ and ‘don’ts’ in order to illustrate which can be considered biased or on the contrary; balanced (Pingel, 2010). As Pingel explains, the origins go back to the inter-war period, after scientists and politicians were looking for a deeper clue on the origins of the First World War. (Reading some of the textbooks during my research I feel that even after 100 years there is still much to do even regarding to the narrative of the First World War...)²⁷. The *Council of Europe* has also issued a book on Teaching 20th-century European history, also including specific examples of teaching contested history (Stradling, 2001).

Pingel in another work describes that there are two basic mechanisms to try to align textbooks between countries with a contested shared history: a) international textbook commissions to agree on a consensual narrative and b) presenting the past with such principles and methods that it can be assumed by both sides without the need of creating a joint narrative. Regarding the international textbook commissions he clarifies that ‘the obvious disadvantage is that they are often conceived as representatives of state ideology and do not dare to break political taboos or argue against issues of national pride’ (Pingel, 2008, p. 184) and even if results are achieved, it might take fifteen years to do so – as in the case of Germany and Poland (p. 191). For the second method – among others – he describes the example of textbooks on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, where both narratives should be reproduced on the left and right sides of the same double page, leaving a blank space in between, where students can write their own more harmonised version. However, he also mentions how then the lack of blank space ‘may strengthen extreme positions’ (p. 190).

Lässig explains that many international textbook revision projects (mostly initiated without official support from each country) only obtained limited results: already published textbooks being prohibited to be used in state schools (Israeli-Palestinian case), textbooks not being published because of criticism (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia,

²⁷ A great example is analysed by Abadia and Collins when they describe how a textbook suggests that ‘Germany was “jealous of Britain’s Empire”’. (Abadia & Collins, 2018, p. 57)

Russia, Turkey) or only being used as complementary textbooks to the official curriculum (China, Korea and Japan). Although the German-French and German-Polish (officially sponsored) textbook projects are clear success stories, they are probably based on the exceptional readiness of Germans to confront their past after the crimes of the Second World War and thus these successes might not be easy to replicate elsewhere (Lässig, 2013, pp. 5, 9, 12).

The ultimate aim could be the creation of an international history textbook, although even in a relatively small continent as Europe it could bring many difficulties. Defrance and Pfeil analyse the aspects that would make a potential trans-European history textbook complicated to achieve: for instance, the amount of space dedicated to regions which could be considered peripheric or the contrasting narratives of the Versailles Treaties which on one hand created the situation leading to World War Two, but on the other hand allowed many Central-Eastern European nations to achieve statehood (Defrance & Pfeil, 2013, p. 63). Pingel reviews past initiatives to achieve a European History textbook, among them a 1992 project (re-edited in 1997) which ended with a ‘clear West European bias’: ‘the negative poles were centred on Eastern Europe and the positive tendencies on Western and Southern Europe’ (Pingel, 2013, p. 159). The complexity of the task is shown by another interesting example, published in 2023, focused on university studies of history and reaching 994 pages, which is the result of the collaboration of 17 universities from 8 different countries, including Hungary, Spain and the United Kingdom. This work tells the history of Europe through different transversal topics, with a clear transnational ethos. On the other hand, it does not have the purpose to explain what were the main events of the history of each country (Hansen, et al., 2023).

A very interesting series has been edited in the late 1920s at the University of Chicago, with 11 different books looking into the ‘making of citizens’ through so many case studies. One of them is the highly insightful book by Oscar Jászi examining the role of education in the dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy. It starts with the following quote from Goethe:

... Speaking generally, there is something peculiar in national hatred. We always find it strongest and most vehement on the lowest stage of culture. But there is a stage where it totally disappears and where one stands, so to say, **above** the nations and feels the good fortune or distress of his neighbor people as if it had happened to his own... (Jászi O. , 1929)

There are also several initiatives whose purpose is to improve the multicultural aspect of history education. After many other attempts to align history education in Europe (Cajani, 2023), the *Council of Europe* launched its *Observatory on History Teaching in Europe* late 2020, with 17 member states (Council of Europe, 2020). *Parallel Histories* is a UK charity that first started to focus on aligning Israeli-Palestinian history teaching with the aim to further progress on other topics, like Northern Ireland or the Union between England and Scotland (Parallel Histories. A new way to study conflict, 2021).

Shared memory is not only submitted via history teaching, also via museums. The *International Coalition of Sites of Conscience* is a US-based non-profit organisation connecting over 300 sites in 65 countries (International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, 2021). The *European Parliament* has set up the *House of European History* in Brussels in 2017, which ‘aims to initiate learning on transnational perspectives across Europe’ (House of European History, 2021). The most frequently remembered event of Irish history is the Great Famine, with many dedicated museum spaces in both Ireland, Northern Ireland, and North America. As an illustrative sample, I attach the narrative of the exhibition of the *Irish Cultural Museum of New Orleans* – although it does not say anything that would not be true, the sympathies are obvious:

... The British considered the potato ‘a lazy crop’ grown by a ‘a lazy people’ ... ‘The judgement of God sent a calamity to teach the Irish a lesson’ – Charles Trevelyan [assistant secretary to Her Majesty's Treasury] ... The Irish Famine of 1845 to 1852 took one million lives from hunger and disease, and caused another two million people to flee the country. The potato blight was the catalyst, but a system of British social, political and economic control of Ireland lay at the root of the greatest tragedy in 19th century Europe ... British Penal Laws stripped Catholics of their rights and by 1778 Protestants owned 95 percent of the land. The British Act of Union of 1800 made Ireland part of the United Kingdom, but the change in status did not result in equal treatment of the Irish... (Irish Cultural Museum of New Orleans, 2019)

Research methodology of education content mostly relies on textbook review. The focus usually is on understanding which topics are covered by which length, the amount and quality of supporting value content (e.g. images) used (which make the assimilation of the information easier and thus can provide a certain bias), the type of exercises

proposed for students to test their knowledge and - to a lesser degree - the tonality of how a certain event is narrated. A particularly interesting example for instance counts the number of photographic representations of people of colour fighting for the UK during the Second World War (Crawford & Foster, 2007, p. 184). Bel Martínez, Colomer Rubio and Valls Montés conclude that images are often used for decorative purposes: only 22% of images analysed had an activity associated to them (2019, p. 363).

A significant challenge is the selection of textbooks that form part of the analysis. Researchers often include only a very few books into their research, providing serious limitations to any numerical analysis. As an example, Crawford & Foster analysed 4 UK textbooks to understand the representation of the British Empire and Commonwealth during the Second World War, focusing only on textbooks published between 2001 and 2004 by major publishers, supporting the Modern World GCSE History course (Crawford & Foster, 2007, p. 179). Naturally, when the evolution of history teaching over time is the subject matter, more extensive sources are considered: 38 textbooks have been accessed by the same authors to analyse *Textbook Portrayals of British Women During World War II, 1942-2004* (Crawford & Foster, 2007, p. 148). On the other hand, Bel Martínez, Colomer Rubio and Valls Montés in their holistic study reviewed 1975 images in 29 textbooks published between 2006 and 2015 (2019, p. 363).

Carrier highlights that one of the major difficulties of comparative studies is how we establish the representative samples (Carrier, 2018, p. 189). Another challenge for the comparison of textbooks among different countries are the frequently different languages in which they have been written, and specially the need to establish a fact base against which the contents are compared. If a country's textbooks tend to be biased into a specific direction and another country's into a different direction, how can we prove which one is objectively more correct without the need to evaluate extensive source material? Maybe because of this, researchers focusing on history textbooks infrequently investigate how a certain conflicting event has been covered in a specific country versus another. As M. E. Smith describes, 'a second issue relating to textbook revision is the assumption that an agreed history, presumably with a claim of objectivity, can be reached' and she explains the options to leave out the disputed parts or to teach several different interpretations, and emphasizes the fact that some events have a very different importance for the two sides, they might even 'experience completely different historical realities' (Smith M. E., 2005, p. 5).

Of course, there are some examples of comparative reviews, for instance Grindel compares the French, British and German treatment of colonisation in textbooks (usually they refer to it as a ‘European’ phenomenon, giving examples of other countries) (Grindel, 2012, pp. 96-118). Myself, reading English textbooks, found the most frequent description of colonisation and slavery related to Spain and Portugal, while England could be perceived as engaged in creating a new progressive society in North America (Riley, Ford, Goudie, Kenneth, & Snelson, 2019, pp. 84-85, 102-103). In another example, the book *Textbooks and War: Historical and Multinational perspectives* includes three studies which directly compare the narrative found in textbooks in pairs of countries which faced each other in different wars: the US-Mexican War of 1846-48 (Roldán Vera, 2018), the 1894-95 Sino-Japanese war (Bai, 2018) and the Vietnam War of 1954-75 (Vinh, Hoang, & Tuan, 2018). Gómez-Carrasco and Chapman compare the topics covered by recent Spanish, French and English textbooks, between national, European and extra-European global themes (Gómez Carrasco & Chapman, 2017).

Ferro explains with some irony in his *‘The Use and Abuse of History, Or, How the Past is Taught’* how different countries narrate their history, conveniently adjusting their stories to the political agenda. However, he does not directly compare the treatment of the same historic events in different countries. For instance, in the case of Algerian textbooks, he only complains about the lack of the coverage of the good things France did there, he does not examine what French textbooks say about the same events (likely also omitting part of the other narrative). There are some brief examples of indirect comparison, for instance between Turkey / Persia / Arab countries or in case of South Africa – the colonist and the ‘black’ history – when both narratives are explained, but they are not directly compared. It also dedicates a few pages to the history of Irishmen in the United States, although it is more a narrative itself than the analysis of textbooks. (Ferro, 1981 (French) / 1993 (Spanish)).

Interestingly, among the many academic papers reviewed, the teaching of the history of British rule in Ireland is not a frequent topic. Teaching the colonial past of Britain is a more frequent topic, however the focus are territories outside of Europe. Foster, for instance, analyses the portrayals of ethnic minorities, migration and empire from 1910 to 2020. In this, he emphasises how textbooks from the ‘great tradition’ era, until 1970, represented the traditional ‘Whig’ interpretation of history ‘... as an inevitable progression towards increasing enlightenment, liberty and democracy’. In consequence,

‘textbook narratives often took pride in celebrating what they deemed to be British “exceptionalism” and superiority. In striking contrast, the achievements of other nations and the contributions of peoples from other ethnic groups were typically either ignored or presented at the margins’ (Foster S. , 2023, p. 129). At the same time, ‘the widespread failure to acknowledge any negative impacts of British colonial rule’ was also apparent (p. 130).

It is interesting that his analysis – which focuses on the question of ethnic minorities, migration and empire – evaluates some of the textbooks that also I have considered for this thesis. Some of the textbooks which he describes as relatively insensible towards these questions, are, on the other hand, more inclusive in the case of Irish history²⁸ and another textbook which he praises for its sensitivity is ignorant of Irish history²⁹. Abadia and Collins also analyse the textbook representation of the colonisation and call out different types of bias: presenting the suffering of the colonised as an opinion; employing a language which itself means identification with the imperial point of view (e.g. gaining an Empire); presenting the ‘other’ as a simple out-group in contrast to the complex in-group (the British); only attributing agency to the empire in restoring law and order, not in originating the conflicts; relativizing responsibility by stating that both sides committed crimes or by attributing British failures as exceptions only to a small group of British agents and not the whole of the Empire; or claiming that the dependency ended peacefully by the benevolence of the Empire (Abadia & Collins, 2018) – we will see similar narratives in case of British rule in Ireland.

Haydn also highlights how British history teaching used to focus on ‘...Britain’s development as a great power’. He adds that: ‘It was generally taught as a positive and celebratory rendering of Britain’s past, focusing on the development of her system of parliamentary democracy and her position in the world’ (Haydn, 2019, p. 708).

Gómez Carrasco and Chapman highlight in their comparison of Spanish, French and English textbooks that English textbooks feature much more contents of their national history (around 70-80%) during the first three years of secondary education than Spanish and French textbooks (around 30-50%). Even extra-European history is featured more

²⁸ Twentieth Century World (Selth, 2019) and Collins History Key Stage 3 Book 2: 1750-1918 (Murphy, Gosling, & Martin, 2010), both published by Collins.

²⁹ Understanding History; Britain in the Wider World, Roman Times-Present (Riley, Ford, Goudie, Kenneth, & Snelson, 2019), published by Hodder.

frequently in English textbooks than European history, in contrast to Spanish and French textbooks (Gómez Carrasco & Chapman, 2017).

Among the very few examples of researching how English textbooks deal with Irish history, we can find Janssen's 2023 paper on teaching the history of the Great Famine (Janssen, 2023), with the added benefit that she also compares Irish and UK textbooks and uses a sample size which allows a quantitative analysis³⁰.

However, English A-level history textbooks sometimes provide a review of the Irish perspective – with a highly critical narrative:

Yet, such nationalist history is too simple: It highlights the role of nationalist heroes and martyrs, often inspired by the Catholic faith, as the embodiment of the will of the Irish people. It provides a 'mythical' interpretation of key events, based on their emotional appeal – the 1798 rebellion and the Easter Rebellion of 1916, for example – to sustain that nationalist fervour. This sort of history reads the past through the eyes of the present, and its purpose is to raise Irish nationalist consciousness and justify the revolutionary tradition. ... Bradshaw is critical of the false 'objectivity' of the revisionists. Yet, Bradshaw has, in turn, been criticised by one senior historian for abandoning 'the status of history as a detached scholarly activity'. (Byrne & Adelman, 2016, pp. 12-13)³¹

Although there is also a bit of a distancing from the English perspective as well, the secondary school student reading the previous and the following paragraphs should have no doubts who the authors suggest are the real historians:

To some extent, historians' outlooks on the Irish question have been determined by their nationality. ... For English historians, therefore, the Anglo-Irish relationship has formed only a minor part of modern English history. Even when the Irish question has impinged more directly on England, as during the Home Rule crises and the Anglo-Irish War, the attitude of English historians has on the whole been Anglo-centric: Irish affairs are looked at through English eyes and with English concerns in mind. ... This of course does not mean that all English historians have been unsympathetic in terms of recognising the problems of Ireland and the desire for reform or even the Irish independence. (Byrne & Adelman, 2016, pp. 11-12)

³⁰ I had the pleasure of meeting her in September 2022 during the *International Conference European Famines: Between History and Memory (19th and 20th centuries)*, where we both presented part of our research outcomes.

³¹ Brendan Bradshaw (1937-2017) was a Catholic priest and life fellow at Queen's College, Cambridge (Queen's College Cambridge, 2018).

This stereotypical description of past Irish textbooks stands in contrast with both the conclusions of my research based on more recent Irish textbooks and with how Mac Gearailt evaluates Irish textbooks between 1921 and 1969, which – although framing the English ‘as colonial oppressors, against whom the “Irish” resisted over centuries’ – also included many contrary examples (Mac Gearailt, 2023).

The fact that most people in Britain were not very knowledgeable of the Northern Irish situation and of the Irish question in general is well illustrated in another A-level textbook:

For those born since the late 1960s, with their memories of the never-ending ‘Troubles’ and the ever-present television images of marches, paramilitaries and bombings, it is difficult to realise how little mainland Britain was aware of Northern Ireland before 1968. There was a vague knowledge of Unionism as an element associated with the Conservative Party. There was an awareness of sectarian hatreds, often in connection with the football loyalties of Liverpool and more especially Glasgow. Some older people had memories, often bitter ones, of the Irish Republic having remained neutral, in some eyes at least, ‘pro-Hitler’ during the Second World War. There were parts of the country with significant Irish communities and with strong links to Ireland either North or South. For most part, there was little knowledge or interest. (Rowe, 2004, p. 139)

As we will see in the following *Chapter 4* of this thesis, coverage of Irish history in British history textbooks has been limited. It might sound surprising that this topic did not surface during the coverage of the *Black Lives Matter* movement in 2020, when also in the United Kingdom such initiative found a widespread echo, also in terms of the need to re-examine History textbooks, sometimes even suggesting they need to be completely re-written and celebrated a *Black History Month* in October 2020. Murray cites Labour MP Dawn Butler speaking in Westminster prompting that ‘History needs to be decolonised. (...) You could go through history and not understand the richness of Africa and the Caribbean, you can go through history and not understand all the leaders in the black community’ (Murray, 2020).

Considering that Ireland was the first foreign country that England controlled, being the King of England ‘Lord of Ireland’ since the 12th century, and that law as early as 1366 prohibited Anglo-Norman settlers to speak or dress like the Irish or inter-marry (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2007, p. 50), and many other events that followed, would

it not be reasonable if de-colonisation of Anglo-Irish history was also a mainstream topic in the United Kingdom? As Dhabhéid and McBride write ‘Ireland has frequently been called “England’s first colony”, and Irish people and Irish society were highly racialised by the English, and later British, state’ (Dháibhéid, et al., 2021, p. 304). In addition, Hassett refers to Ireland ‘as a laboratory for empire ... and as a beacon of anti-colonial revolution to the rest of the world’ (p. 325). The same paper treats Ireland’s colonial past as a combination of colonised and coloniser (not by an Irish state, but by Irishmen who served the Empire). Ohlmeyer in her contribution also explains that ‘the use of the word ‘colony’ became politicised’ after the outbreak of the ‘Troubles’ and that maybe because of this legacy ‘historians of Ireland have had ... difficulty in engaging with empire’, and the use of the concept of colony in relation to Ireland is still debated (Dháibhéid, et al., 2021, pp. 318-319). Among textbooks, the status of Ireland against England and Great Britain is also subject of debate. The authors of *Britain since 1945* refuse to call it a colony (based on the fact that it started to belong to England in the Middle Ages), however, they provide a description which probably would make most people agree that it amounted to effectively being a colony:

To say that Ireland was a British colony (as many Irishmen do) is to read modern imperial relationships into the baronial politics of the Middle Ages. Still, Irish government, from its inception, had been dominated by the English and Anglo-Irish, with Dublin subordinated to London. By contrast with Scotland (entering the Union partly on its own terms) and Wales (acquiescing in semi-integration) Ireland was a country apart and ruled by aliens, but never fully conquered and integrated. The colonial nature of its history was complicated and intensified by the ‘plantation’ of Ulster mainly by Scottish Presbyterians in the seventeenth century; and embittered by brutal and bloody military episodes (notably the ‘massacres’ of 1641 avenged by Cromwell in the 1650s; and the Battle of the Boyne 1690, which marks the beginning of the Protestant ascendancy) and economic exploitation (...) (Madgwick, Steeds, & Williams, 1982, p. 327)

The difference between the situation of Scotland and Ireland is also emphasized by James Kennedy when he explains how the UK was non-interventionist in Scotland – as there were civil society partners – but it was interventionist in Ireland, as there was no civil society shared across the religions: ‘the result was, in effect a quasi-colonial form of administration’ (Kennedy J. , 2019, pp. 326-327).

Rory Rapple in his recent seminar paper analyses the historic use of the word ‘plantation’, highlighting that traditionally it belonged to the military jargon of

establishing a bridgehead and he traces back to a letter of Ralph Lane – who returned earlier from North America – in March 1602 the first use of the word ‘plantation’ in its current meaning, when calling for the ‘plantation... for a colony of English’ in the area of Lough Foyle (Rapple, 2024). It is remarkable that plantation and colony are mentioned together in this sentence, leaving little doubt about what it actually was.

As another newspaper article (Siddique, 2020) highlights, leading UK academics have been demanding to suspend the use of the official booklet *‘Life in the United Kingdom’*, which is the only base for UK citizenship tests, as ‘this is another manifestation and a version of our history that whitewashes the difficult parts and if this is the history we’re telling to new fellow citizens then I somewhat despair.’ It adds that:

The official handbook published by the Home Office is fundamentally misleading and in places demonstrably false ... People in the colonies and people of colour in the UK are nowhere actors in this official history. The handbook promotes the misleading view that the empire came to an end simply because the British decided it was the right thing to do. Similarly, the abolition of slavery is treated as a British achievement, in which enslaved people themselves played no part. The book is equally silent about colonial protests, uprisings and independence movements. (Siddique, 2020)

Without questioning at all the correctness of this letter (as another writer explains ‘the wealth of this nation was built on slavery, colonialism and brutality. The failure of the government to educate its children about this means that all children have been taught a distorted narrative of Britain which is far from honest’ (Kebede, 2020)), it is important to add that the colonial protests, uprisings and independence movements were not only the monopoly of people in the colonies and of people of colour and that discrimination was also widespread against white people if they had the wrong (Catholic) religion or if they identified themselves as Irish (Ireland was not officially a colony during the entire 19th century but part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and Northern Ireland remained part of the UK also since Partition). The mechanisms of exploitation and ignorance that Mills explains in his *The Racial Contract* (Mills, 1997) did not only apply against ‘non-whites’ (in the direct sense of the word) but also to other people who were not part of the dominant ethnicity/cultural background, even if their colour of skin was white³². Similarly, in Ireland the economic impact of British rule was damaging for

³² Kenny also clarifies that the Irish were initially considered ‘non-white’ in the United States (Dháibhéid, et al., 2021, p. 320).

a long period, about one-fifth of Ireland's earnings had been transferred out of the country, due to absentee landlords (Kidson, 2016, p. 83).

The following text can easily illustrate how misleading the mentioned Home Office booklet about the history of Ireland is:

There were people in both parts of Ireland who disagreed with the split between the North and the South. They still wanted Ireland to be an independent country. Years of disagreement led to a terror campaign in Northern Ireland and elsewhere. The conflict between those wishing for full Irish independence and those wishing to remain loyal to the British government is often referred to as 'the Troubles'. (Home Office, UK, 2019, p. 55)

The last sentence clearly positions the conflict as something that has been created between those who want independence and those who want to remain loyal. Both parts of this positioning can be heavily debated as we will see in some examples below.

On the one hand, the 'Nationalist' side at the beginning of the Troubles was not represented by those who wanted independence, but by those who fought pacifically for civil rights in Northern Ireland. The Troubles started in 1968-69 when a number of marches organised by NICRA (Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association) had been attacked by Unionists. It is hard to find recent textbooks from Northern Ireland that do not recognise the pacific aims of NICRA and that they were not against partition, an example:

They did not want to end partition or to bring down the state of Northern Ireland. Instead they wanted to work to reform the government and abolish discrimination. Many Protestants who had been formerly unaware of discrimination supported the movement. (Dean, Kelly, & Taggart, 2009, p. 86)

There is no mention in the text provided by Home Office of the fact that there was a sectarian political system in Northern Ireland which openly discriminated against Catholics and which existed well into the second part of the 20th century until the civil rights movement achieved some of its objectives.

On the other hand, it is also highly debateable whether the other side of the conflict was represented by those 'wishing to remain loyal to the British government' – being loyal to a government also implies that such government agrees to the fact of loyalty. The following quote from a Northern Irish textbook refers to the reaction of the British Prime

Minister when a Unionist strike in Northern Ireland was bringing down the first power-sharing government in 1974.

Source A. [The strike is] a deliberate and calculated attempt to use every undemocratic and unparliamentary means for the purpose of bringing down the whole constitution of Northern Ireland so as to set up a sectarian and undemocratic state, from which one-third of the people would be excluded. The people on this side of the water ... have seen their sons vilified and spat upon and murdered. They have seen the taxes they have poured out ... going into Northern Ireland. They see property destroyed by evil violence and are asked to pick up the bill for rebuilding it. Yet the people who benefit from this now viciously defy Westminster, purporting [claiming] to act as though they were an elected government, spend[ing] their lives sponging on Westminster and British democracy and then systematically [methodically] assault[ing] democratic methods. Who do these people think they are? Harold Wilson in a speech broadcast on television on 25 May 1974. (Madden & McBride, 2004, p. 140)

The reference to the conflict as if it was ‘between those wishing for full Irish independence and those wishing to remain loyal to the British government’ could easily lead to the identification of the reader with one side (the ‘loyal’ side) against the ‘others’, without knowing what has really happened.

Even if school education of Anglo-Irish history is not a hot topic of British historic debate, the teaching of history in Northern Ireland has been subject of many academic papers. In my opinion one of the most relevant ones is M. E. Smith’s *Reckoning with the Past. Teaching History in Northern Ireland* (Smith M. E., 2005). She describes how identity conflicts within a specific country lead to ‘arguments about which group inhabited the land first and numbers massacred by the other group in previous wars become not only tools of mobilization but solidified elements in the people’s sense of social identity’ (Smith M. E., 2005, pp. 6-7). She also refers to the elements required for reaching a solution in identity conflicts: ‘partisan empowerment’: meaning that the subordinate group creates its own history narrative; ‘cosmopolitanism’: implying that focusing on joint values and non-political interests can provide an alternative identity instead of nationalism and it minimises the importance of ethnic identity and its teaching; and ‘neopluralism’: recognising the importance of different interpretations (‘parity of esteem’) and by this recognition canalise the energies of the different groups into a joint project (pp. 9-11). This is especially difficult given the existing ‘zero-sum mind-set’ by

which ‘each community considers the other to be an illegitimate actor in the story’ (p. 185) and due to the fact that ‘past grievances do not disappear, because they become core elements of the identity of the respective groups’ (p. 59). As the result, ‘interactive pluralism’ – a form of mutual acknowledgement and ‘genuine interest in the outlooks of the other’ – should be achieved in which one is ready to listen to and respect the other side’s narrative and recognise a level of accountability of its own side for the situation (pp. 11, 74-75). She continues that ‘at the very minimum, revising history teaching can be viewed as a trust-building measure because it responds to the deep **belief** in a divided society that the other group is teaching negative history about one’s own group’ (pp. 11-12). As specific benefits, this should contribute ‘on the unionist side, ... to helping young people understand processes of domination that their community created and legitimized based on its own sense of victimhood’. Similarly, ‘on the republican side, the process could be a means of understanding that violence reinforced unionist ideas of victimhood and this entrenched unionists in their position’ (p. 194).

However, the focus of M. E. Smith’s work is very different from the objective of this thesis. She concentrates on the relevance of history teaching, the structure of the education system, the different attempts to modernise it, and the classroom experience (e.g. teaching the Famine on p. 152), but particular textbooks are not analysed (with the exception of a few lines about one particular 1995 textbook on p. 146, mentioning that it is too short on ‘Bloody Sunday’). She even affirms that ‘textbooks ... had limited usefulness for study of the mind-set propagated by schools in Northern Ireland before the Troubles broke out’ (p. 92).

Barton and McCully’s 2005 paper includes the results of interviews with 253 secondary school students of Northern Ireland on their ideas about history education and they have found that ‘students neither reject school history outright nor use it to replace prior, community-based historical narratives. Rather, they draw selectively from school curriculum (and other sources) to support a range of developing historical identities’ (Barton & McCully, 2005, p. 86). Nevertheless, this research did not address the question of the historic knowledge students acquire, but which are the historic images they identify with. An interesting difference in the identities is that students from Protestant state schools (‘controlled’ schools) chose images representing the period between the Plantation and World War II much more frequently than those in Catholic (‘maintained’) or mixed (integrated’) schools (p. 105), allowing an interesting interpretation: ‘perhaps

contemporary Protestant insecurity dictates that past triumphs be used to shore up crumbling certainties, whereas Catholic confidence allows previous failures to be conveniently forgotten' (p. 109). The authors also describe how Catholics identify themselves in general much less with 'topics found in the curriculum' and look for extra-curricular topics (e.g. Bobby Sands). Thus, 'the curriculum ... may both fail to legitimize the interest of Catholic students and fail to challenge their positions of contemporary historical events' (p. 110). The authors suggest that the history of the 'Troubles' should be incorporated into the curriculum of Key Stage 3, as at the time it was an elective topic and only at GCSE level.

In Northern Ireland, the existence of 2 different sets of textbooks for each community has been a long-standing practice, due to the segregated nature of the school system and the lack of a joint curriculum until 1990 and it took until 1995 that the 'first satisfactory textbook' focusing on the history of Northern Ireland – which could be employed by both communities – has been published (Smith M. E., 2005, pp. 135, 141)³³. M. E. Smith also describes how Catholic schools went earlier to Dublin for their textbooks and Protestant schools to London (p. 126). She also explains that the idea of the 40s and 50s to teach predominantly the history of Ulster instead of the whole of the island was considered by Catholics an attempt to erase their nationalist ideology and Unionists considered teaching the history of the whole of Ireland 'subversive' (p. 127). Might not be a surprise that in some Catholic schools the teacher asked students to 'tear out pages of fiction' for being 'English propaganda' (pp. 117-118).

However, it might be even more interesting to hear how both Protestants and Catholics tried to avoid Irish history at least in the exams, for different reasons:

One Protestant interviewed for this study said that his history teacher has advised him and his classmates to avoid the Irish history questions on the public exams, because 'the others' always answer them better. A Catholic interviewed said she and her classmates were advised by their teachers not to answer Irish history questions on the public exams because it would mark them as Catholics, making them vulnerable to discrimination. (p. 126).

M.E. Smith also describes that from 1995, with the new GCSE structure, schools could choose between the history of Northern Ireland during World War II or 1965-85

³³ This textbook was *Northern Ireland and its Neighbours since 1920* (Gillespie & Jones, 1995), also evaluated in this thesis.

and that the Troubles resonated more with Catholic schools as a story of the liberation struggle of their community, while Protestants preferred WW2 as it depicted their loyalty to Britain (pp. 147-149).

Barton and McCully narrate how the 1990 joint Key Stage 3 curriculum included a detailed list of historic contents for both sides in Northern Ireland, but that this curriculum was under revision, which could lead to changing the focus to learning outcomes (Barton & McCully, 2005, p. 87) (this finally happened in 2007, mentioned also below, and the resulting specifications are described in Section 3.2). Gallagher also refers to these changes from the perspective of how much of the contents could be defined by the teachers: ‘... initially the curriculum was largely left in the hands of teachers; in 1989 a statutory, and much more prescriptive, curriculum was introduced; and by 2007 this statutory curriculum had been revised to restore a greater degree of flexibility to teachers’ (Gallagher, 2017).

Gallagher also sees the positive impact of the statutory curriculum: it made ‘easier for them [the teachers] to address difficult issues precisely because they were now prescribed’ (Gallagher, 2017).

M. E. Smith, Barton, McCully and Gallagher in the above-mentioned papers analyse the teaching of History in Northern Ireland not from the perspective of the historical ‘correctness’ of the syllabus included, but from an ‘education’ point of view: certainly, one can see that their interest was not to analyse the storylines that students could deduct from the narratives included in the textbooks, but rather focus on how the education system worked. On the other hand, maybe unsurprisingly, from the way they comment on the different historic events sometimes one can deduct certain political sympathies. M. E. Smith distances herself from both points of view, however her explanation of different historic events stands closer to the ‘nationalist’ perspective.

On the other hand, Gallagher seems to support a more ‘Unionist’ narrative: for instance, when referring to the Partition, he mentions 1922/23 when effectively it was already established by the Government of Ireland Act in December 1920 and the Belfast Parliament already sat for the first time in June 1921. He also writes that both Dublin and Belfast were ‘given the right to stay in or leave the United Kingdom – the Dublin parliament opted to leave, but the Belfast parliament opted to stay’ (Gallagher, 2017). In reality, the entire island of Ireland became a dominion by the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 (December, 6) – the Dublin parliament did not have to vote on the option to leave, but

rather to ratify the Anglo-Irish Treaty which ended the Anglo-Irish War –, and at the same time the Treaty established the right of the Parliament of Northern Ireland to opt out – which it effectively did the day after the Treaty came into force (7 December 1922) (Wikipedia re. Northern Ireland, 2022). Gallagher’s narrative of the Troubles in the same paper starts with the ‘alleged’ (e.g. not necessarily true) discrimination. In another paper, he also refers to the events as ‘the Civil Rights Campaign in Northern Ireland had focused on claims that the Catholic minority suffered discrimination in relation to employment, housing and political rights’ which once again implies a certain distancing from these ‘claims’. However, he also explains later many actions taken by the British Government to address the inequalities in employment and finishes this paper with recognising that ‘systemic discrimination in the labour market is a thing of the past, and Catholics are no longer on the fringes of social political and cultural life in Northern Ireland’, a text which confirms that such discrimination existed earlier (Gallagher, 2018). The narrative of the following events of the Troubles in both papers also align with the Unionist perspective that the loyalists only ‘reacted’:

By the late 1960s rioting broke out following Civil Rights marches and associated counter-demonstrations, with particularly serious riots in Belfast and Derry which prompted the British government to send in the British Army to attempt to restore order. Once British troops appeared on the ground, IRA paramilitaries started to attack them, and not long after, various Protestant paramilitary organizations began to appear and started to engage in violence. (Gallagher, 2017)

Northern Ireland fell apart as protest marches for Civil Rights collapsed into riots and disorder, and the British Army was sent in by the London government to stabilize an increasingly unstable political situation. The British Army in turn provided a target for resurgence Republican paramilitary groups, which in turn provoked the organization of Loyalist paramilitary groups. (Gallagher, 2018)

As we will see in *Chapter 5*, there are many nuances missing from these narratives, which would imply a more active agency of the Northern Irish government and Unionist organisations in the outbreak of the violence. Of course, the above narratives do not mean that the author has a unionist-biased perspective of the events – it might also be that he is auto-correcting himself to align with an established or expected narrative or that he does not want to appear to support the nationalist side. What appears clear is that the underlying situation was still highly divisive 20 years after the Good Friday Agreement, when these papers have been published.

Briefly touching on the topic of historic correctness, Gallagher also describes the history taught in the Irish Free State until 1971 as ‘based on the promotion of national pride and patriotism’ and at the same time emphasises that in the North children were rather ‘uninstructed’ in History, based on the conviction that no history teaching is impartial and therefore it is better not to teach any history at all as it would contain partisan points of view (Gallagher, 2017).

As Abrams explains in his newspaper article – citing Michael Davies, founder of *Parallel Histories* – schools can still choose which part of the 20th century they want to teach: Catholic schools usually cover the second part of the 20th century, which includes the history of sectarian discrimination in Northern Ireland and the Troubles, while Protestant schools (especially non-selective schools) often focus on the first half of the century, where these facts and events do not form part of the syllabus. The critique is not just for Protestant schools wanting to avoid this part of the history, also for Catholic schools not representing the Protestant perspective³⁴:

Actually there are some Catholics who have no idea what the Protestant story is. There’s a really positive Protestant story to tell: you could say it’s about freedom of thought, freedom of religion. They could point out that some of the earliest advocates of Irish independence were Protestant. (Abrams, 2020)

Of course, the centenary of the Anglo-Irish War, Partition and Independence also has been in the forefront in Ireland. As Michael D. Higgins, president of Ireland writes:

In my work on commemoration, memory, forgetting and forgiving I have sought to establish a discourse characterised by what the Irish philosopher Richard Kearney calls “a hospitality of narratives”, acknowledging that different, informed perspectives on the same events can and do exist. The acceptance of this fact can release us from the pressure of finding, or subscribing to, a singular unifying narrative of the past. (Higgins, 2021)

While this is of course true, one cannot avoid to highlight that certain events need to be taught to everyone, clearly explaining what was morally wrong with them. No serious experts or public figures in the world would accept a different narrative on the

³⁴ Chapter 5 treats this point in more detail. Also in my own experience - reading through textbooks from Ireland - I was a bit surprised that it is not common for them to highlight that the 1780s-1790s movement (Declaration of independence in ‘Grattan’s Parliament’, Society of United Irishman) to achieve a similar status in Ireland as in the United States of America was led by Protestants, and that a significant – mostly Ulster-based Protestant – paramilitary force (strangely also named Irish Volunteers as its 20th century Catholic name-sake) already existed this time to support the independence movement (although many of its former members were among the founders of the ‘Orange Order’ in 1795).

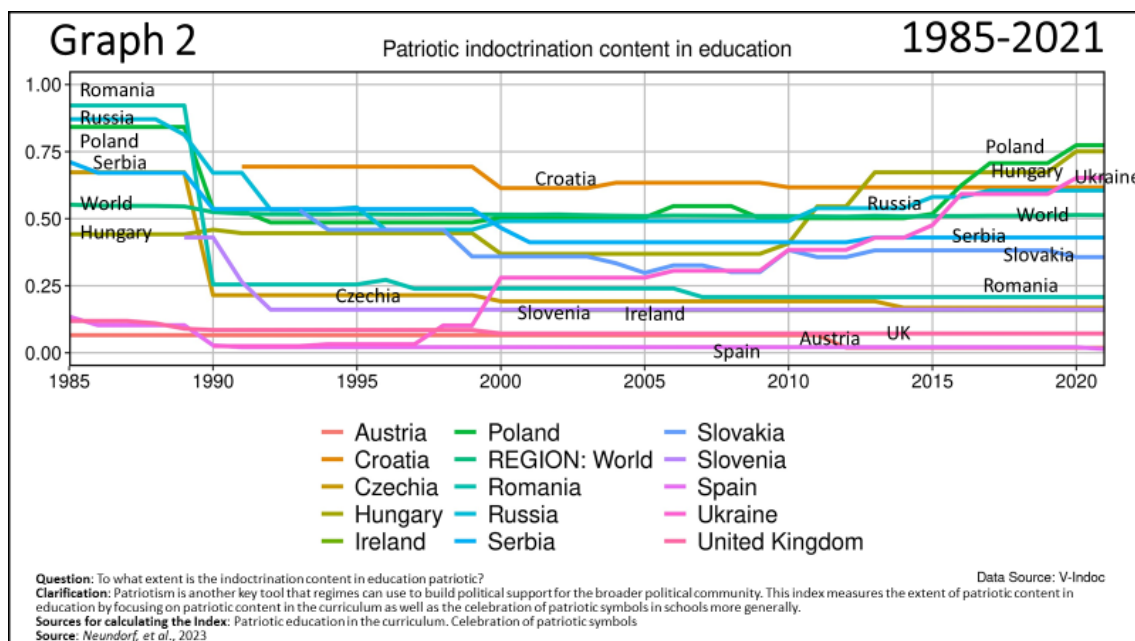
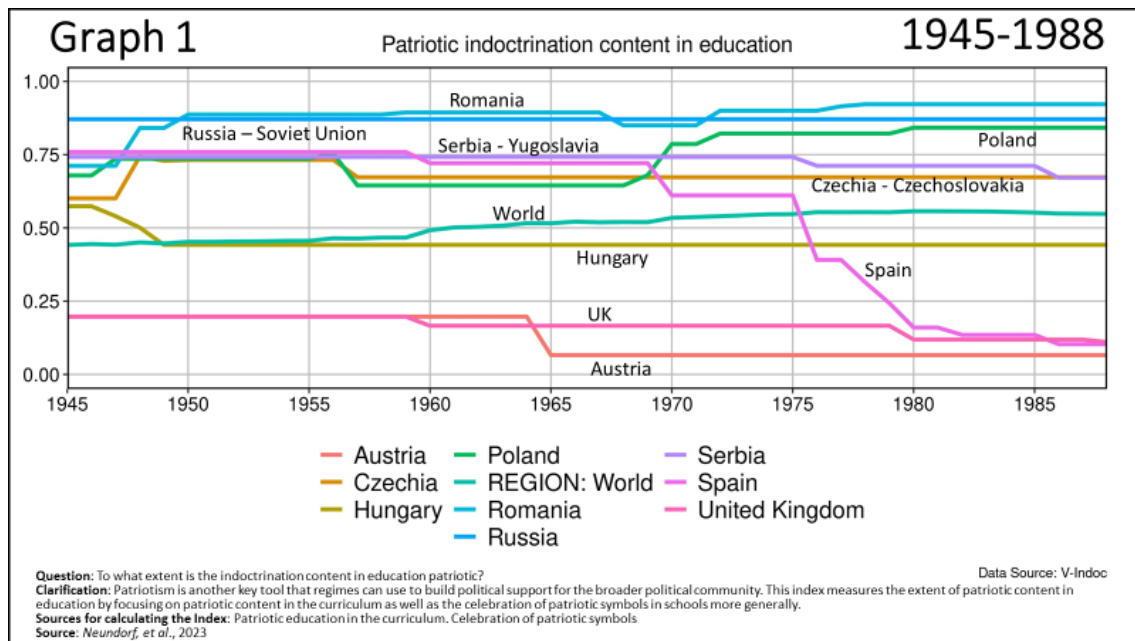
Holocaust or the Apartheid, why should the widespread discrimination based on religious differences be an exception? As also Higgins highlights, there was much wrong in colonisation, also in Ireland: ‘those on the receiving end of imperialist adventurism were denied cultural agency, assumed to be incapable of it, and responsible for violence towards the “modernising” forces directed at them’ (Higgins, 2021).

The emphasis of the analysis in this thesis will be on the word ‘informed’ in the above sentence ‘different, informed perspectives on the same events can and do exist’. ‘Informed’ in this case could and should mean that textbooks incorporate a well-balanced selection of relevant facts. It is difficult to consider a narrative appropriate when it omits many relevant facts that support the opposite perspective.

The subject matter of my comparative case study, the history narrative of the Kingdom of Hungary in Hungarian textbooks and of those in the neighbouring countries, attracted much more scholarly attention. There are significantly more academic papers dealing with teaching contested history in this region than regarding British rule in Ireland. This should not surprise us: as the *V-Indoc* dataset highlights (see *Section 2.1*), socialist countries usually had an above-average degree of patriotic indoctrination content in education (Neundorf, et al., 2023).

Graph 1 – directly obtained from the website of the *V-Indoc* dataset and thus using a slightly confusing denomination of the countries in scope³⁵ – shows that Romania and the Soviet Union had a very high degree of patriotic content in its education system pre-1989, even exceeding the level shown in right-wing dictatorial regimes, like that of Franco’s Spain. Based on this dataset, Yugoslavia, Poland and Czechoslovakia were placed at the same level as the Franco regime, while Hungary was somewhat below the world average around half of the scale between 0 (low indoctrination) and 1 (high). As previously mentioned, the methodology of data collection, based on experts, could be considered subject to some critique, given that the experts interviewed about dictatorial regimes likely will be more dissidents than supporters of these regimes and the survey is based on the language instead of the History curriculum.

³⁵ The denomination corresponds to current country names. In case of countries which disintegrated after 1989 this could be confusing. Russia stands for the Soviet Union in this socialist period, Czechia for Czechoslovakia and Serbia for Yugoslavia.



After 1989, a significant improvement can be observed in the *V-Indoc* dataset in Romania, Serbia, Slovenia, Czechia and Slovakia (*Graph 2*). Croatia seems to have remained on a relatively high level of patriotic indoctrination since its independence. On the other hand, after a period of improvement, from around 2010, Poland, Hungary and Ukraine started to increase the level of patriotic indoctrination. Hungary is the only ex-communist country where the current situation seems to be significantly worse than it was before 1989. In this case the methodology of data collection could generate some noise, given that experts willing to collaborate with a ‘liberal’ multinational project would most likely come from a political background critical with the ‘illiberal’ policies of the

leaders of these countries... or, on the contrary, in other cases, they could be supporting the political direction its government has taken? Nevertheless, the sense of the upward and downward movements on the graph in most cases is hardly questionable. The analysis of textbooks contained in this thesis shall provide some additional insights about the situation both pre- and post-1989 and potentially providing some proof points about some of the data points.

Among the academic papers dealing with the history teaching in this region, the most numerous studies can be found about Romania – maybe not a surprise considering the *V-Indoc* rating pre-1989. Without an aim to provide a holistic picture, I will summarise the conclusions of four researchers of this field: Corduneanu about the 70s and 80s, Paraianu about the discussions taking place during the textbook scandal of 1999, Colăcel about the post-2001 textbooks and finally a more overarching analysis from Sergiu. There are many more authors dealing with the topic (for instance: (Szakács, 2007)³⁶), however – given the critical stance –, I believe it is relevant in this case to quote scholars with clear Romanian heritage³⁷.

Corduneanu describes the ‘heritage’, ‘historical myths’ and ‘invented traditions’ of the Romanian historical master narrative of the 70s and 80s (Corduneanu, 2003). Based on Lowenthal she describes how heritage imposes ‘present images and aims on past events and actors’, stresses ‘what is praiseworthy’, and consigns ‘to oblivion what is not’. Moreover, she adds that ‘the main claims of heritage are “being ancient” and “being the first”, making extensive use of the topics of antiquity and continuity’.

‘Invented tradition’, she writes, ‘attempts to create “examples” of national history that could fit present political needs’ and ‘gives an impression of continuity between past and present’. In continuation, she describes how the invented tradition of Daco-Roman continuity ‘became a pillar of Romanian proofs of Romanians’ territorial rights on Transylvania’. In terms of the invented tradition of unity, she writes that it was ‘an attribute of the development of the medieval voivodship, with a special reiteration on the

³⁶ Szakács among others very interestingly analyses the different ways the authors can aim to be impartial representing two different points of view yet still present the events with certain bias: by dedicating 90% of the source materials during two pages to one of the points of view while neglecting the other point of view or, as a different example, the use of affective adjectives related to the in-group of heroes against presenting the out-group as ‘greedy and envious foes’ (Szakács, 2007, pp. 29, 36-38).

³⁷ Musteață’s comparative analysis of history textbooks from the Republic of Moldavia, Romania and Ukraine rather focuses on changes in the structure of the curriculum and whether textbooks deal with each other’s history, therefore not so much with the narrative contained in the textbooks, however a few interesting findings have been referenced in the following pages (Musteață, 2017).

continuous ties among Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania’ and as ‘a major argument for the Romanian character of Transylvania, perceived as “Distinct from Hungary and, we add, integrated in the Romanian land and society” ’. The third invented tradition is that of independence, when ‘the emphasis was put on defensive fights, creating a glorious image of the Romanian people’. The last-mentioned invented tradition is primacy: ‘... “we were here first”. “Here” is an idealized space which corresponds more or less with the actual Romanian territory’. The idea of primacy is then ‘used for excluding other communities, people, nations’ and ‘it played a major role in the historiographical dispute over Transylvania’s ancient history’³⁸. Corduneanu then analysis how ‘historical myths which were then used... with a value of truth’ survived the Ceausescu era due their domination of the history education, converting into the textbook scandal of 1999:

The historical ‘truth’ and several historical myths were so well inculcated by education and propaganda, that nowadays an attempt to demystify the past – or at least to introduce a more critical, or relativist vision on the historical past – resulted in a huge public scandal, the so-called ‘scandal of the alternative textbooks’. The mere contradiction of the myths provoked the exclusion of the ‘offenders’... (Corduneanu, 2003).

In continuation she describes the myths of territory - with a special focus on the contested character of Transylvania, where a supposed ‘geographical unity’ of Romanians was created in the middle ages -; the myths of redemption and suffering – emphasizing the Ottoman domination -; the myths of military valour and resistance – showing ‘glorious resistance’ and converting ‘peasant revolts... into moments of struggle for justice... manifesting the conscience of unity of the whole people or ... voicing national concerns’ -; the myths of antiquity and ethnogenesis – ‘that the Romanians were the firstcomers in Transylvania’ -; the myths of unjust treatment and of redemption – once again a focus on Transylvania at hands of Hungarians -; and finally the myths of election and civilizing mission. Corduneanu analyses the process of ‘heritage fabrication’, based on the claim of representing the sole and scientific truth, implying teleology (e.g. ‘the unity from 1600 is bestowed with a “national character” and is seen as fulfilling the

³⁸ Musteață in his analysis of textbooks from the Republic of Moldavia, Romania and Ukraine also comes to the conclusion that ‘what we note in relation to all textbooks we have studied for this analysis, across all three countries, is that each country finds itself engaged in an attempt to present ancient territories as a motherland and to demonstrate the continuity of its own nation from antiquity to present’ (Musteață, 2017, p. 65) and also notes that textbooks frequently ‘show only the current actual borders of Romania and nothing about its neighbours’ (Musteață, 2017, p. 68), however this feels more a complaint about the omission of the current borders of the neighbouring countries than about the usage of current instead of historical borders.

popular consciousness') and becoming 'necessarily a tool of patriotism': 'in other words, the history taught in school must be patriotic...'. She also describes how 'heritage expelled the minorities from history ... silencing ... alternative views'. Distinguishing history from heritage, she refers to Lowenthal: 'for historians the past is a foreign country, while for heritage it is a familiar realm.'

The introduction to Paraianu's paper positions where the problem originated from: 'with the EU accession process, pressure was placed on Romania and other post-communist countries to phase out an ethnic-nationalist teaching of history in favour of one that emphasized cultural diversity' (Paraianu, 2005). The problem statement becomes even clearer in continuation, explaining how Romanian historiography was based on the dogmas of 'ancientness, continuity, independence, and unity', how the first attempt to significantly change the textbooks in 1999, reducing its nationalist content, led to a political scandal which impacted the election results of 2000³⁹ ⁴⁰. Paraianu advocates for a history narrative which showcases different perspectives and criticises the assumed connection between the teaching of a balanced history and the danger to the nation-state:

I refer to a vision of a unique history designed exclusively for the patriotic education of children. In this history, there are no alternatives and no contradictions. Moreover, if an argument contradicts the basic narrative, the argument is held to be an instrument of the country's enemies, who are waiting in the wings to dismember the nation-state. (...)

³⁹ It is worthwhile to reproduce some of the detailed text in continuation:

From the 1970s, references to Marx and Engels were progressively expelled from the public discourse and replaced with extensive quotations from Ceausescu's work, which was based on a teleological history of the Romanian nation-state from early history to the present day. The doctrine of the ancientness, continuity, independence, and unity became the official dogma, and was disseminated throughout the Romanian communist nation-state...

History textbooks generally inflame political passions because they are the main instrument for developing the political orientation of successive generations. When nationalist rhetoric was relentlessly used for political legitimization, when the entire public discourse was flooded with historical references, and when historians were regarded as the ultimate defenders of national consciousness, history had a privileged position in the mind of the general population. It is true that before 1989, history was falsified, manipulated, and misused...

Only in 1998, with the help of the World Bank, did the reform of the textbooks begin...

... an independent member of parliament vehemently criticized the new textbooks, particularly one in which the authors had "dared" include only few words about Michael the Brave...

It is worth mentioning the opinion of Adrian Nastase, a vice president of the Romanian Social Democratic Party, who maintained that the textbook contained "anti-Romanian aggression" originating in Magyar revisionist historiography, whose only goal was "the autonomy of Transylvania and the dismemberment of the Romanian state"...

The political scandal... had serious repercussions for the elections in 2000...

...the history textbook reform was done before the reform of history as an academic discipline; this is why the reaction was so virulent and unilateral... (Paraianu, 2005)

⁴⁰ Sergiu also refers to the question impacting the government's popularity: '[the government] appeared to back an anti-national version of history, which meant a huge blow to their popularity' (Sergiu, 2014).

National history, then, is an integral and unified explanation that becomes an ideology, suspending the critical sense of the schoolchildren. (Paraianu, 2005)

Paraianu also reviews the reactions of different historians to the proposed textbook, among them for instance highlighting the indignation caused by the textbook questioning the existence of late 9th – early 10th century Romanian states, supported only by the sole source of the Anonymus chronicle⁴¹ (and which has become one of the dogmas of Romanian textbooks)⁴².

Colăcel highlights the importance of history textbooks in Romania ‘History textbooks have always played a major role in how Romanians view the study of their past’ (Colăcel, 2017, p. 64), which then can help to keep nationalism at bay: ‘the aim is to have secondary schools that produce students endowed with the capacity to hold less extreme beliefs about themselves and others’ (p. 81). This author also stresses the challenge of reducing the nationalist character of older textbooks:

...the European perspective on the past becomes dependent on denying some of the tenets of classic historiography, which have already seeped into the popular culture of Romania (e.g., the competition for resources with historical neighbours, the highly distinctive Romanian identity, etc.). (p. 66)

Thus textbooks are expected to counter the ethnic culture promoted by the former regime. It follows that schoolbook authors are invited to join the bandwagon with the identity narrative promoted by Brussels. (p. 69)

Colăcel judges that these aims ‘succeeded at least to some extent’ (p. 68) since 2001 and that the narrative of the ‘other’, the neighbouring nations, can be considered the main proofpoint for the evaluation: ‘more than ever before, the literary image of the neighbour in history textbooks may be regarded as the litmus test of the progress that Romania is making on the European path’ (p. 71). In this respect, he concludes that the enemy image is still present in post-2001 Romanian textbooks regarding Hungary and Russia:

⁴¹ ‘...the lesson about medieval Romanian states, which are considered questionable, because there is only one source, a late chronicle that might be incorrect...’ (Paraianu, 2005). Nalin in a different paper describes the controversy and the specific complaints about the alternative textbooks in a similar way (Nalin, 2002).

⁴² On the other hand, when describing the reaction to the textbook scandal, and how the authors were forced to adjust part of the contents to the popular requests, Musteață judges that ‘these circumstances evidence the fact that a part of Romanian society is very much influenced by ideas of a “glorious and heroic national past” and has felt that history textbooks should reflect these ideas, with their exclusion viewed as an affront to national values’ (Musteață, 2017, p. 59) and that ‘some Romanians still believe that teaching an “appropriate” version of Romanian history is necessary for the inculcation into pupils of Romanian national identity’ (Musteață, 2017, p. 60)

I find that, up to the making of the modern nation, the literary image of Hungary is shaped to displace national indifference, when it comes to the claims of Romanian nationalism. Furthermore, it carves out a place for the Russian Empire/the Soviet Union, which takes over from medieval Hungary in modern and recent history. The Hungarian and the Russian neighbour, who have to be kept at bay, drive the story of widespread concern for the nation among ethnic Romanians. Ultimately, the bias in reporting about ethnic minorities, as well as historical neighbours, has everything to do with whether or not they lay claim to the land of the ancestors. (p. 75)

Romanian history is all about the clash between the stranger-neighbour and the indigenous, Romance-speaking population. This pattern gives structure to several episodes in national history. Namely, the Hungarian takeover of the westernmost province of Romania (i.e., Transylvania) or the so-called theft of Bucovina ... display the same level of neighbour stereotyping. (p. 78)

In his summary, Colăcel refers to the persisting nationalism of most recent textbooks: ‘in spite of growing awareness of the current European commitment of the nation, the defining nationalism of the history textbook genre makes the best out of the new circumstances in which Romania has found itself’ (p. 79).

On a more methodological reflection, Colăcel also describes how history teachers simultaneously use several textbooks (both older and newer ones) in order to be able to ‘find a less disjointed historical account of the past, which comes with the territory of multidimensional history favoured by the post-2001 textbooks’ (p. 67) and describes the textbooks’ structure as a ‘rather patchy approach to teaching history’ which ‘leaves uncovered entire swathes of the past’ (p. 70). In other words, not using chronology as the main organisational structure of the textbooks can make teaching more complex.

Sergiu asks the question ‘Why did nationalism remain such a powerful force despite the fall of the Ceausescu regime?’ and answers that one of the reasons is the ‘cultural reproduction’ achieved by ‘the politics of history-teaching in Romanian high-schools’ (Sergiu, 2014). He summarizes his findings by stating that:

My main argument is that although there has been a liberalization of historical research and historiography in the post-socialist setting, a nation-building inner logic, so dear to communist state-makers, is still very much preserved – constructed, de-constructed or re-constructed (which is the gist of all “demystification” efforts) around the core issue of a hard understanding of “nationhood”. While the old historians are preserving it via the classical proxy of anti-Hungarian rhetoric (and the age-old myth of Romania protecting

the “West”), the new wave of “de-mystifying” historians have fallen to the other extreme of considering Romanian history purely as a succession of national myths (with the apparent aim of creating a quasi-void on which a more European identity might be built - obviously, still identity-building!).

Sergiu also reviews the textbook scandal, which led to the labelling of the promoters having ‘Anti-Romanian feelings’ and describes how the textbook of Mitu ⁴³ ‘instead of certainty... proposes understanding the construction of a narrative..., nationhood [being approached] not as fact but construction, with state-hood being another purpose on the agenda rather than an “eternal dream” ’ (Sergiu, 2014). ‘To further complicate the issue’, he writes, ‘Mitu was not outwardly anti-Hungarian: the arrival of the Hungarians in Transylvania is depicted in a moderate stance, with an eye on both narratives, clearly leaning towards caution when looking at 12-13th century sources’. Sergiu also mentions that one of the counter-argument was that ‘if Hungarian text-books state it as *fact* that the Romanian ethno-genetic process took place in the South of the Danube, why should Romanian schools teach teenagers that the North-Danubian continuation narrative is a hypothesis and not *fact*?’⁴⁴ The issue in Sergiu’s opinion is that ‘the Romanian education system, particularly through history-teaching, was mass-producing attachment to a very organic definition of the nation’.

Sergiu also criticises the light changes in part of the Romanian historiography as a mere ‘rebranding’ by introducing the word ‘a’ before ‘history’, for instance: ‘F. Constantiniu’s *A sincere history of Romanians* seems more like old habits in new wrappings than a true methodological innovation’ and he describes how ancient hatreds are being perpetuated by this sort of historiography⁴⁵:

The immediate proxy through which this intellectual strand of thought reaches mainstream audiences is simple and potent: ancient hatreds. By continuous referrals to purported Hungarian revisionism this discourse remains at least latent in Romania – Rachieru is extremely precise when she notes that in Pop’s 1998 work minorities are only

⁴³ For the 11th year also reviewed in this thesis in its Hungarian translation (Mitu, Copoeru, Pecican, & Tarau, 2000).

⁴⁴ As this thesis will also show, many Hungarian textbooks of the time mentioned the two existing theories, although indicating that there are only proof points for the theory placing Romanian ethnogenesis south of the Danube, which is not exactly the same as presenting this theory as a fact. More recent Hungarian textbooks even prefer to omit the question entirely.

⁴⁵ Musteață reflects on the question of whether what it taught is a history of Romania or a history of Romanians, the latter in theory also should include the history of Romanians who do not live inside Romania. After the fall of communism, the usual title of textbooks became ‘History of Romanians’. (Musteață, 2017, p. 52)

used to highlight differences or to explain the superiority of Romanians in Transylvania! (Sergiu, 2014)

What these four authors imply, is that not all of the predominant nationalism of Romanian textbooks disappeared after 1989 or 2001 and that on the other hand, many scholars believe that this effort of modernisation has already been achieved. This puts the *V-Indoc* scores of Romania after 1989 in certain perspective, suggesting that either the involved experts might have evaluated the situation more benevolently than it really has been or that History textbooks went through less changes than the language curriculum (what is specifically measured by *V-Indoc*).

The Croatian narrative of neighbours contained in textbooks has been also featured in some academic papers: Antolković deals with the period of the late 9th-early 12th centuries and describes how Croatian textbooks written after the independence from Yugoslavia focused on this particular period because of the existence of an independent Croatia. Most of the analysed textbooks describe the arrival of the Hungarians as an aggression, while a few other textbooks highlight the scarcity of historical sources in order to be able to form a nuanced picture. Regarding the personal-union of the kingdoms of Croatia and Hungary, Antolković describes how Croatian textbooks ‘reflect a view of Croatian historiography that emphasises the independence of the Croatian state under Hungarian rule, marking three key points in favour of the Croatian position as a separate state: double-crowning ceremonies with the Hungarian and Croatian crown, the existence of a Croatian parliament (Sabor) and the position of a viceroy (ban)’. She differentiates between textbooks written shortly after independence and more recent ones. In case of more recent ones, she highlights the attempts at demystification as one of the textbooks refers to the existence of foreign (Hungarian) rulers not as a tragedy but as nothing strange in the middle ages, as ‘medieval nobility did not have national consciousness in the modern sense’ and, in a similar way, how many textbooks refer to the supposed contemporary contract between the Croatian nobility and the Hungarian king *Pacta conventa* as a document written two centuries later (Antolković, 2017, pp. 14-15).

Filipović analyses the entire period of the middle ages, however, his conclusion is that the two most frequently featured events are the ones mentioned by Antolković and he also comes to very similar results in terms of the narrative. In addition, related to the shared Croatian-Hungarian history, he mentions that Mathias Corvin is depicted as a positive ruler for both Hungary and Croatia (Filipović, 2017, p. 23). Filipović’s work also

examines the Croatian narrative of Bosnia and Serbia and he explains how the late medieval Croatian influence on Bosnia is highlighted in many textbooks and how the Serbian kings are portrayed as weak (for instance not naming one of their most significant kings, Dušan, only others who were weak). Only Croatian acts of kindness against Serbs are explained, not the opposite. Filipović also criticises Serbian textbooks, on the other hand, as they minimize the contents related to Croatia and treat it as a region incorporated into the Kingdom of Hungary⁴⁶. His analysis also shows how Bosnian textbooks try to balance between the claims of exclusivity included in Serbian and the majority of Croatian textbooks.

Regarding the Slovakian narrative, Otcenášová refers to the textbook controversy surrounding Durica's textbook (*A History of Slovakia and the Slovaks*, 1996) which 'had searched for examples to prove a tradition of independent Slovak statehood' (Otcenášová, 2019, p. 575) and that 'the book was criticised mainly for its interpretation of medieval history, which was seen by the majority of Slovak's historians as an attempt to invent a tradition of the nation and its statehood' (p. 572).

As the previous examples from Romania, Croatia and Slovakia show, textbooks have attracted much more attention in the region than in case of Anglo-Irish history. This is why I am convinced that my secondary case study can provide a good background to analysing Anglo-Irish history textbook narratives and also allow a comparison between the types of biases found in these two very different regions.

⁴⁶ It is interesting to note, that even in the best-intentioned scholarly texts a certain level of unconscious bias still might be present: e.g. Filipović explains that Serbian textbooks describe in detail the Battle of Kosovo but fail to mention 'participation of the Croats, led by Ivan Horvat as allies of Prince Lazar of Serbia'. The little bias here is that, reading the related Wikipedia article, it does not seem that international support was significant, and even among them, Croats do not seem to stand out: the relevant Wikipedia article does not even mention them (Wikipedia re. Battle of Kosovo, 2023).

3. BRITISH RULE IN IRELAND: METHODOLOGY, SOURCES AND GUIDING HISTORY NARRATIVE

3.1 Methodology

Key conclusions:

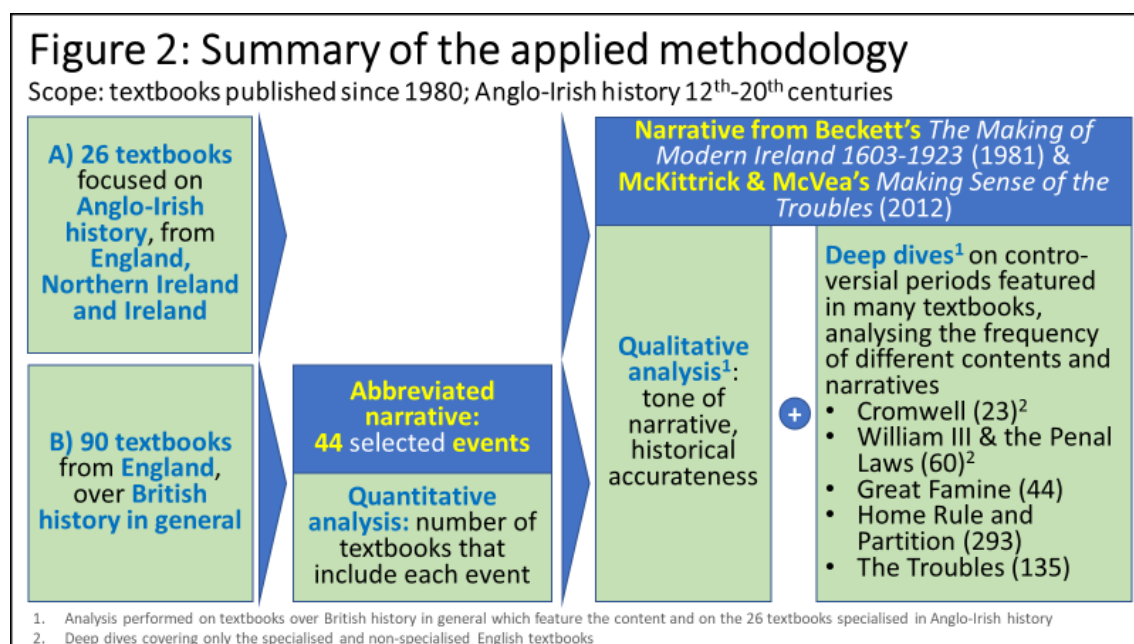
- **Quantitative analysis of 90 English textbooks dealing with British history in general, based on an abbreviated narrative of 44 events, measuring the frequency of inclusion of these events.**
- **Qualitative analysis of the above textbooks plus of 26 textbooks focused on Anglo-Irish history, from England, Ireland and Northern Ireland regarding the tone of narrative and its historical accurateness.**
- **As a subsection of the qualitative analysis – following the same aims, and driven by the complexity of the narrative – specific controversial periods which are frequently included in textbooks have also been evaluated in deep dives: Cromwell, William III & the Penal Laws, the Great Famine, Home Rule and Partition and the Troubles.**
- **We should expect British pupils and students to learn about the events of the shared Anglo-Irish history.**

As in any other example of shared European history, it is highly possible that historians on both sides of the past conflict have already reached near consensus on the most plausible narrative of the events. However, if those conclusions have not been transmitted through easily and widely accessible materials, public opinion can still perceive the other side as the ‘enemy’. The question this thesis deals with therefore is not what the consensus among historians is, but what is being explained to the wider population through history education.

As described in the previous section 2.3 *Textbook research – a brief review of the discipline*, establishing a sizeable sample of textbooks has been a significant challenge

for researchers analysing textbooks. At the same time, as also explained in the same section, comparative textbook analysis – the purpose of this thesis – seems to lack a significant number of followers and researchers frequently analyse textbooks from one single country.

As the aim of this research is to identify potential bias in history textbook narratives across countries with a disputed shared history, I felt that the number of textbooks involved in the analysis had to be significantly higher than what researchers usually manage to evaluate. The fact that the British and Irish textbook markets are open to competition (there is not just one state-controlled or approved publisher) has made a significant contribution to this aim: there are several publishers which supply schools and students with textbooks for the same subject and age group. In addition, in the United Kingdom at GCSE (age group 14 to 16) and A-Level (age group 16 to 18), there are a multitude of topics from which schools and students can choose, plus several exam boards that define what should be studied, which again increases the number of textbooks published and available for research. Figure 2 summarises the applied methodology:



My first step was to read as many textbooks and other secondary sources as possible with the aim to establish a guiding narrative to the shared Anglo-Irish history. The compiling of this narrative initially caused some methodological doubts (e.g. how do I make sure that I represent all relevant points of view in an objective manner), however, as the study of the textbooks progressed, I realised that it is easier than expected. This was because I have not found such dichotomy in the views represented as the ones that

could be found in other examples of countries with a disputed joint past (see *Chapter 6* about teaching the history of the Kingdom of Hungary during the Habsburg Empire). There was not much divergence among history textbooks in the same country and across the analysed countries about the factual description of historic events – if they have been included in the given textbook. The differences were rather related to what historic events are covered in each of them and of course there are different evaluations of the historic events depending on specific points of view.

I have been very lucky to identify two acclaimed books that explain the joint Anglo-Irish history in a way which is very close to my understanding of the succession of events – which, as mentioned, was formed by reading the analysed textbooks and many other secondary sources. These books are Beckett's *The Making of Modern Ireland 1603-1923* (1981) and McKittrick & McVea's *Making Sense of the Troubles* (2012). The first one describes and evaluates the events of Anglo-Irish history from its beginnings in the 12th century (although the most detailed storyline starts in 1603) up to 1923 and in my opinion, it can be considered the most detailed and most balanced narrative among all. Not surprisingly, an earlier edition of this book has been highly praised already in the 1972 edition of the *Handbook for History Teachers* (published by the *University of London Institute of Education*) when suggesting which book would be most suitable for studying Irish history: 'the most outstanding is J. C. Beckett's *The Making of Modern Ireland, 1603-1923* (...) Balanced, authoritative, readable, this is undoubtedly the best general history of the period yet written' (Paul, 1972, p. 352).

The second book, from McKittrick and McVea is focused on the Northern Ireland Troubles. This book has been highly praised by both sides, as different reviews demonstrate it. Rowe in his 2004 A-level British textbook *Britain 1929-98* suggests literature for further reading and he sentences that '...there is an excellent and up to date account of these events in Chapters 2 and 3 of *Making Sense of the Troubles* by David McKittrick and David McVea' (Rowe, 2004, p. 151).

Therefore, when analysing textbooks in detail in the qualitative analysis, including the deep dives (*Chapter 5*), I compare the content and tone of their narratives to the ones contained in the above two books *The Making of Modern Ireland 1603-1923* and *Making Sense of the Troubles*. The fundamental relevance of the master narrative contained in the two books is not that they explain a different version of the events than what is included in other sources (constituting an alternative narrative), but that they include (nearly) all

‘relevant’ factual contents that are required for a storytelling that considers both sides’ points of view. In order to facilitate the understanding of what I consider ‘relevant’ factual contents, I have quoted selected parts of Beckett’s text in *Sections 5.1 to 5.8* and I refer to McKittrick & McVea’s narrative in detail at the beginning of *Section 5.9*.

The qualitative analysis has been performed on two types of textbooks: *A. textbooks dedicated to Anglo-Irish history* and *B. textbooks dealing with British history in general*. I have summarised the contents of Beckett’s and McKittrick & McVea’s books and of other relevant sources into a subjacent detailed chronology. The role this chronology is to provide an ex-post reflection about a reasonable storyline including events which could potentially explain ‘grievances’ on one side or another. As any narrative, this chronology also reflects a personal point of view. This chronology has not been actively used in performing either the quantitative nor qualitative analyses, but served rather as a depository and reference of all relevant contents, and it has been updated in an iterative approach. This chronology is reproduced as *Appendix 1*.

It is important to consider that both Beckett and McKittrick & McVea aim to provide a holistic account of the periods they deal with. As my objective is to explain the different turning points in Anglo-Irish history which then could be used as cornerstones of competing narratives, I have significantly reduced the depth of analysis of the years and decades which were less salient in this sense. For instance, McKittrick & McVea’s main narrative occupies 300 pages after the description of the background (the establishment of Northern Ireland). Of these, 22 pages (7%) analyse Northern Ireland’s consolidation and the different forms of discrimination against Catholics, 103 pages (34%) are dedicated to the decade between O’Neill’s reforms and the fall of the Sunningdale government (1963-1974), 82 pages (27%) to the following 2 decades of hostilities (1974-1993) and the remaining 93 pages (31%) to the peace process from 1993. In contrast, when analysing the textbook narrative of the Troubles, from the 105 different detailed contents I have considered in this thesis, 14 contents (13%) refer to the discrimination against Catholics, 64 (61%) to the years 1963-1974, only 8 contents (8%) to 1974-1993 and 19 (18%) to the final peace process. This is because for my analysis the causes and the genesis of the conflict and how it finally could be overcome is much more relevant than the details of paramilitary activities of both sides. Similarly, relatively ‘eventless’ periods have been considered in less depth during the centuries described by Beckett.

A different, much more condensed, guiding narrative is required to perform the quantitative analysis, as it is used for analysing *B. textbooks dealing with British history in general*. This abbreviated narrative includes 44 ‘events’. The 44 events have been selected and condensed out of the detailed narrative based on their significance to explain the different perspectives of the joint Anglo-Irish history and they focus on factual events rather than on their interpretation. This abbreviated narrative can be found in section 3.4 *Guiding history narrative for the quantitative analysis*.

With the increase of the sample size, it was possible to analyse the textbooks not just qualitatively – as more usual by researchers dedicated to this subject – but also quantitatively. This was specifically possible for *B. textbooks dealing with British history in general*, used in England, given that I have managed to collect and analyse 90 textbooks of this category, therefore obtaining a meaningful sample so that results could be expressed statistically. The types of textbooks considered are explained in section 3.3 *Primary sources*, based on the structure of the secondary school History education, which is explained in section 3.2 *Teaching History in England, Ireland and Northern Ireland – the current status*. The quantitative analysis consists of a frequency analysis of the mentions of the 44 key historic events, based on a rating scale of 4. The rating scale’s possible values are: included in detail, included partially, included very limitedly, and not included. The first 3 values together give the sum for total included. In addition, another possible value of the rating scale was out-of-scope, which has been applied for events which were outside of the temporary scope of the analysed textbook and no mention has been made of the event in the textbook. Each textbook thus obtained one score for each of the 44 events.

The results could then be aggregated either for each of the 44 events or for each of the 90 textbooks included in the analysis. For the aggregation only those scores have been considered which had a value different from out-of-scope (therefore: included in detail, included partially, included very limitedly, and not included). Results could be expressed as a percentage of the total excluding out-of-scope values.

Aggregating the results by events, we could obtain a ranking of ‘popularity’ of different historic events measured by their frequency of inclusion into history textbooks used in England. Both the percentage of total included and the distribution between included in detail, partially or very limitedly provided interesting conclusions, looking

into patterns about which types of events are mentioned more or less frequently and with more or less detail.

In addition, aggregating results by textbook we could measure if the degree of inclusion of key events varied by age group (Key Stage 3, GCSE or A-level), decade of publication within the last 40 years (80s, 90s, 2000s, 2010s), historic period (12th-15th, 16th-17th, 18th-19th or 20th centuries) or publisher. These figures could then be used to evaluate if there has been a change over time in the frequency of inclusion of Anglo-Irish historic events into English textbooks or if certain publishers appear to include these contents more frequently than others. The results of the quantitative analysis can be found in *Chapter 4. Quantitative analysis of textbooks used in England*.

In addition to the quantitative analysis, a qualitative analysis has also been carried out, based on all 116 textbooks studied, from England, Ireland and Northern Ireland. The purpose of the qualitative analysis is to identify potential bias in the narratives of the textbooks, both in terms of the tone and the contents of the narrative. Although it is rare to find factual errors in modern textbooks⁴⁷, and textbooks often represent both competing points of views, there are many ways to influence the reader about who can be considered ‘us’ against the ‘others’. As we will see in detail in the relevant *Chapter 5* of this thesis, and summarised in *Chapter 7 Conclusions*, different types of bias can be identified.

Chapter 5. Qualitative analysis across textbooks used in England, Northern Ireland and Ireland includes the examples of these types of bias, presented in a chronological order of nine different periods:

- 5.1 *From the Norman Conquest to the 15th century*
- 5.2 *Reformation and Plantations*
- 5.3 *Irish Rebellion of 1641 and Cromwellian Conquest*
- 5.4 *Williamite Wars*
- 5.5 *Penal Laws*
- 5.6 *Late 18th century independence movements, Union and Catholic Emancipation*
- 5.7 *Great Famine*

⁴⁷ We will see some of these in the narrative of the second part of the 19th century and the 20th century.

- 5.8 *Home Rule movement and Partition*
- 5.9 *Northern Ireland and The Troubles*

Each of these nine sections include a summary of the different expressions of bias found during the analysed period and in continuation it reviews specific examples of the narrative of the detailed events that happened during that time.

A specific mention needs to be made of the so-called deep dives. These form part of the qualitative analysis in its content, but uses the methods described for the quantitative analysis. The reason for the existence of these deep dives is that some of the historic periods contain such a number of relevant contents – which a relatively unbiased textbook narrative could reproduce – that their evaluation within the usual extension of a thesis requires a more quantitative approach. The requirement for being able to perform the deep dives is that a significant number of textbooks treats the contents. Therefore, the deep dives cover the Cromwellian conquest, William III and the Penal Laws, the Great Famine, Home Rule and Partition and the Troubles. The number of different contents analysed in each of them varies significantly: the deep dive on the Cromwellian conquest measures the frequency of 23 different contents (these could be events or narratives⁴⁸). Regarding William III & the Penal Laws 60 different contents have been considered, 44 for the Great Famine, 293 for Home Rule and Partition and 135 for the Troubles⁴⁹.

The methodology applied during the frequency analysis of the deep dives differs from the same in the quantitative analysis by a significant point: the deep dives include only the textbooks which narrate the relevant contents of the period. Thus, the percentages showing the frequency of mention are not based on all textbooks of the period (as it is the case in the quantitative analysis), but they are calculated comparing the number of mentions with the number of textbooks that actually narrate the specific group of events. With an example: from 90 textbooks dealing with British history in general, 35 aim to cover the period of the Penal Laws. Of these 35, the 49% or 17 textbooks do actually mention this legislation. This is what is shown in the quantitative analysis. On the other hand, we can analyse how many of the 17 textbooks explain the specific types of prohibitions. For instance, 9 of these 17 textbooks mention the prohibition to vote in elections (53%). This second figure is the subject of the deep dives.

⁴⁸ Different possible narratives are included about the same historic events, persons or political movements.

⁴⁹ Including contents relevant to the Irish Free State / Republic of Ireland after 1923.

The two most complex deep dives (Home Rule and Partition analysing 293 different contents and the Troubles with 135 contents) also include a few additional calculated variables that make it easier to synthesize and summarise the results:

- Some of the different contents analysed refers to the tone of the narrative of different events, historical persons or political movements (supportive, critical, neutral). The first set of the calculated variables refers to the net support for specific sides of the conflict, calculating the difference between the number of supporting and critical narratives in a given textbook. A next variable compares the net support of the different opposing sides and from this establishes a differential support for a given side.
- Among the contents analysed in the deep dives, another group of contents support a specific point of view of the conflict. Measuring the difference in the frequency of mention of contents supporting one side vs. the other enables us to calculate a content depth bias.
- A third group of calculated variables refers to the number and percentage of contents mentioned in a given textbook that are either factually questionable or that constitute a relativization of the errors committed by the same side.

These three groups of variables allow me to summarise the conclusions of the analysis of these troubled and contested periods of Anglo-Irish history, without needing to include a detailed explanation of the results for each of the 293 and 135 contents, which would imply an even longer extension for this thesis. A more detailed description of this part of the methodology is included in *Sections 5.8 and 5.9*.

I have presented papers in different seminars, congresses and conferences during my PhD studies about the early results of my research, including Córdoba and Málaga in 2021; Sevilla, Valladolid, Granada, Madrid and Belfast in 2022; Granada, Alicante, Logroño and Madrid in 2023; and Ladenburg (Germany) and Madrid in 2024. Three of these papers have been published as either book chapters or as a journal article and they include part of the description of the methodology, some the analysis results or conclusions of this thesis (Vasy, 2022) (Vasy, 2023) (Vasy, 2024).

3.1.1 Why should British textbooks explain Anglo-Irish history?

A specific reflection is required about the expectation that textbooks teaching British history in general should include at least an abbreviated version of the joint Anglo-Irish history. This is because England (and later Great Britain) effectively controlled a significant part of Ireland since the 12th century, becoming one country in 1801 due to union – forming the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland – and therefore many events of the English and British history cannot be understood without their connection with Ireland (for example, the English Civil War, the ‘Glorious Revolution’ or the 19th century party politics of the United Kingdom, still visible in the official name of the Conservative and Unionist Party). One could argue that the population size of Ireland today is very small in comparison to Great Britain and therefore what happened ‘on the peripheries’ is of no concern to the students of the metropolis. However, the current distribution of the population on the British Isles is a result of the historic events and processes which we aim to analyse and we need to consider that in the middle of the 19th century, before the Great Famine, Ireland accounted for 31% of the United Kingdom’s inhabitants (1841: Ireland’s population was 8.175m, Scotland’s 2.620m and England’s and Wales’ together 15.914m) (Hill & Wright, 1981, p. 89).

Apart from the ‘domestic’ perspective, British textbooks frequently include a section about the colonisation of other continents and then of the process of decolonisation, thus, there should be a reasonable expectation that the history of England’s longest held overseas territory, Ireland, should enjoy a prominent position in British history textbooks.

In addition, a potential interpretation of the meaning of the word ‘British’ at least historically includes ‘Irish’:

- The current status of ‘United Kingdom’ and ‘British’ has been defined in the following way in the already mentioned official handbook:

The official name of the country is the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. ‘Great Britain’ refers only to England, Scotland and Wales, not to Northern Ireland. The words ‘Britain’, ‘British Isles’ or ‘British’, however, are used in this book to refer to everyone in the UK. (Home Office, UK, 2019, p. 13)

As Northern Ireland is on the same island as the Republic of Ireland, if Northern Ireland forms part of the 'British Isles', logically the same should apply to the Republic of Ireland.

- From 1801 until partition, the official name of the country was United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. 'British Isles' clearly referred to the entirety of both Great Britain and Ireland: Victorian maps showing the British Empire usually refer to the United Kingdom as 'British Islands' (Fowke, 2002, p. 18), (Harnett, 1992, p. 24).

- Some textbooks refer to the whole of Ireland forming part of not just the United Kingdom but also of Great Britain, for example: 'in the early years covered by this book, Ireland, Scotland and Wales formed with England what was known – until the time of the Irish separation – as Great Britain' (Martell, 1988, p. 8). A visible popular proof for using the term 'Great Britain' for the entirety of the 'United Kingdom' is the international vehicle registration code seen on cars proceeding from the UK: 'GB'. This abbreviation for the UK has been used since the inception of the system in 1909, when it was used also in Ireland, as it formed part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland (Wikipedia re. International Vehicle Registration Code, 2022).

- Although the definition of 'British' and 'Irish' are extremely complex matters – and it differs today from what it was in the 19th century – 'British' should also include some coverage of 'Irish' especially in history textbooks. Thus, for instance, when someone is reading a textbook titled '*Understanding History: Britain in the wider world, Roman times – Present*' (Riley, Ford, Goudie, Kenneth, & Snelson, 2019), one could expect that there should be some coverage of what happened in Ireland during the shared part of the history. In this textbook's 258 pages the only 2 mentions of Ireland are on page 111: the fact that Charles I was crowned also King of Ireland and that in 1641 a 'Catholic rebellion began in Ireland'. Children reading this book would not know if and why the country is called United Kingdom, and how it came together. Even if it explains the 13th century English conquest of Wales and the wars against the Scottish and later the 1707 Act of Union with Scotland, it misses any mention of the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland, the Tudor conquest, the Plantations, the Act of Union with Ireland in 1800, and the Partition of 1921, which created the current state they live in. Interestingly, the book dedicates 2 pages (pp. 102-103) to 'Elizabethan adventures', including attempts to colonise America, however, there is no mention of the only successful colonisation that England carried out during this time, which was in Ireland. Similarly, there are long

sections dedicated to the case studies of colonisation of Australia (pp. 160-167) and India (pp. 178-185), but nothing is mentioned of England's longest held overseas territory (arguably colony): Ireland. Pages 230-233 explain different forms of discrimination in Britain, including against women, black and minority ethnic groups, gay people and disabled people, from 1960 to the present. However, it does not include anything about the discrimination against Catholics in Northern Ireland. Page 234 tells us about the impact of civil rights movements in the US in the 1950s and 60s – but nothing about their equivalent in Northern Ireland.

- From a 'British' perspective, 'us' vs. 'them' in relation to Ireland changed its definition over time. The Anglo-Normans who invaded Ireland in the 12th century became Anglo-Irish or Old English after the Reformation as many of them kept their Roman Catholic faith and lost influence to the Protestant Ascendancy (Byrne & Adelman, 2016, pp. 14-15), (Hayes C. , 2009, pp. 110-112). 'Papist' became the synonym of 'them' and the introduction of the Penal Laws ensured that 'they' (the 'native' Irish and Anglo-Irish) were discriminated against (Hodge, 2011, p. 116). Even at the end of the 19th century, the unionist slogan against autonomy was 'Home Rule is Rome Rule' (Hayes C. , 2009, p. 191). Religious labelling is still used in British textbooks to define the 'other' – the Catholics – as the following example shows (Riley, Ford, Goudie, Kenneth, & Snelson, 2019, pp. 78-79):

1588. **Catholic** Spain sent a fleet of ships to invade England. The Spanish Armada was defeated and England remained a **Protestant** nation.

1605. Gunpowder plot. **Catholic** plotters attempted to blow up Parliament but were arrested before they could do so.

1688. The 'Glorious Revolution'. The **Catholic** monarch, James II, was forced to give up his throne. Parliament invited James's **Protestant** daughter (Mary) and her husband (William) to rule. It placed limits on the power of the monarchy.

M. E. Smith explains the relevance of religion in Northern Ireland today in the following way: 'because religion is the key ethnic marker, its importance gets exaggerated. People belong to religious communities regardless of the level of their religious convictions because the religious label is an ethnic label' (Smith M. E., 2005, p. 65).

Therefore, the definition of 'us' from a British perspective (whose history is taught in British history textbooks) can be perceived as ambiguous, ranging from those

of English origin and those who were Protestants on the British Isles to those who share the same country today and with a further extension it could also include the inhabitants in the Commonwealth member states. However, it seems beyond reasonable doubt that there have been sufficient historic connections between Ireland and the UK so that a historic definition of 'British' should also include at least partially 'Irish' and therefore we could expect British textbooks to include in their history narrative the key events of the shared Anglo-Irish history.

The relevance of the 'Irish Question' in 19th century Britain is unquestionable and some of the analysed textbooks recognise this with a detailed explanation:

The Irish Question is the name given to a series of issues which affected British-Irish relations. It involved political, economic, religious and strategic issues. On several occasions, Irish issues caused the resignation of prime ministers. In 1801, Pitt the Younger resigned because of George III's opposition to Catholic emancipation. Peel fell from power in 1846 over the repeal of the Corn Laws. Gladstone split the Liberal Party in 1886 with his conversion to Irish Home Rule. The Liberal governments from 1912 to 1914 faced a serious crisis over Ulster which was brought to a temporary conclusion by the outbreak of the First World War. Finally, Lloyd George's fall from power, in 1922, was due at least in part to his handling of the Irish Question in 1921. Therefore, as a theme the Irish Question must be regarded as an important, if not the most important, aspect of British domestic history (see Chapter 10). (Murphy, Walsh-Atkins, & Whiskerd, 2008, p. 24)

Another important aspect to clarify is the use of the word 'English' vs. 'British' in this thesis when referring to textbooks and education systems. As we will see in the next *Section 3.2*, education systems diverge between England and Northern Ireland. Scotland (and to a lesser degree Wales) also have different systems, which are not subject to this thesis. Therefore, when referring to education systems (and schools), 'English' (even if they can also include Welsh) and 'Northern Irish' seem appropriate. Some characteristics are common for the UK, thus 'British' is the right adjective to describe them. Textbooks – especially at A-level – can fulfil the requirements of several education systems, therefore it seems correct to refer to them as 'British'. However, usually I refer to these textbooks as those used in England, in order to avoid any confusion.

English schools teaching domestic history usually refer to it as 'British' instead of 'English'. For instance, the OCR exam board in its A-level specifications distinguish between 'British period study and enquiry' and 'Non-British period study' (OCR, 2021,

p. 4). When describing the topics within 'British period study and enquiry', those that refer to a period previous to the unification of the English and Scottish crowns in 1603 are titled 'England', 17th century history is referred to as 'Stuarts' (given many common events between England and Scotland, but still no political Union until 1707, when the country's designation changed to Great Britain), and from the 18th century the reference is to 'Britain'. Logically, as from 1801 the name of the country changed to United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the geographical denomination in the specifications should change from 'Britain' to the 'United Kingdom', but this does not happen and 'Britain' remains the place whose history is taught as domestic until the present period (OCR, 2021, p. 6).

Edexcel changes the denomination from 'England' to 'Britain' in 1603 and then it remains the same up to the present time (Pearson Education Limited, 2017, pp. 11-12).

AQA also starts to refer to 'Britain' from 1603 under '*1D Stuart Britain and the Crisis of Monarchy, 1603-1702*', however it still titles one of its topics '*2E The English Revolution, 1625-1660*' (which could be considered a revolution in England, however it was rather civil war in Ireland, in both cases with involvement of a Scottish army). The denomination remains 'Britain' also after the formation of the United Kingdom. However, the specifications also clarify that students must study a 'British history option' and a 'non-British history option' (AQA, 2021, pp. 8-9).

Therefore, when in this thesis referring to what domestic history English children learn, I will also refer to it as 'British'.

Thus, summarising the use of adjectives in the thesis: in 'England', children learn 'British' domestic history from 'British' textbooks, following a curriculum defined for 'England'.

3.2 Teaching history in England, Ireland and Northern Ireland – the current status

Key conclusions:

- **England:** History is mandatory only for ages 11-14 (Key Stage 3 – KS3), the National Curriculum only recommends a few specific events. Beyond, from 14 to 16 (GCSE) only 43% of students choose History and from 16 to 18 (A level), 8%. From GCSE, there is a huge diversity of topics, many exam boards and publishers.
- **Ireland:** compulsory History education from 12 to 15 (Junior Certificate), few defined topics. From 16 to 18 (Leaving Certificate), 19% studies History, covering approximately 100 years out of 500 of the modernity. A few aspects are missing from the National Curriculum, mainly British historic figures related to Irish history.
- **Northern Ireland:** similar system to England. At GCSE, 31% of students choose History, at A-level, 8%. The National Curriculum prescribes specific contents at all levels, which are holistic for KS3. For GCSE, schools choose either the first or second half of the 20th century Northern Irish history. For A-level, there are both British and Irish topics. British topics tend to ignore Irish events, Irish topics seem to have a certain political thought behind.

It is important to know the structure of secondary school history education in order to understand the importance of each of the different stages for a wide spectrum of students (and future citizens) in assimilating the knowledge. Also, it is relevant to analyse what contents (if any) are prescribed by a national curriculum in each case and how much is left to the textbook authors to decide. Where no national curriculum exists, the specifications of the exam boards need to be considered (in detail see *Section 4.3*).

England, Key Stage 3

In England, secondary school education is divided into Key Stage 3 (ages 11-14), GCSE (ages 14-16) and A-level (ages 16-18). As we will see, very few students study History at A-level, and there are several topics to choose from. Therefore, the advanced A-level history textbooks covering Anglo-Irish history can only impact a very small segment of the population. At GCSE the potential influence is wider, however, it is highly likely that students have had their last chance to learn Anglo-Irish history during Key Stage 3, even if they continued to study History further. In addition, the results of a study based on 253 student interviews carried out in Northern Ireland in the 2000-2001 school year suggest that Key Stage 3 is an appropriate moment to teach History in schools, before students acquire a kind of historical consciousness aligned with their community-belonging at the age of 13-14 (McCully, Barton, & Conway, 2003) (Barton & McCully, 2005)⁵⁰:

...students enter secondary school with varied and diffuse ideas about their relationship to the past, and teachers could play a critical role in helping them expand on previous identifications or providing opportunities to develop new ones grounded in tolerance and mutual respect. (Barton & McCully, 2005, p. 108)

Thus, in order to analyse the impact of history education in the consciousness of the wider English population about British rule in Ireland, we need to focus more on the Key Stage 3 (KS3) textbooks and on non-Ireland specific GCSE and A-level topics, for instance related to British history in general.

During age group 11-14 (Key Stage 3 or KS3), learning history is compulsory and the curricula is more standardised. For each publisher usually one version of textbooks covers the course of history, thus schools only have to choose the publisher. The National Curriculum defines a minimum content which should be explained; however, the specific examples provided within the current National Curriculum are not mandatory. Such non-statutory examples related to Irish history are:

⁵⁰ This study did not have the purpose to explain if it was the teaching of History in the school that caused increased consciousness or, on contrary, the consciousness was the result of other factors. There are some data points which however suggest that it might be at least partly due to other factors: between the 2nd and 3rd years of KS3 a very similar percentage of students identified themselves with images related to the period after World War II, independently from the year of studies, when students in the second year have not studied such contents yet in the school (Barton & McCully, 2005, p. 106).

... the Elizabethan religious settlement and conflict with Catholics (including Scotland, Spain and Ireland), ...
the Interregnum (including Cromwell in Ireland), ...
Ireland and Home Rule... (Department for Education, UK, 2013)

Although these examples are not mandatory, they are frequently covered in textbooks (as we will see in *Chapter 4*). Even this National Curriculum, first introduced in 1991, generated controversy, as it corresponded to Thatcher's impetus that 'more attention be paid to "British history"' (Foster S. , 2023, p. 133), and it did not only focus on the new ideas of the 70s and 80s which 'encouraged students to think critically about history and appreciate that the past is not fixed and agreed upon, but subject to different interpretations and perspectives' (p. 132). Foster describes how the textbooks created in the 90s could provide an interesting compromise to follow both perspectives – I shall come back to this question in *Chapter 4* when comparing textbooks published in different decades. Haydn also refers to this compromise situation, adding that from 2013 the new proposal has been put forward and 'a much heavier emphasis was placed on the transmission of a body of knowledge of the national past, with a much more substantial volume of prescribed content', however, after complaints from history teachers, the previous model was retained (Haydn, 2019, pp. 709-710).

England, GCSE

In the age group 14-16 there were 580,850 students taking GCSE exams in England in 2019 out of a population of 607,496 in the same age group. 261,535 of them studied History: 45% of students taking GCSEs and 43% of the population (Ofqual, UK, n.d.) (Office of National Statistics, UK, 2020). As history is not a compulsory subject, schools and students can decide between a high number of specialised topics for their History studies, from which only a few deals with Anglo-Irish history. The three main exam boards, AQA, Edexcel and OCR define the contents of their GCSE courses in a considerable detail. The specifications are analysed in detail in section 4.3 *Quantitative analysis of current English GCSE and A-level specifications*.

England, A-level

In age group 16-18 few pupils actually choose to learn History during their A-level. In 2019 in England, 47,100 students took A-level history exams among 245,300 students, a 19% share. However, compared with the population of 618,873 aged 18 in England, a mere 8% (Ofqual, UK, 2019) (Office of National Statistics, UK, 2020). History teaching at A-level offers a wide range of topics from which schools can choose from. For instance, Pearson has 40 different books under the Edexcel exam board, many of them covering specific topics like *'The making of modern Russia, 1855-1991'* or *'Civil rights and race relations in the USA, 1850-2009'* (Pearson Education Limited, 2017). One of the options available under the Edexcel exam board is *'Ireland and the Union, c.1774-1923'* and under the OCR exam board *'Britain and Ireland, 1791-1921'*. AQA does not offer an Ireland-focused topic for A-level studies among its 30 options (AQA, 2021). A detailed analysis of the specifications can be found in section 4.3 *Quantitative analysis of current English GCSE and A-level specifications*.

United Kingdom, Citizenship tests

Apart from secondary school textbooks, an additional relevant source is the official history taught in preparation for citizenship tests. This is the version of history that new citizens have to learn. In the year ending June 2019, there were 153,462 individuals who were awarded British citizenship, 34,273 of whom were children, thus leaving 119,189 adults who obtained their British nationality (Government of the United Kingdom, n.d.) after learning a version of history from the official handbook titled *Life in the United Kingdom. A Guide for New Residents*, issued by the Home Office (Home Office, UK, 2019).

Ireland, Junior Certificate

In Ireland, secondary school education is split into Junior Certificate and Leaving Certificate. Learning History is compulsory for ages 12 to 15, during the Junior Certificate. The specifications for the course only list a few mandatory events: the plantations, the revolutionary tradition before the twentieth century, the Great Famine, nationalism and unionism between 1911 and 1923, the Easter Rising of 1916, the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 and the Troubles, leaving to the authors of the textbooks to define

the relevant contents (National Council for Curriculum and Assessment, Department of Education and Skills, Government of Ireland, 2017, pp. 7, 17).

Ireland, Leaving Certificate

During the Leaving Certificate (ages 16 to 18), however, History is not mandatory and in 2021 only 19% of the age group chose to study History: 12,551 students (Leaving Certificate Percentage breakdown of candidates by grade awarded in each subject, n.a.) from a total population of 18 of 65,097 (Central Statistics Office, Ireland, 2021). Those students who study History have to select two out of twelve topics related to the Irish history of the early or late modern period (National Council for Curriculum and Assessment, Department of Education and Skills, Government of Ireland, 2003). Each of these topics represent a range of 40 to 60 years. Therefore, a student will cover about 100 years out of the 500 years of modernity. Consequently, most students will probably learn about any relevant event of Anglo-Irish history during their Junior Certificate. The topics for study are either from the early modern (1492-1815) or late modern period (1815-1993). Each of them includes 12 options, six related to Irish history and six to European and world history. Students will learn two Ireland-related and two European/world history topics. The topics are:

Early Modern field of study, Irish history, 1494-1815

1. Reform and Reformation in Tudor Ireland, 1494-1558
2. Rebellion and conquest in Elizabethan Ireland, 1558-1603
3. Kingdom versus colony — the struggle for mastery in Ireland, 1603-1660
4. Establishing a colonial ascendancy, 1660-1715
5. Colony versus kingdom – tensions in mid-18th century Ireland, 1715-1770
6. The end of the Irish kingdom and the establishment of the Union, 1770-1815

History of Europe and the wider world, 1492-1815

1. Europe from Renaissance to Reformation, 1492-1567
2. Religion and power – politics in the later sixteenth century, 1567-1609
3. The eclipse of Old Europe, 1609-1660
4. Europe in the age of Louis XIV, 1660-1715
5. Establishing empires, 1715-1775
6. Empires in revolution, 1775-1815

Later Modern field of study, Irish history, 1815-1993

1. Ireland and the Union, 1815-1870
2. Movements for political and social reform, 1870-1914
3. The pursuit of sovereignty and the impact of partition, 1912-1949
4. The Irish diaspora, 1840-1966
5. Politics and society in Northern Ireland, 1949-1993
6. Government, economy and society in the Republic of Ireland, 1949-1989

History of Europe and the wider world, 1815-1992

1. Nationalism and state formation in Europe, 1815-1871
2. Nation states and international tensions, 1871-1920
3. Dictatorship and democracy, 1920-1945
4. Division and realignment in Europe, 1945-1992
5. European retreat from empire and the aftermath, 1945-1990
6. The United States and the world, 1945-1989 (p. 12).

The specifications also provide a detailed description of the content of each topic, which include most relevant events, key personalities and key concepts, although a few are not specifically mentioned which I believe are highly relevant:

- *Kingdom versus colony — the struggle for mastery in Ireland, 1603-1660*: the Flight of the Earls is missing. This event was probably a political miss-calculation of the Gaelic lords, by which they left Ireland (mainly Ulster) without their native landlords and thus the wide population without any counter-balance to the throne, therefore enabling the Ulster plantations, the 1641 Rebellion, Cromwell's campaign etc. (p. 20).

- *Establishing a colonial ascendancy, 1660-1715*: the text mentions 'the War of the Two Kings', however, it could be worthwhile to introduce students to the British (and thus widely international, even if controversial) taxonomy of the 'Glorious Revolution' (p. 21).

- *The end of the Irish kingdom and the establishment of the Union, 1770-1815*: the UK prime minister of the time, Pitt the Younger, who brokered the Union, and resigned when the king refused to introduce the agreed Catholic Emancipation at the same time, is not included as one of the key personalities (p. 23).

- *Ireland and the Union, 1815-1870*: there is no mention of one of the key personalities who dealt with the Great Famine from Westminster, prime minister Robert Peel, only of the (negative) figure of Charles Trevelyan (p. 34).

- *Movements for political and social reform, 1870-1914*: Gladstone, UK prime minister and proponent of the first two Home Rule Bills, is fully missing from the list of key personalities. In addition, the description of the approval process of the Third Home Rule Bill is too brief and leaves too much room for interpretation: ‘Unionism and the Ulster Question’ (p. 35).

Therefore, the missing contents seem to concentrate on British statesmen who tried to improve Ireland’s situation in the 19th century, errors committed by leading Irish figures and the process of partition.

Northern Ireland, Key Stage 3

Also, in Northern Ireland, History is an obligatory subject during Key Stage 3 (ages 11-14). The curriculum is defined by *Statutory Requirements for History at Key Stage 3* (Council for the Curriculum, Examinations and Assessment, Northern Ireland, n.a.) and by the *Key Stage 3 Non-Statutory Guidance for History* (Council for the Curriculum, Examinations and Assessment, Northern Ireland, 2007). The statutory requirements only include one specific example of the Anglo-Irish history: ‘investigate the long and short term causes and consequences of the partition of Ireland and how it has influenced Northern Ireland today including key events and turning points’ (Council for the Curriculum, Examinations and Assessment, Northern Ireland, n.a., p. 1). In addition, some of the specific objectives are explained through examples. Thus, in case of the objective of ‘explore how history has affected their personal identity, culture and lifestyle’, the examples are ‘how location/birthplace, family history, religion, nationality, sport, language, traditions etc. have been shaped by the past, for example, Reformation, plantation, settlement, colonisation, emigration, immigration etc’. Similarly, for the objective ‘investigate how history has been selectively interpreted to create stereotypical perceptions and to justify views and actions’, the examples included are: ‘the Troubles, slavery, apartheid, Arab/Israeli conflict etc’ (Council for the Curriculum, Examinations and Assessment, Northern Ireland, n.a., p. 1).

The *Key Stage 3 Non-Statutory Guidance for History* includes a couple of more historic examples that could be used as a context for acquiring the required capabilities: the Great Famine, Norman legacy and the Act of Union of 1801 (Council for the Curriculum, Examinations and Assessment, Northern Ireland, 2007, p. 36).

Northern Ireland, GCSE

During GCSE (ages 14-16) History is not mandatory in Northern Ireland. In the 2022 GCSE exams, 31% of the relevant population chose History: 7,299 students (Council for the Curriculum, Examinations and Assessment, Northern Ireland, 2022) from a population of 23,220⁵¹ (Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, 2022). On the other hand, the contents of the GCSE History subject are defined in detail in the curriculum established by CCEA-Council for the Curriculum, Examinations and Assessment. The mandatory contents include a combination of world and local studies, whereas in the field of local studies the schools can choose between ‘Option 1: Changing Relations: Northern Ireland and its Neighbours, 1920–49’ or ‘Option 2: Changing Relations: Northern Ireland and its Neighbours, 1965–98’ (Council for the Curriculum, Examinations and Assessment, Northern Ireland, 2017, p. 6). Both options are described in detail, option 1 on pages 16 to 18 and option 2 on pages 19-21. The contents of these 6 pages are reproduced in *Appendix 2*.

It is important to conclude that the narrative of events included in these pages provide a detailed and mostly unbiased view of these troubled years, for instance it includes specific mentions on page 17 that during the Second World War Churchill offered to end partition if Éire entered on the side of the Allied and that Éire’s stand was a ‘benevolent neutrality’. We will see in *Chapter 4* that Churchill’s offer is one the least mentioned events of Anglo-Irish history in English textbooks and in *Chapter 5* that Éire’s neutrality during the Second World War is sometimes presented negatively in textbooks used in England. On the other hand, on page 16 the text attributes the responsibility for the loosened Anglo-Irish relations to Éire by including a line ‘de Valera and his role in dismantling of the Anglo-Irish Treaty by 1937’, without explaining the Statutes of Westminster which allowed British dominions (e.g. Éire at this time) to change unilaterally any legislation which impacted them.

The detailed guidelines for Option 2 also specify a number of points that could be considered sensitive: on page 19 the influence of the US civil rights movement on Northern Ireland and the response of the British government and of the police to the early civil rights marches (although one would also prefer to see the actions of the Unionist paramilitaries); on page 20 that both the republican and loyalist sides had their

⁵¹ As measured by the number of 15 years olds during the 2021 census

paramilitary organisations and ‘the effects of the Ulster Workers’ Council strike on the attempt at power-sharing in Northern Ireland’; and on page 21 that the peace process received a significant boost through the Hume-Adams initiative. We will see in Chapter 5 that many textbooks used in England do not feature these contents as they are not aligned with the stereotypical narrative of ‘Irish rebels/terrorists’.

However, it is important to note that students learn either Option 1 or Option 2, when it is difficult to imagine a well-informed citizen living in Northern Ireland without having a basic historic knowledge of both halves of the 20th century. As mentioned in section 2.3 *Textbook research – a brief review of the discipline*, Catholic schools usually choose Option 2 while Protestant schools prefer Option 1, in both cases leading to an incomplete view of what happened in Northern Ireland in the 20th century.

Northern Ireland, A-level

During the 2022 A-level exams (age 18) in Northern Ireland 1,936 students took History (Council for the Curriculum, Examinations and Assessment, Northern Ireland, 2022), 8% of the relevant population of 23,067⁵² (Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, 2022). The topics available in the Northern Irish History A-level studies are also well defined in the *CCEA GCE Specification in History*: schools and students choose one option from each of the four following blocks:

Unit AS 1 Historical Investigations and Interpretations

Option 1: England 1509–58

Option 2: England 1603–49

Option 3: Britain in the Age of Reform 1830–80

Option 4: Italy and Germany 1815–71

Option 5: Germany 1919–45

Unit AS 2 Historical Conflict and Change

Option 1: Spain and Europe 1556–98

Option 2: The Ascendancy of France in Europe 1660–1714

Option 3: Ireland 1823–67

⁵² As measured by the number of 17 years olds during the 2021 census

Option 4: France 1815–70

Option 5: Russia 1914–41

Option 6: Italy's Quest for Great Power Status 1871–1943

Unit A2 1 Change Over Time

Option 1: Crown and Parliament in England 1625–1714

Option 2: Ireland Under the Union 1800–1900

Option 3: The Causes and Consequences of Great Power Conflict 1848–1945

Option 4: The American Presidency 1901–2000

Option 5: Clash of Ideologies in Europe 1900–2000

Unit A2 2 Historical Investigations and Interpretations

Option 1: England 1558–1603

Option 2: Ireland 1685–1714

Option 3: Ireland 1778–1803

Option 4: Partition of Ireland 1900–25 (Council for the Curriculum, Examinations and Assessment, Northern Ireland, 2019, p. 7)

Therefore, students might complete their A-level history studies without learning Irish history (in case they choose Option 1 in Unit A2 2). The same applies for British history (in the narrow sense, excluding Irish history), students might obtain their A-level without learning British history during these two years. Even if they choose to learn Irish history, the maximum content they can combine from the available options is 19th century Irish history from Unit A2 1 (Option 2) plus either the historical investigation about the events surrounding the Glorious Revolution (Unit A2 2 Option 2), the 1798 Uprising (Unit A2 2 Option 3) or the Partition (Unit A2 2 Option 3). Please note that Unit AS 2 *Option 3: Ireland 1823–67* and Unit A2 1 *Option 2: Ireland Under the Union 1800–1900* cannot be combined as they overlap in terms of the studied period. Looking into the specifications of each of these options also provides interesting insights. The Britain/England-related options only specify a very few Ireland-related events.

- Unit AS 1 *Option 1: England 1509–58* does not include any mention of the impacts of English reformation on Ireland, whereas ideally it should explain how it led to replace the Old English as the elite by the Protestant Ascendancy and the beginning of the Plantations. This period also saw Ireland to become a kingdom under Henry VIII,

which has not been included either (Council for the Curriculum, Examinations and Assessment, Northern Ireland, 2019, pp. 8-10).

- Unit AS 1 *Option 2: England 1603–49* only refers to Ireland briefly ‘the impact in England of Charles I’s policies in Scotland and Ireland’, without explaining the 1641 Rebellion, the following Irish Confederate Wars or Cromwell’s arrival in Ireland in 1649 (pp. 11-13).

- The narrative of Unit AS 1 *Option 3: Britain in the Age of Reform 1830–80* does not require either to learn about the Irish connections to the repeal of the Corn Laws nor does it mention the Great Famine (pp. 14-15).

- Unit A2 1 *Option 1: Crown and Parliament in England 1625–1714* does not include any mention of Ireland either, when Ireland had a significant impact on the relations between the Crown and Parliament on several occasions, for instance during the Glorious Revolution (pp. 36-38).

- Unit A2 2 *Option 1: England 1558–1603* only includes a paragraph about Ireland, in a rather strange way: ‘Elizabethan foreign policy. England’s relations with France, Scotland, the Netherlands and Ireland’ (pp. 51-53). This sentence positions Elizabeth’s policy in Ireland as if it would have been foreign policy, when what happened was a full conquest, with several uprisings, early Plantations and ending with the Nine Years’ War.

The Ireland-related options usually include all relevant events in the narrative, however, in some cases a clear political agenda can be seen in their portrayal.

- Unit AS 2 *Option 3: Ireland 1823–67* includes Catholic Emancipation, the Repeal Movement, the Great Famine and the Fenian movement (pp. 27-28).

- Unit A2 1 *Option 2: Ireland Under the Union 1800–1900* narrates Grattan’s role, the Union, Catholic Emancipation, Repeal Movement, Great Famine, Fenian movement, Land League, Home Rule, Gaelic Revival and Ulster Unionists – although its longest topic is ‘Support for the Union’ (pp. 39-41).

- Unit A2 2 *Option 2: Ireland 1685–1714* (pp. 54-56) interestingly dedicates ample space to ‘the Catholicising policies of James II in Ireland 1685-89’ and in England as the starting point of the story, when this is questionable, especially considering that during his reign what was in danger was not the equal rights of Protestants but their

privileges. These paragraphs are clearly aligned with the ‘under siege’ narrative of Ulster Unionism. In comparison, the narrative of the 1689-91 conflict is rather short, and it focuses on the battles in Ireland, without mentioning the fact that William III effectively invaded England with the Dutch navy (even if no battles took place on English soil). The section ‘the results of the conflict in Ireland 1691-1714’ include a paragraph on the Penal Laws, where the two colours employed in the text highlight that an earlier version only included ‘the penal laws introduced during this period’, which later has been significantly extended:

Why and how they were introduced, their impact on Catholics and Presbyterians; the extent to which they represented a code or were simply ad-hoc measures in response to security fears, particularly regarding the Jacobite threat; the extent to which they were politically or religiously motivated. (p. 56)

Although the above text allows the authors of the textbooks to form their opinion about the events, it could be interpreted as an intent of whitewashing by emphasising the impact on both Catholics and Presbyterians (which varied significantly) and by suggesting a portrayal that the Penal Laws were ad-hoc measures to address Jacobite security threats – which seems quite surprising as most Penal Laws lasted nearly a century and the ‘defensive character’ of these laws is also questionable.

- Unit A2 2 *Option 3: Ireland 1778–1803* (pp. 57-59) explains the movement of the Irish Volunteers, Grattan’s Parliament, the United Irishmen movement, the Catholic Relief Acts ending most Penal Laws, the 1798 Rebellion/Uprising, the Act of Union and Emmet’s Rebellion. Although the proposed contents seem unbiased, the introduction shows the authors’ sympathies:

Students analyse the rise and fall of the relatively moderate reform movement of the Volunteers, established in 1778, and the revolutionary republicanism of the United Irishmen, culminating in the 1798 Rebellion and the unsuccessful rising led by Robert Emmet in 1803. (p. 57)

The above text suggests that the Volunteers movement was a moderate reform movement, although it effectively led to a sort of Irish Home Rule (in Grattan’s Parliament) and during the process Grattan made a declaration of independence in 1780 but the Irish parliament adjourned its discussion⁵³ and it was approved in 1782. The text

⁵³ Spearheading this campaign was Henry Grattan as the prominent member of the patriot group within the Irish parliament. On 19 April 1780, he made formal declaration of

does not mention either that the ‘revolutionary republicanism of the United Irishmen’ had not much to do with the 20th century Irish republicanism, first of all because its leaders were Protestants, and second because they followed the ideals of the French Revolution and thus they did not believe in religion (in fact the Catholic church was against the 1798 Rebellion/Uprising)⁵⁴.

- A2 2 *Option 4: Partition of Ireland 1900–25* (pp. 60–62) provides a relatively detailed narrative of the period, including the significance of Irish politics in the United Kingdom, the Third Home Rule Bill and opposition to it, the Easter Rising, Sinn Féin’s 1918 electoral success, Anglo-Irish War, Government of Ireland Act 1920, Anglo-Irish Treaty 1921, Irish Civil War, and establishment of Northern Ireland (incl. sectarian tensions and the Boundary Commission). Nevertheless, the specifications leave it to the textbook authors to decide how much they want to explain about the methods used by opponents to Home Rule (e.g. gunrunning) and they do not mention at all the negotiations around Partition: whether 4, 6 or 9 counties are included, whether Partition was proposed as temporary, nor the Buckingham conference in 1914. It is not mandatory either to explain the religious composition of Northern Ireland pre-Partition and that the 6 counties did not provide a uniform Protestant majority everywhere.

independence in the Irish House of Commons, which had the backing of Catholics and Protestants following their economic gains. It was also given more weight having the Volunteers in support as this organisation was well armed and the only real source of defence in Ireland given the continuation of the American war. Although the debate was adjourned by a vote of 136 to 97 with many supporters feeling that the time was not quite right to assert Irish rights in such a way, the question had been raised and under the existing circumstances the patriots were in position of relative strength. (Kidson, 2016, p. 80)

⁵⁴ Originally able to raise 12,000 men, the Volunteers quickly became a useful tool for Protestant nationalists to seek further powers for their Irish parliament, and the movement became an effective means to threaten the British authorities. (Kidson, 2016, p. 68)

‘We are all Americans here’, wrote one Patriot, ‘except such as are attached to the Castle or are papists [Catholics]’... The Volunteers pledged to repeal any foreign invader, but they undoubtedly represented a military arm of Protestant nationalism. Their strong support for the political programme of the Patriots is shown by one of their marching songs: ‘No laws shall ever bind but those we frame ourselves. The Britons now shall find us as free as they’re themselves. Hibernia’s Volunteers, boys, have worked on the glorious cause and will with mighty heart and head abolish Poynings’ Laws.’ (Adelman & Byrne, 2016, p. 18) [Poynings’ Law of 1494 gave the English Parliament veto over Irish legislation.]

3.3 Primary sources

Key conclusions:

- **This thesis analyses 90 textbooks dealing with British history in general, covering the 3 levels of secondary school education, 4 different time periods and 4 decades, as well as 26 textbooks dedicated to Anglo-Irish history from England, Northern Ireland and Ireland.**

As explained in the previous section 3.2 *Teaching History in England, Ireland and Northern Ireland – the current status*, secondary school history education in England and Northern Ireland is split into three different age groups and in Ireland into two age groups. In all three cases, History is only compulsory in the first of these age groups (11-14 or KS3 in England and Northern Ireland and 12-15 or Junior Certificate in Ireland). Therefore, for the purpose of this thesis all different age groups of secondary school education are relevant. During these first age groups, all students learn the same topics in History, therefore, in a given time only one version of the textbook is available at the same publisher (with the exception of different versions being used for more or less abled students). Hence, it was of utmost importance that the sample includes different publishers and textbooks from different time periods. A significant difference between textbooks in Ireland and the United Kingdom is that in Ireland one more voluminous History textbook combines all three years of the junior certificate, while in the United Kingdom (both in England and in Northern Ireland) each year of Key Stage 3 has a separate History textbook (of lesser volume).

The selection criteria of the analysed textbooks have been very simple: if the title provided a hint that the textbook should include Anglo-Irish history, the book has been selected. Textbooks about other countries (e.g. Germany in the 20th century) or previous to the analysed time period (e.g. Vikings) have been excluded from the scope. The main source for identifying and collecting the relevant textbooks has been the *Newsam Library* at the *Institute of Education of University College London*, which I have visited frequently between November 2019 and March 2020 and again from January 2024, during my stays in London, United Kingdom. Any of the textbooks available at that library at the moment of data collection – and which fitted the above selection criteria – has been included in

the analysis. In total, 83 textbooks have been considered in this way. In addition, 33 textbooks have been obtained from other sources, making the total number of textbooks considered 116. Collecting textbooks published in England resulted significantly easier through the described methodology.⁵⁵ From these 116 textbooks, 90 (all of them used in England) form part of the group described in section 3.1 *Methodology* as *B. textbooks dealing with British history in general*, which have been analysed against the abbreviated guiding narrative of 44 events. The remaining 26 textbooks (5 from Ireland, 13 from Northern Ireland and 8 from England) form part of group *A. textbooks dedicated to Anglo-Irish history* and they have been analysed following the more detailed guiding narrative of Beckett and McKittrick & McVea. A list of all analysed textbooks is included as *Appendix 3* of the thesis.

Among the 90 *textbooks dealing with British history in general*, 47 are for Key Stage 3, 20 for GCSE and 23 for A-level. The following pages provide a brief summary of the types of textbooks included in the analysis.

A specific point to clarify is the classification of textbooks by the time period they relate to. I have used four different periods for classification: 12th to 15th centuries, 16th to 17th centuries, 18th to 19th centuries and 20th century. Naturally, textbooks select their subject matter flexibly, thus the above boundaries are not always valid. If a textbook covers part of a given time period and part of another, I have considered it in the time period where a longer period was represented. If both time periods were represented in a similar depth, I have considered the textbook to be from the first time period. In addition, three of the 116 analysed textbooks span across all four periods, these have been considered as a special ‘cross-period’ cluster.

Main characteristics of the 47 analysed Key Stage 3 *textbooks dealing with British history in general* and used in England:

- 9 textbooks about the 12th to 15th centuries (of which 6 published in the 90s, 1 in the 2000s and 2 in the 2010s),

⁵⁵ Due to the location of the UCL Library and due to the fact that amazon.com has a specific country website for the United Kingdom, but not for Ireland.

- 19 textbooks about the 16th to 17th centuries (of which 1 published in the 80s, 13 in the 90s, 3 in the 2000s and 2 in the 2010s),
- 8 textbooks about the 18th to 19th centuries (of which 1 published in the 80s⁵⁶, 2 in the 90s, 2 in the 2000s and 3 in the 2010s),
- 10 textbooks about the 20th century (of which 4 published in the 80s, 1 in the 90s, 2 in the 2000s and 3 in the 2010s),
- 1 textbook reach over several of these time periods and it has been published in the 2010s.

Main characteristics of the 20 analysed GCSE *textbooks dealing with British history in general* and used in England:

- No textbooks about the 12th to 15th centuries,
- 4 textbooks about the 16th to 17th centuries (of which 2 published in the 80s, none in the 90s, 1 in the 2000s and 1 in the 2010s),
- 8 textbooks about the 18th to 19th centuries (of which 7 published in the 80s and 1 in the 90s),
- 6 textbooks about the 20th century (of which 1 published in the 80s, 3 in the 90s, none in the 2000s and 2 in the 2010s),
- 2 textbook reach over several of these time periods and they have been published in the 2010s.

Main characteristics of the 23 analysed A-level *textbooks dealing with British history in general* and used in England:

- 1 textbook about the 12th to 15th centuries, published in the 80s,
- 6 textbooks about the 16th to 17th centuries (of which 2 published in the 2000s and 4 in the 2010s),

⁵⁶ This textbook has been published in 1978, however, it has been analysed as part of the 80s cluster.

- 8 textbooks about the 18th to 19th centuries (of which 2 published in the 90s, 1 in the 2000s and 5 in the 2010s),
- 8 textbooks about the 20th century (of which 2 published in the 80s, none in the 90s, 1 in the 2000s and 5 in the 2010s).

In addition, the 26 following *textbooks dedicated to Anglo-Irish history* have been considered:

- 2 textbooks for KS3 and GCSE dedicated coursework from England (published in 1993 and 2001),
- 2 textbooks for GCSE under the *Schools History Project (SHP)* from England (published in 1999 and 2004),
- 4 A-level textbooks from England⁵⁷ (published between 2008 and 2016), 3 of them dealing with the long 19th century and one of them with the 20th century,
- 4 Junior Certificate textbooks from Ireland (published between 2002 and 2011), all of them covering the complete time period,
- 1 Leaving Certificate textbook from Ireland (published in 2016), dealing with the 19th and 20th centuries,
- 9 Key Stage 3 textbooks from Northern Ireland (published between 1995 and 2012), which correspond to 2 different publishers,
- 2 GCSE textbooks from Northern Ireland (published in 2004 and 2017), covering the 20th century,
- 2 A-level textbooks from Northern Ireland (published in 2018 and 2022), one dealing with the 19th century and another with the 20th century.

⁵⁷ These textbooks have been published in England, however, they seem to be used for A-level studies also in other parts of the United Kingdom, e.g. Northern Ireland.

3.4 Guiding history narrative for the quantitative analysis

Key conclusions:

- **An abbreviated 44-event narrative has been used for the quantitative analysis, compiled based on textbooks and other relevant literature.**

As introduced in *Section 3.1 Methodology*, for the quantitative analysis an abbreviated narrative had to be composed. This abbreviated narrative allows me to evaluate in a uniform way which contents are included in each of the 90 textbooks that form part of the quantitative analysis. The 44 events included in the abbreviated narrative have been selected based on their significance to explain the different perspectives of the joint Anglo-Irish history. As one can imagine, the list feels very short to anyone knowing Irish history in depth, however, only a very few would expect that English secondary school students could assimilate a longer curriculum than this, if they have not specifically chosen to study Irish history. On the other hand, people could also argue that some of these 44 events selected spreading from the 12th century up to 1998 are not that relevant, nevertheless, if the question is why some members of the English public unjustly call the Irish ‘terrorists’ (as we have seen it in *Section 2.2 Why focus on British rule in Ireland?*), then we also need to consider those historic events that speak in favour of the Irish perspective. One could also argue that the history of the Irish Free State after 1921 should not be relevant for British textbooks. Nevertheless, the three events included in this narrative relate to how it left the Commonwealth. British textbooks on the 20th century dedicate significant space to the process of decolonisation and the ‘end of Empire’, and the same logic should be applied to the longest held British overseas territory: Ireland.

The density of the events included in the narrative is higher in the recent past than in earlier periods. This is also because of their significance to explain the different perspectives of the joint Anglo-Irish history. Burston highlights that ‘... the principle of selection as to what is important in the past is our present-day society’. In consequence, ‘... it is also quite logical that the more recent periods should be studied more thoroughly and in more detail than the earlier, for recent history is a more powerful determinant of our present society than the more remote periods’ (Burston, 1972 (2), p. 61).

As mentioned in *Section 3.1 Methodology*, one of the starting points for this abbreviated narrative is the detailed narrative contained in Beckett's *The Making of Modern Ireland 1603-1923* (1981) and McKittrick & McVea's *Making Sense of the Troubles* (2012).

The condensation of this narrative into the 44 events had been based on the textbooks in scope, which have been enumerated in the previous *Section 3.3 Primary sources*. Among these textbooks, I would like to specially mention a few which include a more detailed narrative of the events of Anglo-Irish history. These are the 13 textbooks from Northern Ireland, published between 1995 and 2022 – many of which aim to provide a reasonably balanced view of the joint Anglo-Irish history or at least they are conscious of the contrary points of view –, two British A-level textbooks from 2016 dealing with the shared history of the long 19th century, a Key Stage 3 textbook from 2002 used in England for more abled students covering the period from 1750 to 1990 (which include 31 of the 44 events), a GCSE textbook from 1994 used in England dealing with the 20th century (which include 28 of the 44 events) and an Irish Leaving Certificate textbook from 2016.

- Northern Ireland:
 - Dean, Sheelagh; Stafford, Cheryl & Thompson, Catherine: History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1169-1500, London: Hodder Education, 2007 (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2007)
 - Dean, Sheelagh; Stafford, Cheryl & Thompson, Catherine: History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1500-1900, London: Hodder Education, 2008 (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008)
 - Dean, Sheelagh; Kelly, Vivien & Taggart, Julie: History for NI Key Stage 3: A study after 1900, London: Hodder Education, 2009 (Dean, Kelly, & Taggart, 2009)
 - Gillespie, Sandra & Jones, Gerry: Northern Ireland and its Neighbours since 1920. Abingdon: Hodder & Stoughton, 1995 (Gillespie & Jones, 1995)
 - Turner Johnston, Sheila & Johnston, Norman: History in close-up: the medieval world, Newtownards: Colourpoint Educational, 2011 (Turner Johnston & Johnston, 2011)

- Hodge, Audrey M: History in close-up: the age of discovery, Newtownards: Colourpoint Educational, 2011 (Hodge, 2011)
- Turner Johnston, Sheila: History in close-up: the twentieth century, Newtownards: Colourpoint Educational, 2010 (Turner Johnston, 2010)
- Rees, Russell; Hodge, Audrey M; Johnston, Norman & Turner Johnston, Sheila: History in Close-Up: Union and Partition, Newtownards: Colourpoint Educational, 2012 (Rees, Hodge, Johnston, & Turner Johnston, 2012)
- Gillespie, Gordon: Troubled Images. The Northern Ireland Troubles and Peace Process 1968-2007, Newtownards: Colourpoint Books and Linen Hall Library, 2007 (Gillespie G. , 2007)
- Madden, Finbar & McBride, Jim: History for CCEA GCSE, London: Hodder and Stoughton Educational, 2004 (Madden & McBride, History for CCEA GCSE, 2004)
- Madden, Finbar & Clare, John D.: CCEA GCSE History, London: Hodder Education, 2017, Third Edition (Madden & Clare, 2017)
- Rees, Russell Dr: Ireland under the Union 1800-1900, for CCEA A2 level, Newtownards: Colourpoint Educational, 2018 (Rees R. D., 2018)
- Jefferies, Henry: CCEA A2 Unit 2 History, Partition of Ireland 1900-25, London: Hodder Education, 2022 (Jefferies, 2022)
- Britain, A-level
 - Kidson, Adam: Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923, London: Pearson Education, 2016 (Kidson, 2016)
 - Adelman, Paul & Byrne, Mike: Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923, London: Hodder Education, 2016 (Adelman & Byrne, 2016)
- England, Key Stage 3
 - Collier, Martin & Marriott, Bill: Colonisation and Conflict 1750-1990, Oxford: Heinemann Educational Publishers, 2002 (Collier & Marriott, 2002)
- England, GCSE

- Cloake, J A: Britain in the Modern World, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994 (Cloake, 1994)
- Ireland, Leaving Certificate
- Brockie, Gerard & Walsh, Raymond: Modern Ireland, Dublin: Gill Education, 2016, Third Edition (Brockie & Walsh, 2016)

In addition, I have also considered a number of additional sources, from which I would like to mention the *Atlas of Irish History* (Duffy, et al., 2000) - which helped to visualise an Irish perspective with a significant number of supporting data points -, *The Cambridge Historical Encyclopaedia of Great Britain and Ireland* (Haigh, 1985), and *The Oxford Illustrated History of Ireland* (Foster, 1989).

I have also looked up several historic periods and events in Wikipedia, for supposedly being a neutral platform (e.g. not exclusively influenced by the contributors of a specific country, in this case also supported by the fact that English is the common language in both the United Kingdom and Ireland).

I have already mentioned in *Section 3.1 Methodology* that there is a high degree of uniformity of view about the historical fact base between textbooks in England, Northern Ireland and Ireland, and that differences arise principally in the interpretation of events. Therefore, in this abbreviated narrative I have focused more on the historic fact base than on the interpretation. Even if some of the events include a degree of explanation (e.g. *16th century: several failed Irish Catholic revolts took place against English rule, led by Catholic lords threatened in their property and old customs*), it is driven by the need to condense the narrative into a limited number of events. For instance, the above event could have been described as two separate events (first, the process of Tudor conquest leading to Anglicisation and then, second, the actual rebellions). On the other hand, some of the relevant periods have been split into separate events, as in this way we can analyse more clearly the frequency of their mention: for instance, the 1641 Irish Rebellion and its mediatic coverage in England have been considered as two separate events: *in 1641 dispossessed Catholics rebelled persecuting and murdering Protestants* and *1641: the number of Protestants killed has been exaggerated in England, increasing the public outcry for reprisal*. As we will see in *Chapter 4*, the first part is the 5th most frequently mentioned event among the 44, the second part is only the 39th. The treatment

of the Great Famine has been separated into five different events in a similar way and we will also see in *Chapter 4* that their frequency of mention ranges between #3 (the fact that the Great Famine took place) and #44 (Tony Blair's 1997 semi-apology for lack of action).

All of the 44 events have been included in at least one of the 90 analysed textbooks, which provides a degree of validation to the narrative⁵⁸. As the 44 events are based on widely accepted historic knowledge reflected in both textbooks and other relevant literature, I felt that it is not necessary to provide detailed references about the content and correctness of each event as they appear in this list, instead, the references and quotes are included in *Chapter 5* when we review not just the frequency of mentions of the different events but also the tone of their treatment.

On the other hand, as an A-level textbook very aptly summarises in its introduction to Northern Irish history, there is a level of interpretation by anyone reading or writing about this subject, a fully objective or neutral point of view does not exist:

There is hardly a historical event in which there cannot be detected a Green or Orange tinge. The most detached and would-be objective statement by a historian from outside the Province is likely to be furiously challenged within Northern Ireland, both by those claiming it to be a provocation to good Catholics and by those claiming it is the typical sell-out of all patriotic Protestants. Any A2 level student trying to assess the 'validity' of a historical judgement on recent Anglo-Irish history will therefore have to decide firmly what his or her own viewpoint is; sitting on the fence is just about impossible. (Rowe, 2004, pp. 137-138)

Hence, despite all intentions to avoid any bias in my narrative, it is possible that the reader will find that I have missed some important points that would show the entire story in a quite different light or that my narrative seems to be more propense to one of the interpretations. As Burston explains, 'many historical facts are probabilities rather than certainties' (1972 (1), p. 6). While aiming to remain 'sitting on the fence', in my abbreviated narrative I have tried to show my own point of view, not for the purpose of

⁵⁸ The 45th and 46th events which I thought of including were 1366: *Statutes of Kilkenny prohibits Norman settlers to speak, dress, behave like the Irish or inter-marry* and 1494: *Poyning's Law gives the English Parliament veto over Irish legislation*. The Statutes of Kilkenny has been only covered in one of the 90 textbooks included in the quantitative analysis, and Poyning's Law in none. However, the treatment of these two medieval events will be reviewed in Chapter 5 in the qualitative analysis.

evaluating who was ‘right or wrong’ but to list the 44 most relevant events, based on which the quantitative analysis of *B. textbooks dealing with British history in general* can be performed:

12-15th centuries	• 12th century: Norman England conquered Ireland but only controlled part of it.
	• 12th to 15th centuries: a large part of Ireland remained under control of native Irish lords who lived much like earlier and many Anglo-Irish lords took up Irish customs.
16th century	• After splitting from Catholicism, Henry VIII had made himself King of Ireland in 1542 and unsuccessfully tried to convert Ireland. The political power was transferred from the Old English to the newly arrived Protestants.
16th and 17th centuries	• 16th century: several failed Irish Catholic revolts took place against English rule, led by Catholic lords threatened in their property and old customs.
	• ‘Plantations’: the Irish equivalent of colonisation. Land was taken from Catholics and given to Protestants from England and Scotland.
	• In 1641 dispossessed Catholics rebelled persecuting and murdering Protestants.
	• 1641: the number of Protestants killed has been exaggerated in England, increasing the public outcry for reprisal.
	• Cromwell wanted to revenge 1641 and the massacres of the roundheads left deep memories in Ireland.
Late 17th century	• 1688-1691: Ireland supported James II (the incumbent and Catholic king) against the William III (the Protestant challenger) after the ‘Glorious Revolution’ took place in England and Ireland found itself once again on the losing side.

18th century	• 18th century: Penal Laws ensured Protestant domination of Catholics (no political rights, limited property rights, seriously limited religious freedom).
	• As a result of the Penal Laws and plantations, only about 5% of the land in Ireland belonged to Catholics by the end of the 18th century.
Late 18th century	• Late 18th century: Protestant-led movement, mainly in Ulster, to achieve similar rights to those of the USA.
	• Failed cross-community uprising in 1798, which however led to the Union with Great Britain.
	• 1801: the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland had been established, the Irish Parliament was integrated into Westminster.
Early 19th century	• Early 19th century: fight for ‘Catholic Emancipation’: the right of Catholics to sit in the Westminster Parliament.
Mid-19th century	• 1845-51: Worst event in Irish History: the Great Famine.
	• Great Famine: from a population of 8m, 1m died and c.1m emigrated.
	• Arguably the Westminster government could have done more to protect its citizens during the Great Famine.
	• Tony Blair in 1997 apologised for lack of action during the Great Famine.
	• Further emigration after the 1850s: Ireland has never recovered its pre-famine population levels.
Late 19th century	• Late 19th century: movement for Irish autonomy: ‘Home Rule’.
	• Late 19th century: a large part of the British political life was influenced by the Irish question.

	• Late 19th century: a series of land reforms allowed Irish tenants to obtain fair tenancy terms and later ownership of the land previously owned by absentee landlords.
Early 20th century	• Home Rule finally approved in 1912-14 but postponed due to the First World War.
	• The plan of Irish Home Rule led to resistance from Ulster Protestants, threatening armed conflict.
	• 1912-14: lack of government intervention against Loyalists.
	• 1913-14: Catholics also establish paramilitary organisations.
	• 1916: Easter Rising by nationalists, not supported by the population.
	• The British response to the Easter Rising swung public opinion and late 1918 those favouring independence obtained a landslide victory in the elections.
20th century Ireland	• 1918-21: elected Irish MPs did not take up their seats in Westminster and instead proclaimed independence: Anglo-Irish War, closed by the Anglo-Irish Treaty establishing the Irish Free State, a dominion of the British Empire.
	• 1937: Ireland became Éire and loosened its ties with the UK, given the 1931 Statutes of Westminster. At the same time, it established territorial claims on Northern Ireland.
	• Second World War: Churchill offered to end partition if Éire joined the Allied.
20th century Northern Ireland	• 1949: Éire left the Commonwealth and became a republic.
	• 1920: following Ulster Protestant aims, Partition of Ireland creating Northern Ireland. • The new state of Northern Ireland had 2/3 Protestant majority, however many parts – including full counties – had a Catholic

	majority. The boundaries were not set based on self-determination.
	• Northern Ireland became a sectarian state discriminating against Catholics (in political rights, jobs and housing).
	• Following the US example, the discrimination of Catholics led to a civil rights movement in the late 60s.
	• Much of the Protestant community and the government of Northern Ireland did not accept the challenge of the civil rights movement.
	• The Troubles: the lack of a peaceful solution to the aims of the civil rights movement led to an armed conflict between the British armed forces, nationalist and loyalist paramilitaries, with many atrocities from all sides.
	• 1972: end of the devolved government in Northern Ireland: direct rule from Westminster.
	• In 1973 and 1985 Anglo-Irish agreements established cooperation between Protestants and Catholics.
	• 1974 and 1985: Loyalists were not ready to accept the power-sharing formula and thus the 'Troubles' continued.
	• After the failure of the 1974 power-sharing government, continued terrorist pressure from the Provisional IRA.
	• Good Friday (Belfast) Agreement in 1998 in line with 1973 and 1985, featuring power-sharing and North-South collaboration. Arms decommissioning agreed.

4. QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF TEXTBOOKS USED IN ENGLAND

4.1 Quantitative analysis of textbooks used in England by historic events

Key conclusions:

- On average about half of the relevant events are included in the analysed textbooks and only 30% in detail.
- The most mentioned events of Anglo-Irish history are Cromwell's conquest, Ireland choosing the wrong side during after the 'Glorious Revolution' and the Great Famine.
- However, when diving deeper behind these events - what caused them and what consequences did they have – the contents are often missing.
- The Troubles are treated much less than could have been expected, even the Good Friday Agreement is only included in 38% of the relevant textbooks.
- Some events that would help to explain the Irish perspective are only seldom featured: Tony Blair's 1997 semi-apology about the Great Famine is the least explained content, Churchill's offer to end Partition if Éire joined the Allied is the second least mentioned event.
- The more condensed storyline that students would be able to draw from the events typically featured in British textbooks concentrates more on the rebellions of the Irish and less on the motivations behind, thus enabling a more stereotypical view.

Perhaps the most surprising and remarkable findings of this thesis are included in this section. As explained in section 3.1 *Methodology*, the availability of 90 different British textbooks used in England in the last 40 years, from the category *B. textbooks dealing with British history in general*, allows us to analyse results quantitatively, in form

of a frequency analysis. This quantitative analysis makes it possible to overcome the limitations of the limited sample sizes usually considered for qualitative evaluations of textbooks. Limited sample sizes often could end in debates about whether the results show patterns or rather anecdotes based on a few observations⁵⁹.

The frequency analysis of this thesis evaluates *B. textbooks dealing with British history in general* by using the abbreviated narrative of 44 historic events and a rating scale of 4: included in detail, included partially, included very limitedly (together: total included), and not included. In addition, events which are outside of the temporary scope of the analysed textbook (and are not mentioned) are rated as out-of-scope. By aggregating the results by events, we can create a ranking of ‘popularity’ of different historic events measured by their frequency of inclusion into history textbooks used in England. In order to make comparison among events feasible, the figures are expressed as a percentage, calculated against the total number of scores excluding the out-of-scope values.

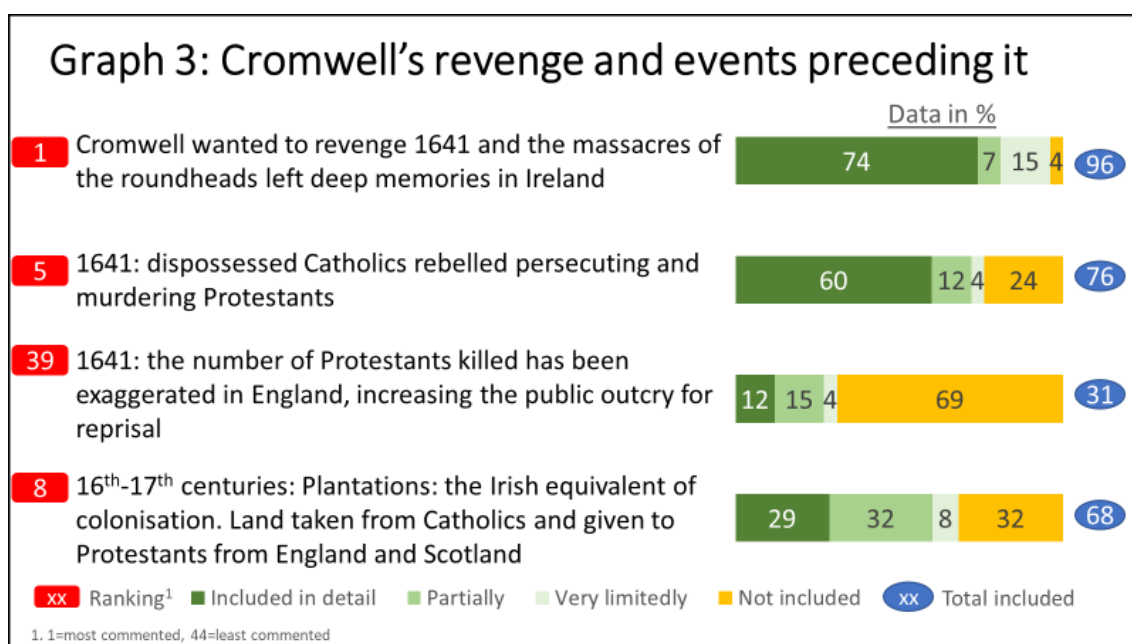
On average, among the 44 events, 30% of them are included in detail, 17% partially, 6% very limitedly (thus 53% total included) and 47% of events related to Anglo-Irish history are not mentioned in British textbooks, when the opposite should be expected.

The detailed results can be found in *Appendix 4*, showing the results both in percentage terms and absolute numbers. However, as this data table is difficult to absorb, the conclusions of the analysis are explained in the following pages.

The most frequently mentioned event of Anglo-Irish history is that *Cromwell wanted to revenge 1641 and the massacres of the roundheads left deep memories in Ireland*. From the 90 textbooks, 63 had this event out of their scope, 20 explained it in detail, 2 partially and 4 limitedly, while 1 did not mention the event. Therefore, 26 textbooks included this event and one did not. The relevant percentages against the total of 27 textbooks that should have treated the event are 74% included in detail, 7% included partially, 15% included very limitedly (therefore 96% total included) and 4% not included.

⁵⁹ Naturally, in studies which analyse historic periods or countries where the number of textbooks published is much more limited, the more traditional qualitative analysis needs to remain.

When analysing the inclusion of Cromwell's revenge, we need to consider it in relation to other events that preceded it, in order to understand whether there is a significant difference in their treatment, which could result in a biased representation in textbooks. This is important because of the already mentioned conclusion from Zambrano Quintero, that political violence is always justified by a previous harm suffered (Zambrano Quintero, 2021), therefore the omission of inconvenient parts of the relevant history could influence students' perception about what happened and why. *Graph 3* shows the comparison between these related events.



The fifth most mentioned historic event (and the second line in *Graph 3*) is that *in 1641 dispossessed Catholics rebelled persecuting and murdering Protestants*: 60% of textbooks explain this in detail (as we will see, more than in case of the Great Famine!), 12% partially and 4% very limitedly, while 24% do not include this event. However, the fact that *the number of Protestants killed has been exaggerated in England, increasing the public outcry for reprisal*, contributing to Cromwell's actions, is only the 39th most mentioned event among the 44 (and the third line in *Graph 3*): only 12% of textbooks include this event in detail, 15% partially and 4% very limitedly, and 69% of textbooks do not explain this part of the story.

This could be considered a nearly stereotypical situation, in which the main 'grievance' that British historiography can complain about in terms of the behaviour of the Irish is portrayed more frequently than many other events which impacted the

relationship between the two countries. And, when ‘our own side’ can be found to be acting incorrectly, creating harmful anti-Irish propaganda as in 1641, the contents are omitted. To put the significance of 1641 into context, the number of Protestant murdered in 1641 are in the range of thousands, maybe a few tens of thousands (due to exaggeration, contemporary accounts spoke about several hundreds of thousands, more than the entire estimated Protestant population of Ireland at the time)⁶⁰, whereas the Great Famine (see below) contributed to the death or emigration of over 2 million people (about 25% of Ireland’s population), the Confederate Wars between 1641 and 1653 (which started with the 1641 Rebellion and ended with Cromwell’s vengeance) altogether led to around 200 thousand deaths, around 15% of Ireland’s population⁶¹. Naturally, even one murder is unjustified and the incorrectness of the 1641 persecution of Protestants must be explained in textbooks, however, what we should notice is that similar injustices committed against the Irish are included less frequently in textbooks.

The eighth most frequently mentioned event of Anglo-Irish history are the ‘Plantations’: *the Irish equivalent of colonisation. Land was taken from Catholics and given to Protestants from England and Scotland* (depicted as the 4th line in Graph 3). However, this event is only mentioned by 29% of textbooks in detail, 32% partially, 8% very limitedly and 32% not at all. It is difficult to understand the behaviour of the Irish rebels of 1641 without knowing that the massacres were perpetrated by those who either had to work as tenants or labourers on the land their family owned generations earlier (before the plantations), or who became outlaws after the loss of the land. As land property was the major source of economic subsistence in this period, the anger of the dispossessed Irish can be easily explained.

A frequently used argument against including less striking ‘secondary’ contents into textbooks is the lack of space. I do not agree with this justification, as a very few lines can explain a well-balanced story. For instance, in *The Struggle for Peace in Northern Ireland*, a *School History Project* textbook from England, when trying to look into the reasons of the outbreak of the Troubles and explaining what is the source of different interpretations of the 1640s:

⁶⁰ Many textbooks explain these differences, e.g. from Northern Ireland: (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008, pp. 34-35) or (Hodge, 2011, pp. 83-91)

⁶¹ The relevant Wikipedia article explains that contemporary estimates stated at least 400,000 dead, but the lowest revised estimates reach 200,000, compared to a population of around 1.5 million. (Wikipedia re. Irish Confederate Wars, 2023)

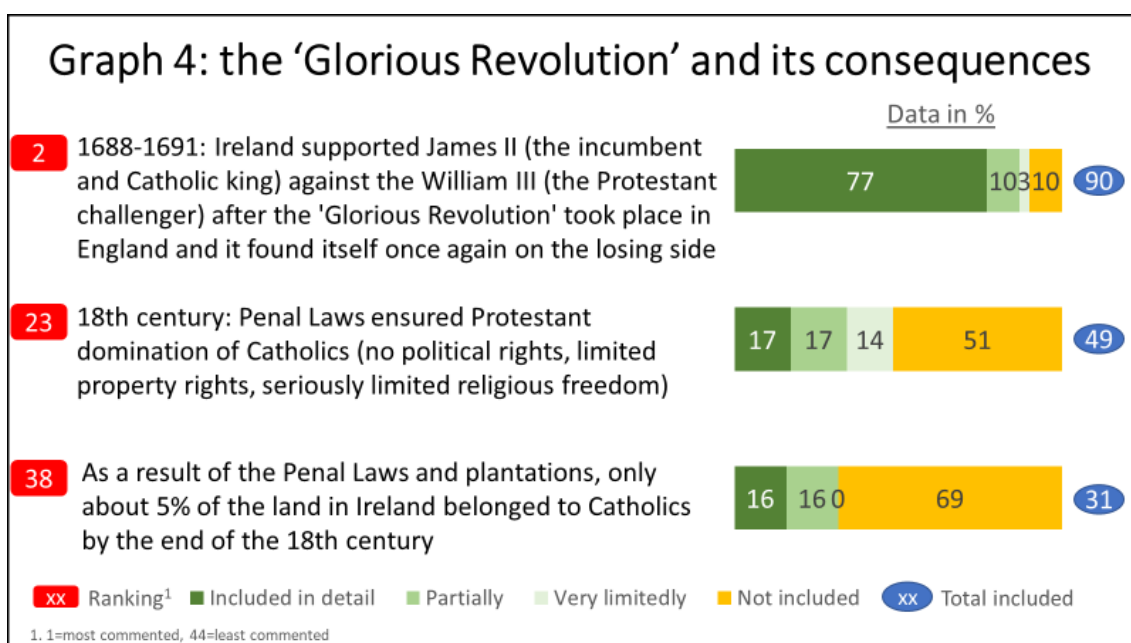
The English monarchs took land away from the Irish Catholics and gave it to the Protestant settlers. The English hoped that if there were enough powerful Protestants in Ireland this would stop Catholic countries using Ireland as a base for invasion.

The Catholics became increasingly angry about losing their land. In 1641 the Catholics attacked the Protestant settlers. They killed between 2000 and 3000 Protestants.

Protestant propaganda exaggerated the massacres. One report said that over 150,000 people had been murdered. In 1649, Oliver Cromwell and his soldiers read and believed the propaganda about the massacre of Protestants in 1641.

In 1649, Cromwell took his army to Ireland and massacred thousands of Catholics. Many others were forced to leave their lands and move to poor, rocky land where farming was difficult. (Dawson & Walsh, 2004, p. 27)

The second most mentioned event in English textbooks is that in 1688-1691: *Ireland supported James II (the incumbent and Catholic king) against William III (the Protestant challenger) after the 'Glorious Revolution' took place in England and it found itself once again on the losing side*: 77% of textbooks explain this in detail, 10% partially, 3% very limitedly and 10% do not include this event (first line of *Graph 4*). This event ensured that Ireland remained under British rule for the following two centuries, therefore its significance is unquestionable.



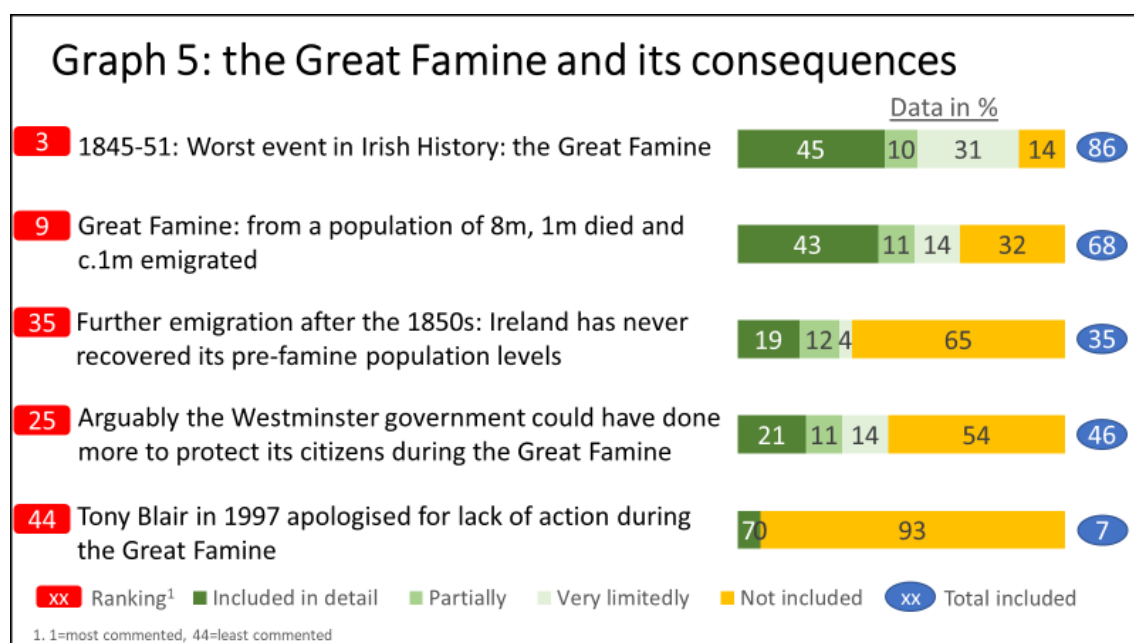
However, the direct consequences of this 'Catholic' defeat are much less featured in British textbooks, when their relevance in my opinion stretches way beyond the

‘Glorious Revolution’ itself: despite the favourable terms of the peace treaty closing the war, from the early 18th century *Penal Laws ensured Protestant domination of Catholics (no political rights, limited property rights, seriously limited religious freedom)*. The exact content of these discriminative laws might feel somewhat surprising – as we will see in detail in *Chapter 5* – and they provide many similarities with other well-known cases of ethnic discrimination, both in the United States of America and in South-Africa. Someone telling the history of these two countries without referring to their shameful past of ethnic discrimination feels morally incorrect today, and certainly no established historians would do that, so why is its equivalent in Ireland being omitted from so many British textbooks? The existence of the Penal Laws is only the 23rd most frequently included event of Anglo-Irish history (shown as the second line of data in *Graph 4*): 17% of textbooks explain them in certain detail, 17% partially, 14% only very limitedly and 51% fail to explain them.

If we dig even further into the impacts of the ‘Glorious Revolution’, the resulting land ownership structure is also highly relevant: *as a result of the Penal Laws and plantations, only about 5% of the land in Ireland belonged to Catholics by the end of the 18th century*. However, only 16% of textbooks include this content in detail, 16% partially and 69% do not disclose this highly relevant data point (see the third line of *Graph 4*). As M.E. Smith writes, ‘when history teaching and textbooks incorporate social injustices of the recent past, we can take this as a signal that the society has moved ahead significantly in accepting pieces of the past that have lingered in the shadows’ (Smith M. E., 2005, p. 34). Given that after two-three centuries the Penal Laws are still an omitted part of British history in the textbooks, does this mean that the British society has not moved ahead yet?

The third most frequently included content is *1845-51: Worst event in Irish History: the Great Famine*, as shown in the first line of *Graph 5*. It is interesting to observe that the percentage of detailed inclusion in case of this event declines significantly, to 45% (against 74-77% in case of the two most mentioned events) and the percentage of very limited inclusion increases to 31%, while 10% of textbooks treat this event partially. Therefore, although the Great Famine is the third most mentioned event of Irish history in British textbooks, it is often explained only partially or very limitedly. The cases of very limited inclusion usually relate to textbooks which briefly mention the

Great Famine as a context to the repeal of the Corn Laws or to the Irish immigration to England, not as an event worth to include on its own into their history narrative (more on this topic in the qualitative analysis of *Chapter 5*).



A related event – the 9th most frequently mentioned – relates to the impact: *Great Famine: from a population of 8m, 1m died and c.1m emigrated* (second line of *Graph 5*). In line with the limited depth of the treatment of the Great Famine, this important data is only explained in detail in 43% of textbooks, 11% partially and 14% very limitedly, while 32% of textbooks completely omit this information.

The continued decline of Ireland's population (*Further emigration after the 1850s: Ireland has never recovered its pre-famine population levels*), shown in the 3rd line of *Graph 5*, is only the 35th event among 44 in terms of frequency of inclusion: only 19% of textbooks include it in detail, 12% partially, 4 % very limitedly, while 65%, the vast majority of British textbooks, do not mention this. As this population decline happened in the country that could be considered the leading power of the world until the First World War, and Ireland contributed to a very significant 31% of the total population of the United Kingdom in 1841, we need to be somewhat surprised that this clear and total failure of economic and social policy is not a prominent topic of British textbooks, as one would hope that students could draw important conclusions on how to avoid similar disastrous consequences in the future.

Textbooks also often fail to attribute these failures of economic and social policy to the government of the time: the fact that *arguably the Westminster government could have done more to protect its citizens during the Great Famine* is only included in detail in 21% of textbooks, in 11% partially, in 14% very limitedly and in 54% not at all, making this event the 25th most mentioned among 44 (forth line of *Graph 5*).

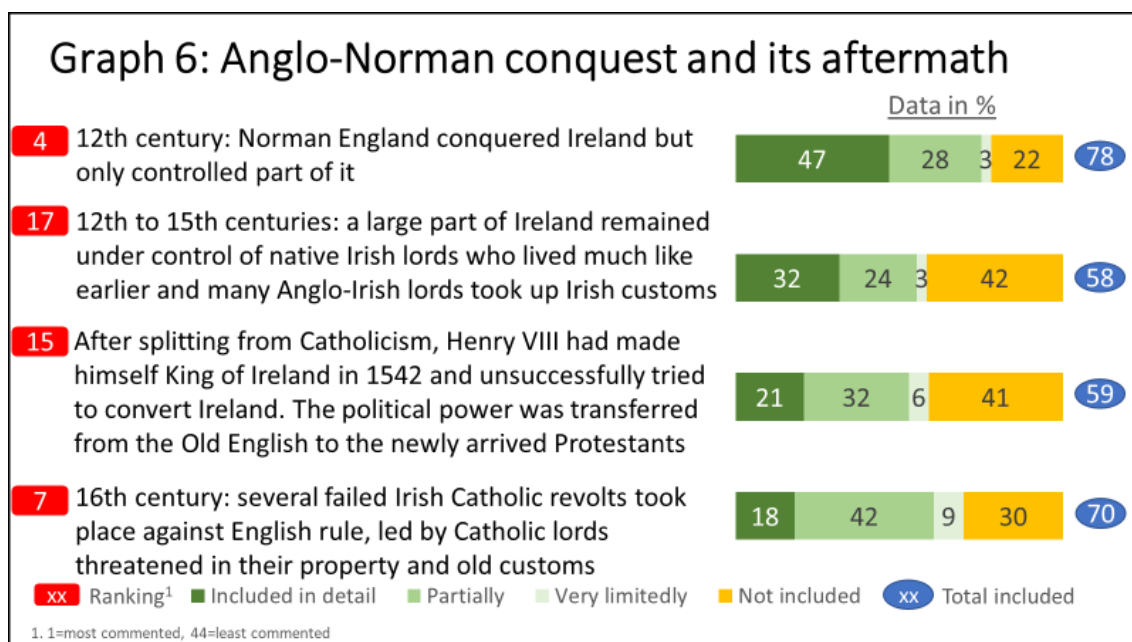
After this, it should not surprise us that the least mentioned event of the 44 is that *Tony Blair in 1997 apologised for lack of action during the Great Famine*. In historic perspective, one could reasonably expect that most textbooks published in England after 1997 should mention Tony Blair's famous semi-apology regarding the Great Famine: 'those who governed in London at the time failed their people through standing by while a crop failure turned into a massive human tragedy' (Davies, 2021), therefore implicitly recognising the correctness of the previous event, that *arguably the Westminster government could have done more to protect its citizens during the Great Famine*. This is not the case, only one of the examined textbooks (7% among the relevant textbooks published after 1997, fifth line of *Graph 5*) disclosed this very important information. This is a textbook published by Folens Publishers UK, a group headquartered in Ireland, which might explain the above-average sensitivity (Wilkes A. , 2004 (1), p. 70). Although it has been recently discovered that Tony Blair himself did not approve the text, it certainly gave a very significant push to the Northern Irish peace process in order to end the Troubles:

(...) 'In all the circumstances events could not have turned out better. The statement, which focuses on undeniable facts, is widely perceived as the apology long sought by many Irish people', wrote the British ambassador to Ireland, Veronica Sutherland in her subsequent cable. (Davies, 2021)

What these data points highlight is that the history of the Great Famine is taught in British textbooks not from the perspective of the population who suffered it and who shared the same country (the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland) with Great Britain, but from the perspective of those who observed the events from the 'outside', the 'other' larger island. A more detailed qualitative analysis of the treatment of the Great Famine can be found in *Chapter 5*.

The forth most featured event is *12th century: Norman England conquered Ireland but only controlled part of it*: 47% of textbooks explain it in detail, 28% partially

and 3% very limitedly. 22% of textbooks do not mention this event (first line of *Graph 6*). The increase of the partial inclusions in case of this event relate to the frequent omission of the fact that England only controlled part of Ireland. However, without this relevant information it is difficult to understand the relevance of the Tudor conquest and the following frequent rebellions.



A related event, that from the *12th to 15th centuries a large part of Ireland remained under control of native Irish lords who lived much like earlier and many Anglo-Irish lords took up Irish customs* is the 17th most mentioned event: 32% of textbooks mention it in detail, 24% partially and 3% very limitedly. 42% of textbooks do not explain these contents (line 2 of *Graph 6*). The partial treatment of this point usually consists of omitting the reference to the fact that life among the native Irish remained more or less the same as before the Anglo-Norman conquest and that Anglo-Irish lords took up many Irish customs. The relevance of these facts can be seen from the Statutes of Kilkenny which already in 1366 forbade for Anglo-Norman settlers to speak or dress like the Irish or inter-marry (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2007, p. 50). Although this 1366 legislation is a highly significant event of Anglo-Irish history, it has not been included in the short narrative of the 44 textbooks (among others as only one of the 90 analysed *B. textbooks dealing with British history in general* include this content, in addition to some of the 26 *A. textbooks dedicated to the Anglo-Irish history*).

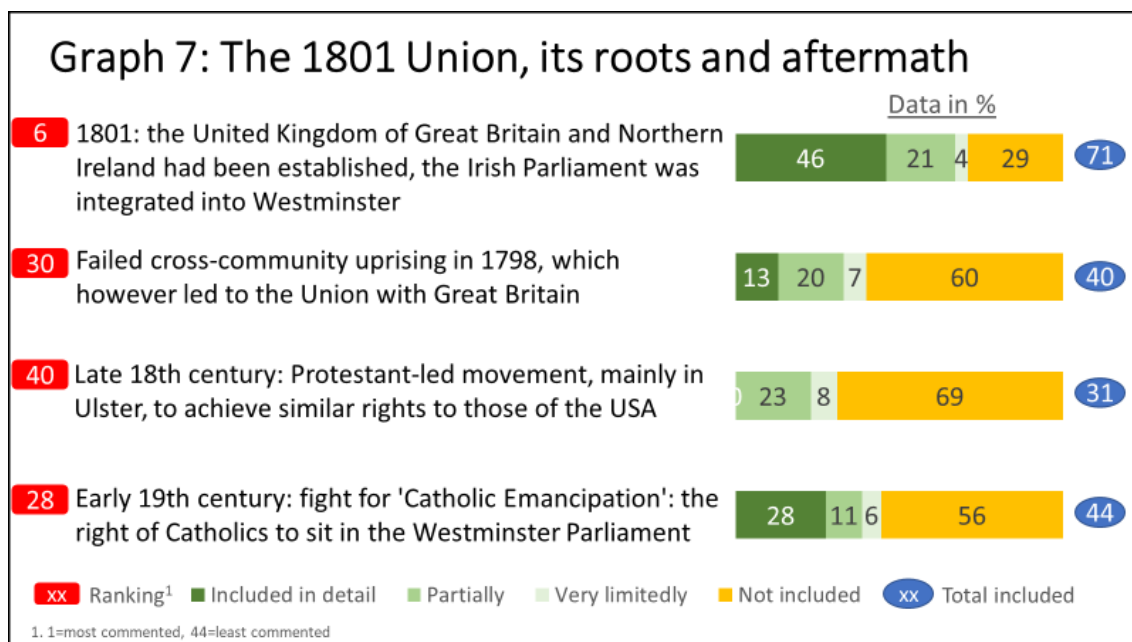
The following event, that *after splitting from Catholicism, Henry VIII had made himself King of Ireland in 1542 and unsuccessfully tried to convert Ireland and that the political power was transferred from the Old English to the newly arrived Protestants* is featured by 59% of textbooks: 21% of them include it in detail, 32% partially and 6% very limitedly, while 41% remain silent about this event. This makes it the 15th most frequently mentioned event, as shown in the third line of *Graph 6*.

The Catholic reaction to the Reformation and their loss of political power in Ireland became tangible through *several failed 16th century Irish Catholic revolts against English rule, led by Catholic lords threatened in their property and old customs*. These rebellions are the seventh most mentioned event, nevertheless, also in this case, their treatment is rather superficial: 18% of textbooks explain them in detail, 42% partially, 9% very limitedly and 30% not at all (forth line of *Graph 6*).

Therefore, the overarching narrative a typical British student reading these textbooks could form in their head is that England conquered Ireland in the 12th century and that the unruly Irish rebelled against their noble rulers repeatedly. This hypothetical condensed narrative would then justify the following actions of English and British rulers in troublesome Ireland, including the ‘plantations’ and the following attempts to ‘pacify’ the island. Of course, when learning the events in a bit more detail, one will understand the many nuances that happened between the initial Anglo-Norman conquest and the several failed rebellions. The resulting narrative will rather focus on: an incomplete Anglo-Norman conquest which left a sufficiently high number of native lords who stuck to their old customs; a Gaelicised Anglo-Norman nobility who had to be restrained by the newly arrived Protestants after the Reformation; a royal power which did not trust the Catholic lords (both Gaelic and Old English) and thus tried to confiscate from them as much land as possible and who in exchange rebelled several times... The student obtaining the first condensed (and hypothetical) narrative could be ‘indoctrinated’ to believe Irish are unruly rebels, while students learning all relevant events will obtain a much more balanced picture.

The sixth most frequently included event is the Union of 1801: *the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland had been established, the Irish Parliament was integrated into Westminster*. 46% of textbooks explain the Union in detail, 21% partially (without providing the information about the structure of Parliament)

and 4% very limitedly. However, 29% of the relevant textbooks do not mention it (first line of *Graph 7*).



However, the roots of the Union are much less featured contents of British textbooks. The *failed cross-community uprising in 1798, which however led to the Union with Great Britain* is only the 30th most mentioned event, only 40% of textbooks include it in any form, of which 13% in detail, 20% partially and 7% very limitedly (second line of *Graph 7*). For 60% of British textbooks, this example of cross-community uprising/revolution/rebellion which followed the ideals of the French revolution, and which was led by Protestants, is not an event worth to mention. Maybe surprising to those who do not know the background and ideals of this uprising (mirroring the French revolution), that the 1798 uprising wasn't supported by the Catholic church and thus it does not fit into the stereotype of 'rebellious Irish Catholics' either: the main reason for evaluating a textbook's mention of 1798 as 'partial' was that it did not disclose the relevant information about the (very limited) religious background of the uprising.

The existence of a *late 18th century Protestant-led movement, mainly in Ulster, to achieve similar rights to those of the USA* is a critical event in the narrative of Irish history, as it shows that Irish patriotism wasn't driven by Catholicism at the time and Protestants were at the forefront to achieve a degree of autonomy or even independence. In addition, this movement initiated the process that led to 1798. However, only 31% of textbooks make any mention of this event, of which 0% in detail, 23% partially, 8% very

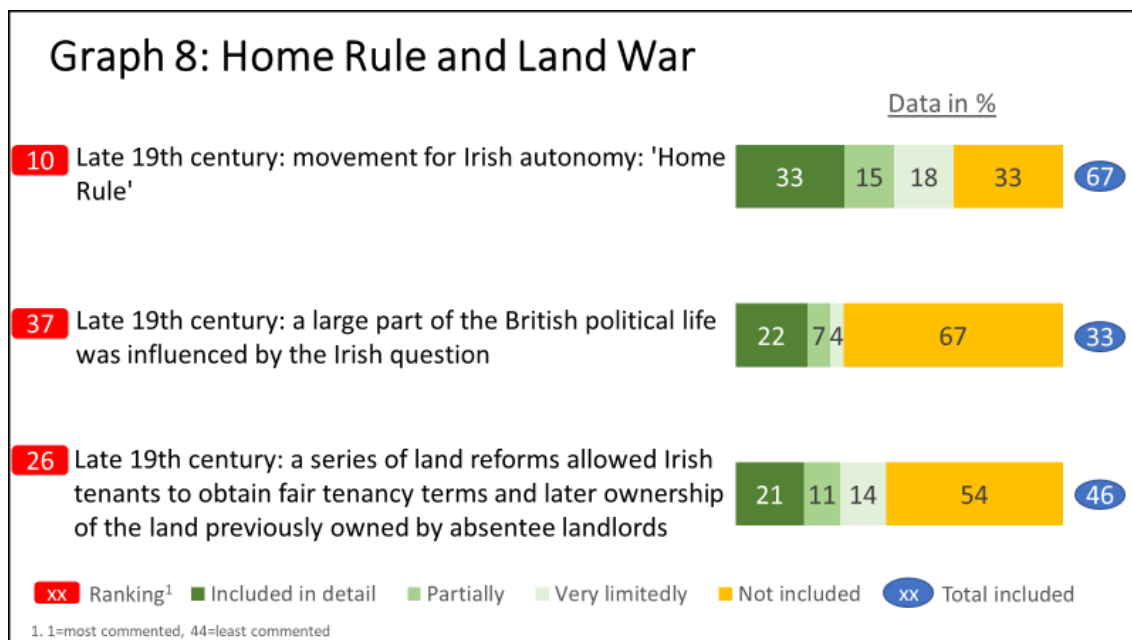
limitedly and thus 69% of textbooks omit this highly relevant information (third line of *Graph 7*). Could it be a coincidence that this event, which changes a lot about the stereotypical narrative of ‘loyal’ Protestants and ‘rebellious’ and ‘republican’ Catholics is only found in a very few British textbooks, making it only the 40th (out of 44) in the ‘popularity’ ranking of events of Anglo-Irish history?

In addition to the origins of the 1801 Union, it is worth to study an often-overlooked consequent event. When planning the Union, and in order to achieve Irish support to it, Pitt the Younger advocated for allowing Catholics to become members of Parliament (in Westminster), however, it did not happen due to the king’s objection (in reaction to which Pitt the Younger resigned). The following *early 19th century fight for 'Catholic Emancipation': the right of Catholics to sit in the Westminster Parliament* and its 1829 achievement marked a significant milestone in the establishment of equal rights for Catholics in the United Kingdom, especially critical in Ireland, due to its Catholic majority. However, this event is only the 28th most mentioned event of Anglo-Irish history, only 44% of textbooks include it in some form, of which 28% in detail, 11% partially and 6% very limitedly, while 56% of textbooks do not include this movement (fourth line of *Graph 7*). Many authors have reflected in recent years about the incorrect representation of the process ending the British Empire: ‘the handbook promotes the misleading view that the empire came to an end simply because the British decided it was the right thing to do’ (Siddique, 2020). Similarly, the achievement of equal rights for Catholics was neither an obvious process granted voluntarily by the UK, it required a significant degree of agency of Catholics, especially in the part of the UK where Catholics were the majority: Ireland. It is equally important for students and future citizens to know that discrimination was not only against people of colour and of the colonies, but also against Catholics – something that they fail to learn from their History textbooks.

The *late 19th century movement for Irish autonomy: 'Home Rule'* is the 10th most commonly included event: two thirds of textbooks explain it, however only 33% in detail, 15% partially and 18% very limitedly. 33% of textbooks do not feature this movement (first line of *Graph 8*).

However, the importance of the fight for Home Rule was not only that it aimed to achieve a degree of autonomy for Ireland, it also had a significant impact on British party politics, thus in the *late 19th century a large part of the British political life was*

influenced by the Irish question. This aspect is seldom explained in textbooks, only one third of them make any reference to this point: 22% in detail, 7% partially and 4% very limitedly, while 67% omit this content (37th most mentioned event, second line of *Graph 8*).

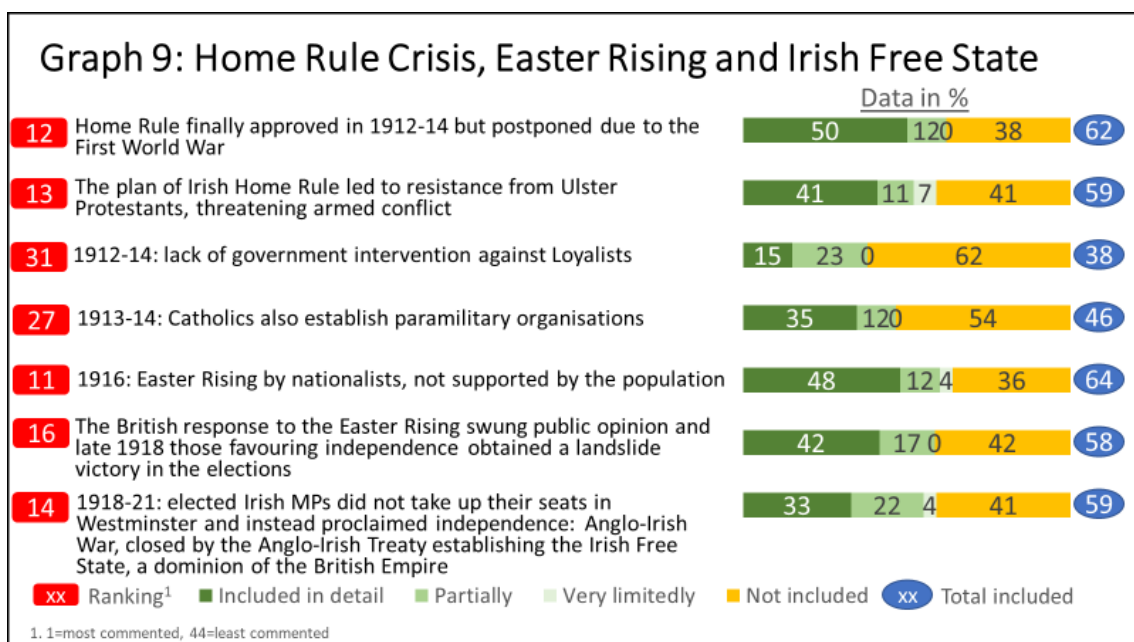


From a socio-economic and also political perspective, one of the major changes that took place in Ireland was that in the *late 19th century a series of land reforms allowed Irish tenants to obtain fair tenancy terms and later ownership of the land previously owned by absentee landlords*. These changes helped to reduce the Irish grievances against the British. Nevertheless, only 21% of textbooks include this content in detail, 11% partially and 14% very limitedly, while 54% not at all, thus becoming the 26th most mentioned event (third line of *Graph 8*).

Next in the line of most mentioned events we can find a series of aspects of the early 20th century Home Rule crisis, the following Easter Rising and the establishment of the Irish Free State. I believe it is crucial to look at the events in a chronological order, as shown in *Graph 9*.

- *Home Rule finally approved in 1912-14 but postponed due to the First World War*: 12th most mentioned event, 50% of textbooks explain it in detail, 12% partially and 38% not at all.

- *The plan of Irish Home Rule led to resistance from Ulster Protestants, threatening armed conflict*: 41% of textbooks mention it in detail, 11% partially, 7% very limitedly and 41% omit this information: 13th most frequently included event.
- *1912-14: lack of government intervention against Loyalists*: only 15% include it in detail, 23% partially and 62% not at all, being the 31st most mentioned event.
- *1913-14: Catholics also establish paramilitary organisations*: 35% of textbooks feature it in detail, 12% partially and 54% not at all: 27th in the frequency ranking.
- *1916: Easter Rising by nationalists, not supported by the population*: 11th most mentioned event: 48% explain it in detail, 12% partially, 4% very limitedly and 36% exclude this event.
- *The British response to the Easter Rising swung public opinion and late 1918 those favouring independence obtained a landslide victory in the elections*: 16th most mentioned event, included in detail in 42% of textbooks, 17% partially and 42% not at all.
- *1918-20: elected Irish MPs did not take up their seats in Westminster and instead proclaimed independence: Anglo-Irish War, closed by the Anglo-Irish Treaty establishing the Irish Free State, a dominion of the British Empire*: 14th most frequently included event, 33% of textbooks feature this content in detail, 22% partially, 4% very limitedly and 41% omit any related information.



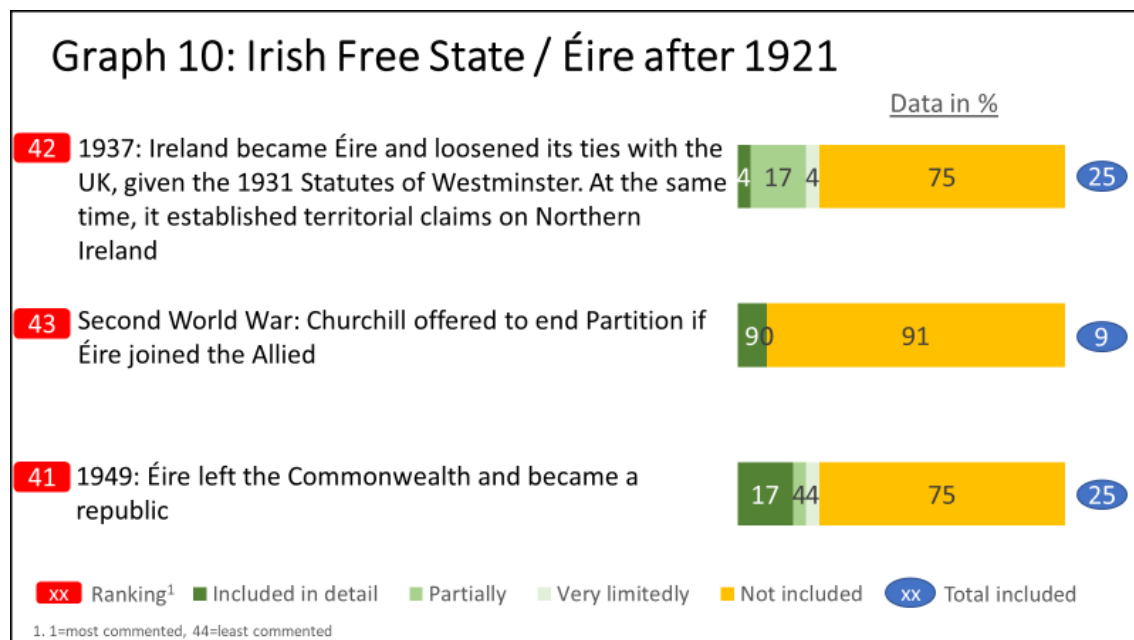
The visual representation of *Graph 9* makes it clear that most of the aspects of these related events have been represented with a similar breadth and depth, therefore suggesting a relatively unbiased narrative. The points that seem to be included less frequently are the *lack of government intervention against Loyalists* and (to a lesser extent) the resulting *establishment of paramilitary organisations also from the Catholic side*. It is also relevant to see that the explanation of the 1918-21 events is more superficial in comparison with the others, with a higher share of textbooks including only partial contents. Therefore, it seems that about half of students are able to learn a relatively balanced representation of the process leading to the actual separation of the Irish Free State from the United Kingdom, nevertheless, most of them won't hear about the level of collusion between the government and Unionists, nor will they learn the details of the Anglo-Irish War and Treaty, a shame knowing that the process of decolonisation has become one of the favourite topics of British historiography (covering other territories which separated from the British Empire in an often more pacific manner).

For the same reasons, the key elements of the history of the Irish Free State / Éire after 1921 – which explain the process of separation from the Commonwealth – should also be important. Nevertheless, as *Graph 10* shows, the related three events are some of the least featured contents of British textbooks (positions 41-43 in the ranking of 'popularity'): only a quarter of textbooks mention in any way that in 1937 *Ireland became Éire and loosened its ties with the UK, given the 1931 Statutes of Westminster and that at the same time, it established territorial claims on Northern Ireland*. Moreover, only 4% of textbooks do it in detail, 17% partially and 4% very limitedly. The lack of depth of the narrative usually comes from not explaining the Statutes of Westminster, which is essential to know, as without it the storyline sounds like as if Ireland broke the terms of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, while the knowledge of the content of the Statutes of Westminster makes the reader understand that the process of separation was 'legal'.

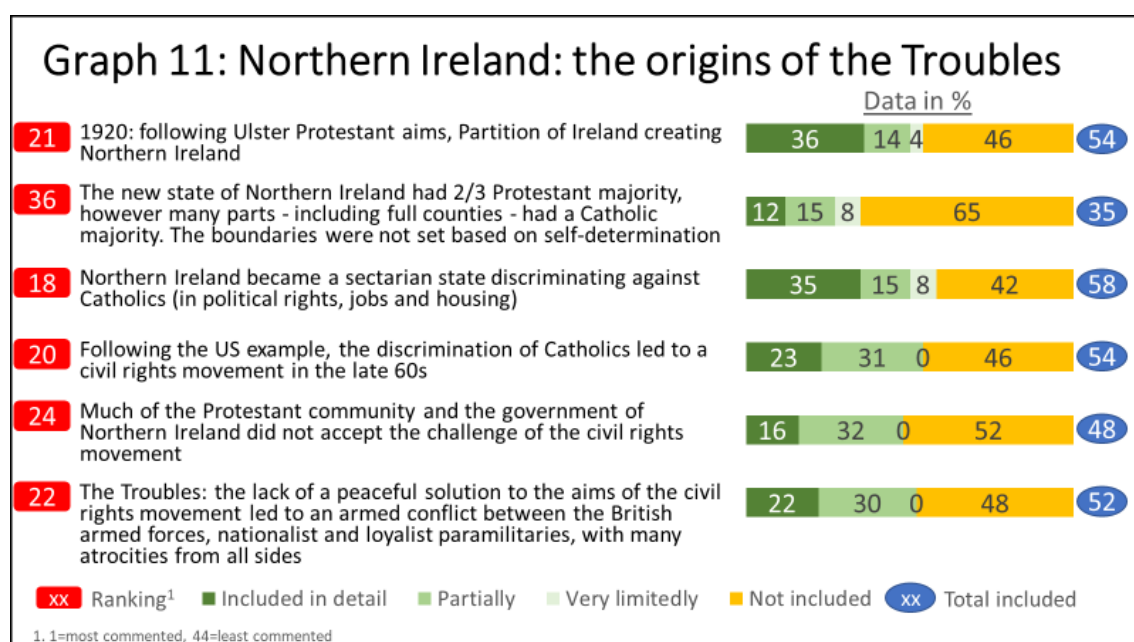
The fact that in 1949 *Éire left the Commonwealth and became a republic* is similarly only included in a quarter of textbooks, however in this case 17% explain it in detail, 4% partially and 4% very limitedly.

Another highly relevant event for the narrative of Anglo-Irish history is that during the *Second World War Churchill offered to end Partition if Éire joined the Allied*. This information should be crucial for the understanding of the history of Northern

Ireland, as it puts into perspective that the formation and existence of Northern Ireland did not only obey to the careful consideration of the wishes of its majority population of Ulster Unionists, but also to other important factors, and that it was not just the ‘irredentist’ Irish who spoke about the end of Partition, also the British.



It might sound surprising that the contents related to Northern Ireland – the last group of events included in this abbreviated narrative – first appear in the ranking of most featured events in position 18, explaining that *Northern Ireland became a sectarian state discriminating against Catholics (in political rights, jobs and housing)*.



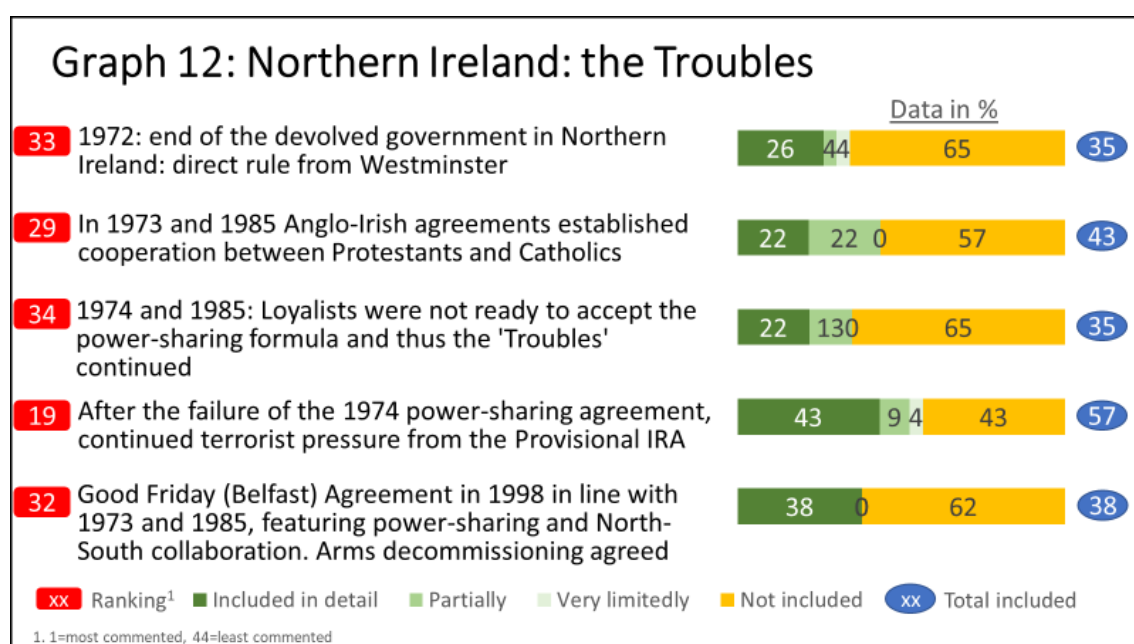
The results of the analysis of events leading to the outbreak of the ‘Troubles’ in Northern Ireland are represented in *Graph 11*, where in comparison to the previous graphs (with exception of *Graph 10* on the Irish Free State / Éire) it is clearly visible that the orange area representing the ‘not included’ events is wider and that the green area in general, and especially the dark green area representing the events ‘included in detail’, is narrower.

Graph 11 shows the events in a chronological order, and the main ‘outlier’ – with the fewest mentions – is the second line, which explains that *the new state of Northern Ireland had 2/3 Protestant majority, however many parts – including full counties – had a Catholic majority and that the boundaries were not set based on self-determination*. This aspect of Partition should be of utmost importance to understand that the formation of Northern Ireland with its current borders was not a result of the Wilsonian principles of self-determination, rather a political exercise based on the relative power of the negotiating parties (first in the establishment of Partition by the Government of Ireland Act of 1920 and then in the continuation of the established borders in the 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty). The relative depth of the explanation is shallow: textbooks frequently only mention that Northern Ireland was majority Protestant who wished to remain part of the United Kingdom, and it seems that the territory of Northern Ireland was homogenous in this sense. The patchwork of majority Protestant and Catholic areas in the province of Ulster made any separation difficult, however, it does not help the unbiased storytelling that British textbooks avoid mentioning that the issue was contentious and that within the current borders of Northern Ireland there were areas of majority Catholic population in 1920-21, including two full counties out of the six.

- *1920: following Ulster Protestant aims, Partition of Ireland creating Northern Ireland: 36% included in detail, 14% partially, 4% very limitedly, 46% not included (21st most mentioned event).*
- *The new state of Northern Ireland had 2/3 Protestant majority, however many parts - including full counties - had a Catholic majority. The boundaries were not set based on self-determination: 12% included in detail, 15% partially, 8% very limitedly, 65% not included (36th most mentioned event).*

- *Northern Ireland became a sectarian state discriminating against Catholics (in political rights, jobs and housing): 35% included in detail, 15% partially, 8% very limitedly, 42% not included (18th most mentioned event).*
- *Following the US example, the discrimination of Catholics led to a civil rights movement in the late 60s: 23% included in detail, 31% partially, 46% not included (20th most mentioned event).*
- *Much of the Protestant community and the government of Northern Ireland did not accept the challenge of the civil rights movement: 16% included in detail, 32% partially, 52% not included (24th most mentioned event).*
- *The Troubles: the lack of a peaceful solution to the aims of the civil rights movement led to an armed conflict between the British armed forces, nationalist and loyalist paramilitaries, with many atrocities from all sides: 22% included in detail, 30% partially, 48% not included (22nd most mentioned event).*

The second part of the narrative of the relevant events of Northern Ireland relates to different events of the ‘Troubles’. *Graph 12* shows some of the key condensed events in a chronological order. It might be surprising that the relevant textbooks dealing with the most recent history of the United Kingdom only mention the events of the Troubles in a bit more than 35% of the cases: the orange areas representing ‘not included’ are significantly wider than in many other graphs.



The clear outlier in this *Graph 12* is the 4th line, which describes the *continued terrorist pressure from the Provisional IRA after the failure of the 1974 power-sharing government*, having been mentioned significantly more often than any other event on this page: 43% of textbooks explain it in detail, 9% partially, 4% very limitedly and 43% not at all, occupying the 19th position of most frequently mentioned events. Could it be that also in this case, textbooks prefer to indulge in ‘our’ grievances (being attacked by terrorists of the other side) instead of providing a more balanced picture where ‘our’ errors are also represented in a comparable depth?

Such an example of ‘our’ error could be that in *1974 and 1985 Loyalists were not ready to accept the power-sharing formula and thus the ‘Troubles’ continued*. 22% of the analysed textbooks included this event in detail, 13% partially and a very remarkable 65% did not. This event is only the 34th most mentioned of the narrative. Thus, about two-third of the textbooks do not explain that the reason for continued struggle (even if not the armed conflict itself) was the lack of willingness of those who ‘we’ identify with – as part of ‘our’ culture – to share their power and privileges with the remaining part of the Northern Irish society. Certainly, those who only learned about the continued IRA attacks and not about the lack of Unionist willingness to agree on a shared government will have a specific point of view about who is to blame.

The *1972 end of the devolved government in Northern Ireland and direct rule from Westminster* is another event that should help students to understand that something wrong must have been done by the Northern Irish government if Westminster decided to suspend its autonomy and assumed direct rule about its affairs. However, again 65% of textbooks do not explain this at all, while 26% do it in detail, 4% partially and 4% very limitedly.

The significance of the *Good Friday (Belfast) Agreement in 1998 in line with 1973 and 1985, featuring power-sharing, North-South collaboration and arms decommissioning* is hardly debatable. It is probably the most important event in Northern Ireland’s history since the Second World War. Unfortunately, British textbooks do not agree with this affirmation. Only considering the textbooks published after 1998 (and dealing with this time period), 38% of them mention the Good Friday Agreement, while 62% completely omit it. With that, it is the 32nd most frequently mentioned event among the 44. Considering only the 11 events of Northern Ireland’s history included in *Graphs 11 and 12*, it is only the 8th most frequently explained content.

In summary, the typical British student will only learn a highly condensed version of the joint Anglo-Irish history. The question is, what kind of overarching narrative can be distilled from this condensed history. Considering the reduced depth of explanation of partially and very limitedly included contents, it seems reasonable to establish a kind of weighted score of inclusion. My appreciation is that it makes sense to defend a 100% weighting for 'included in detail', 50% weighting for 'included partially' and 25% weighting for 'included very limitedly'. After performing the calculations (see *Appendix 4* for the detailed results), we can review what events will 'typical' students learn. For this, we can look into which events obtained a minimum 50% weighted score. The resulting storyline would teach a version of history where the rebellions of the Irish become more visible and the background for such motivations often disappear (in brackets the calculated weighted score, in chronological order): 12th century Anglo-Norman conquest (62%), 1641 Rebellion, Catholics murdering Protestants (67%), Cromwell's revenge (81%), 1688-91: Ireland supports the wrong king after the 'Glorious Revolution' (83%), 1801 Union (57%), Great Famine (58%) with 1m dead and c.1m emigrated (52%), Home Rule approved in 1912-14, but postponed (56%), Easter Rising by nationalists (55%), the British reprisal leads to a majority of Irish favouring independence (50%). In this storyline, also the Great Famine will appear as a natural catastrophe, without assuming any failure of the government of the time.

Extending the included events to those which achieved a 40% weighted score makes the storyline a bit more complex but it still prominently features Irish rebellions without often knowing why they were started: 12th century Anglo-Norman conquest (62%), large part of Ireland under control of Gaelic lords (44%), several Irish Catholic revolts in the 16th century (42%), 'Plantations' as a response (47%), 1641 Rebellion, Catholics murdering Protestants (67%), Cromwell's revenge (81%), 1688-91: Ireland supports the wrong king after the 'Glorious Revolution' (83%), 1801 Union (57%), Great Famine (58%) with 1m dead and c.1m emigrated (52%), movement for Irish Home Rule (45%), Home Rule approved in 1912-14, but postponed (56%), resistance of Ulster Protestants (48%), Catholics also set up paramilitary organisations (40%), Easter Rising by nationalists (55%), the British reprisal leads to a majority of Irish favouring independence (50%), 1918-21 elected MPs proclaim independence, Anglo-Irish War and Treaty (45%), Partition to allow Ulster Unionists to remain in the UK (44%), Northern Ireland discrimination of Catholics (44%), IRA threat during the Troubles (49%). In this

storyline, Britain only seems to respond to the repeated Irish rebellions and aggressions, the only Irish ‘grievance’ included is the discrimination of Catholics in Northern Ireland.

The weighted score is 25% or below for each of the following events, meaning that roughly less than one in four students will hear about them: Tony Blair’s 1997 apology for the Great Famine (7%), Churchill’s offer to end Partition (9%), late 18th century Protestant-led autonomy movement (13%), 1931 Statutes of Westminster and in 1937 Éire loosening ties with the UK (14%), 1949 Éire becoming a republic (20%), the number of Protestants murdered in 1641 has been exaggerated (20%), Northern Ireland included Catholic majority counties (21%), due to Penal Laws and Plantations, only 5% of land belonged to Catholics by the end of the 18th century (23%) and failed cross-community uprising of 1798 (25%). Nearly all of these events would help to argue in favour of an Irish point of view, providing supporting data. Therefore, their omission from British textbooks could contribute to a more stereotypical interpretation of Anglo-Irish history.

Thus, we can conclude from the quantitative analysis of British textbooks that the resulting history narrative favours interpretations which depict the Irish as troublesome rebels who initiated several revolts – unprovoked – and the British only tried to react fixing the different problems the best they could. In section 2.2 *Why focus on British rule in Ireland?* we have seen a practical example of the public referring to Ireland as terrorists, we have seen in section 3.2 *Teaching History in England, Ireland and Northern Ireland – the current status* that History and especially Anglo-Irish history is not a usual part of the secondary school curriculum and in this section 4.1 *Quantitative analysis of textbooks used in England by historic events* we have come to the conclusion that also those lucky students who study History most probably will learn from textbooks which can easily lead to a degree of indoctrination against the Irish.

4.2 Quantitative analysis of textbooks used in England by textbook type

Key conclusions:

- The level of inclusion of events related to Ireland is comparably higher in the following clusters of textbooks: A-level textbooks in general, textbooks dealing with the 16th-17th centuries and published in the 90s (especially if for KS3), textbooks published by Oxford University Press or KS3 textbooks published by Heinemann.
- Comparably fewer relevant events have been included in the clusters of Key Stage 3 textbooks focused on 20th century history, textbooks dealing with the 18th-19th centuries and published in the 80s (mainly for GCSE), and textbooks on the 20th century published in the 2010s.
- Textbooks reaching over many periods treat fewer relevant events.

The previous *Section 4.1* provided a quantitative analysis by historic event, providing interesting insights about what events are taught most frequently and therefore what kind of storyline is transmitted to a typical secondary school student of History. In addition, aggregating the results of the same analysis not by events, but by textbook we can measure if the degree of inclusion of key events varied by age group (Key Stage 3, GCSE or A-level), decade of publication within the last 40 years (80s, 90s, 2000s, 2010s), time period or publisher.

The average British textbook of the sample of 90 includes 6.7 events, of which 3.8 events in detail, 2.1 partially and 0.8 very limitedly. It should also explain on average 6.0 other events but it fails to do so. The remaining 31.3 events (to reach the total number of 44 events) are on average out of scope given the textbook's time horizon.

The first important differentiation we have to make is among textbooks dedicated to a specific period (87 such textbooks have been analysed) or textbooks teaching history across most periods in question (3 textbooks). The results diverge completely: the cross-period textbooks on average include 2 events (one partially and one very limitedly), while

they do not mention other 28 events despite being in-scope. The remaining 14 events are out of scope.⁶² The remaining 87 textbooks therefore on average include 4 events in detail, 2.2 events partially and 0.7 events very limitedly (6.9 included in total). These 87 textbooks on average fail to include 5.2 events into their storyline and 31.9 events are out of their scope. Having a longer timeframe does not necessarily mean that textbooks should be unable to include most relevant Ireland-related content: a 2002 KS3 textbook, *Colonisation and Conflict 1750-1990* (Collier & Marriott, 2002) - which stretches through 2 time periods (18th-19th centuries and 20th century) and thus has been considered as a textbook dedicated to a certain period - explains 31 events of the 44, of which 21 in detail, 7 partially and 3 very limitedly. Only 10 events which should have been covered have been left out⁶³.

In continuation I will focus on the 87 textbooks as the inclusion of the cross-period textbooks would have had created a significant noise in the numbers.

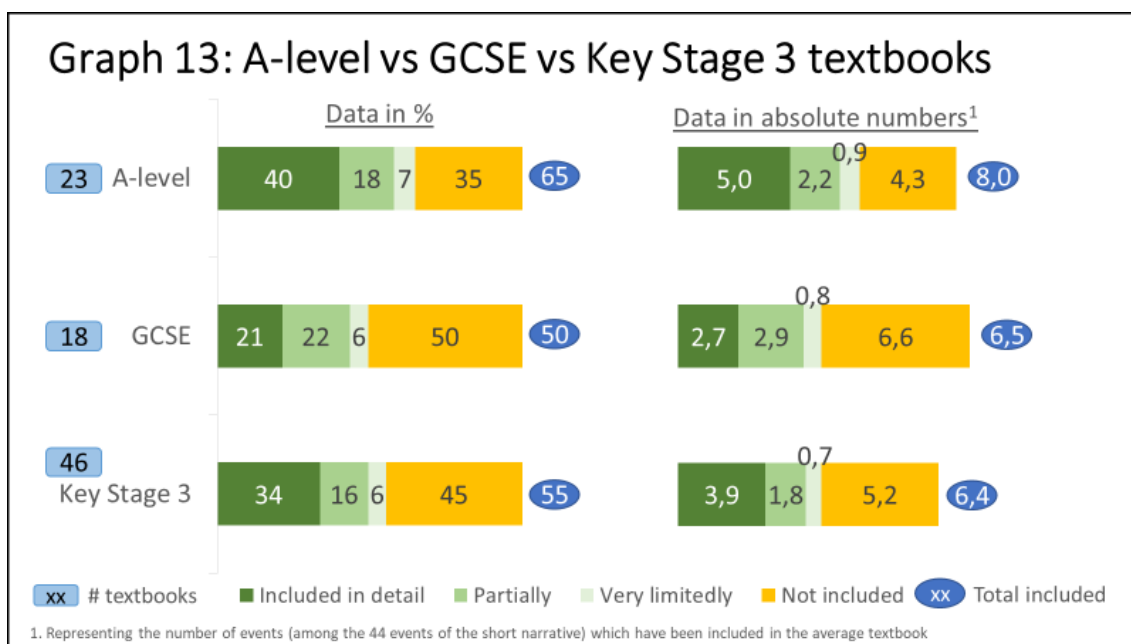
Level of education: Key Stage 3 vs GCSE vs A-level

Analysing the results by level of education shows that A-level textbooks treat the highest number of events: 8.0 on average (of these 5.0 in detail, 2.2 partially and 0.9 very limitedly), while 4.3 events have been omitted despite being in their scope. GCSE textbooks feature on average 6.5 Anglo-Irish events (of which 2.7 in detail, 2.9 partially and 0.8 very limitedly), however, they fail to mention 6.6 events within their scope. Key Stage 3 textbooks include on average 6.4 events (of which 3.9 in detail, 1.8 partially and 0.7 very limitedly), while 5.2 events are not explained. Translating these numbers into the percentages already known from section 4.1 *Quantitative analysis of English*

⁶² The question whether textbooks based on a chronology are more suitable than those that focus on 'topics' surely deserves a deeper analysis beyond the scope of this thesis. Based on the limited number of topic-focused non-chronological textbooks reviewed for this thesis, I tend to agree with the thoughts expressed by Burston in his analysis of different versions of secondary school syllabuses that chronology is key to historical understanding: 'Chronology is essential because the basis of this syllabus is an evolutionary concept of history. History is seen as the story of how the present grew up or developed from its origins up to the present day' (Burston, 1972 (2), p. 61) and also with his argument that topic-focused teaching of history (what he calls 'patch' or 'concept' syllabus) focuses on the common aspects of the topics it has chosen and thus can fail to point out what has actually happened in the specific cases (p. 69).

⁶³ Although the list of events omitted is also telling: the exaggeration of number of Protestants murdered in 1641, the existence of Penal Laws and their impact on landholdings, the late 18th century Protestant-led movement for more autonomy in Ireland, the 1798 cross-community uprising, Tony Blair's 1997 apology for the Great Famine, further emigration from Ireland after the 1850s, the importance of Irish politics in the last 19th century British political life, lack of government action against loyalists in 1912-14 and Churchill's offer to end Partition if Éire joined the Allied.

textbooks by historic events we can conclude that the frequency of inclusion is much higher in A-level textbooks (65%), followed by Key Stage 3 (55%) and that GCSE textbooks include significantly less relevant Anglo-Irish content (50%). Within these percentages of total inclusion, the differences are even stronger if we consider the events included in detail: in case of A-level textbooks it reaches 40%, KS3 34% and GCSE 21%. Partial inclusions reach 18% at A-level, 16% at KS3 and 22% in GCSE, while very limited mentions are 7% at A-level and 6% for both KS3 and GCSE. Thus, it seems that A-level textbooks explain more relevant Anglo-Irish events and in more detail, while GCSE textbooks include fewer relevant events and in lesser detail. These results can also be observed in *Graph 13*. The number of textbooks included in this analysis is 87 (excluding the 3 cross-period textbooks), of which 46 are for KS3, 18 for GCSE and 23 for A-level, thus for each group of textbooks a reasonably sized sample could be obtained.



An additional aspect worth investigating is whether the events included in textbooks are within its stated time period or, on contrary, they have been included in addition to the time period which is the subject of the textbook, as context. For instance, if a textbook dealing with the 19th century explains something that happened in the previous century, as background knowledge for students. In the different analysis presented in this thesis so far, these mentions of context or background have also been considered. If excluding these background mentions from the results, the number of average inclusions per textbooks decreases slightly: for A-level textbooks from 8 to 6.1,

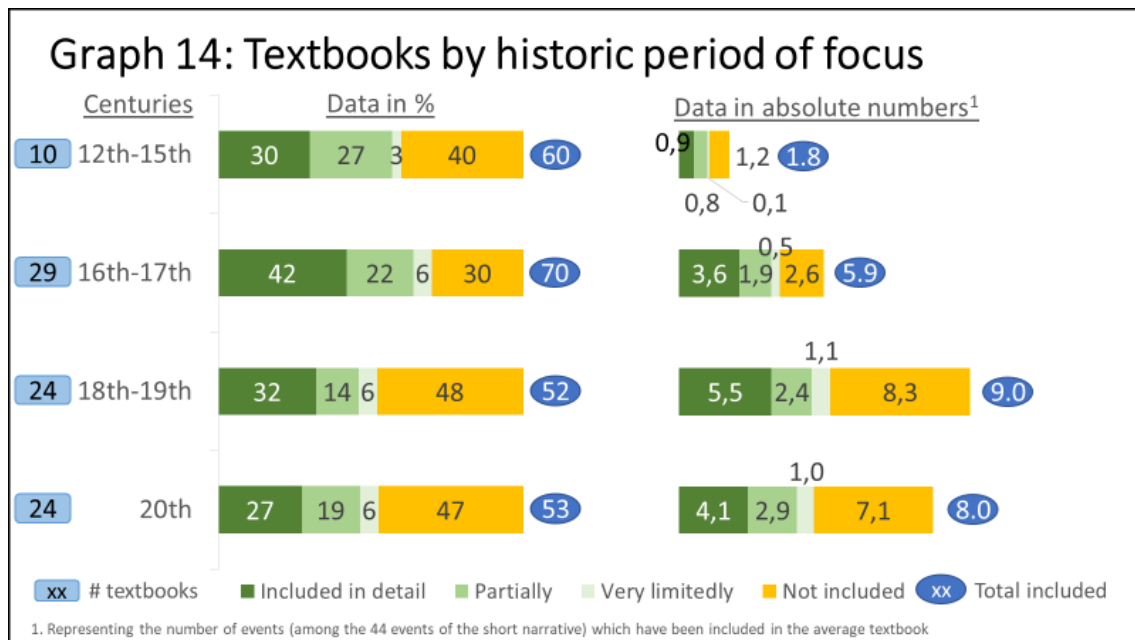
for GCSE from 6.5 to 5.3 and for KS3 from 6.4 to 5.6. The reduction therefore is more significant at A-level, which is a highly welcome fact, as it indicates that on average A-level textbooks include the explanation of nearly 2 events as context to the time period which is the actual subject of the study. Given the way how the percentage of inclusions is calculated, excluding these events of context from the consideration also means a reduction in the percentage figures: for total included it descends from 65% to 59% in case of A-level, from 50% to 45% for GCSE and from 55% to 53% for KS3 textbooks. Given the objective of the thesis – to analyse whether secondary school history education could contribute to a level of indoctrination against another country with a shared but contested history – it seems reasonable to keep considering the results including these mentions of context or background (a few exceptions will be specifically mentioned).

Historic period of study

The degree to which events of the joint Anglo-Irish history have been included in textbook also varies by the historic period of study. We have already seen in the previous *Section 4.1* that 16-17th century events are among the most featured contents. If aggregating the event by event results by the period which is the focus of the textbooks, textbooks dealing with 12-15th century contents include on average 60% of the relevant events (30% in detail, 27% partially and 3% very limitedly). Textbooks focusing on the 16th-17th centuries include on average 70% of the events (42% in detail, 22% partially, 6% very limitedly). On the other hand, textbooks covering the 18th-19th centuries only include 52% of the relevant events on average (32% in detail, 14% partially and 6% very limitedly) and those dealing with the 20th century, 53% (27% in detail, 19% partially, 6% very limitedly). These results can be visually observed in *Graph 14*. The number of textbooks considered in this analysis is again 87, of which 10 are concentrated on the 12th-15th centuries, 29 on the 16th-17th centuries, 24 on the 18th-19th centuries and 24 on the 20th century.

When considering the results in absolute numbers, the perception changes: textbooks focusing on the 18th-19th centuries include on average 9 events (5.5 in detail, 2.4 partially and 1.1 very limitedly), while 8.3 are not considered. (From the 9 events included, 7.4 are from the studied period and 1.6 are for context/background). Textbooks on the 16-17th centuries (which obtained the highest percentage points in terms of share of inclusion) ‘only’ explain 5.9 events of average (of which 3.6 in detail, 1.9 partially and

0.5 very limitedly) and 2.6 events are omitted. Of the 5.9 events, 5.1 are from the studied period and 0.8 are for context/background. Therefore, textbooks on the 18-19th centuries become those which mention the highest number of relevant events.



The difference between the results in percentage and absolute terms is driven by the fact that the number of events included in the abbreviated narrative is much lesser for textbooks focusing on the 16-17th centuries. If considering the most typical 1500-1750 time period, the guiding narrative includes 8 events from Henry VIII to the Penal Laws. Excluding the events mentioned for their context, we found that on average 5.1 events were included⁶⁴ and 2.6 excluded by these textbooks, 7.7 in total, very near to the theoretical target of 8. (The difference comes from the fact that not all textbooks have the exact start and end dates of 1500-1750). In case of the 18-19th centuries, the typical time period covers from 1750/1789 to 1900 or 1914-18. The abbreviated narrative includes 13 events from 1750 to 1900 (from the impact of the Penal Laws and Plantations in land ownership to the late 19th century land reforms) and an additional 7 events from 1900 to 1921 (from the Home Rule Crisis to the Anglo-Irish Treaty). The average number of events included in these textbooks is 7.4 (excluding the 1.6 events for context/background) and the excluded is 8.3, resulting in a total of 15.7, which also seems reasonably in the middle of the theoretic range of 13 to 20.

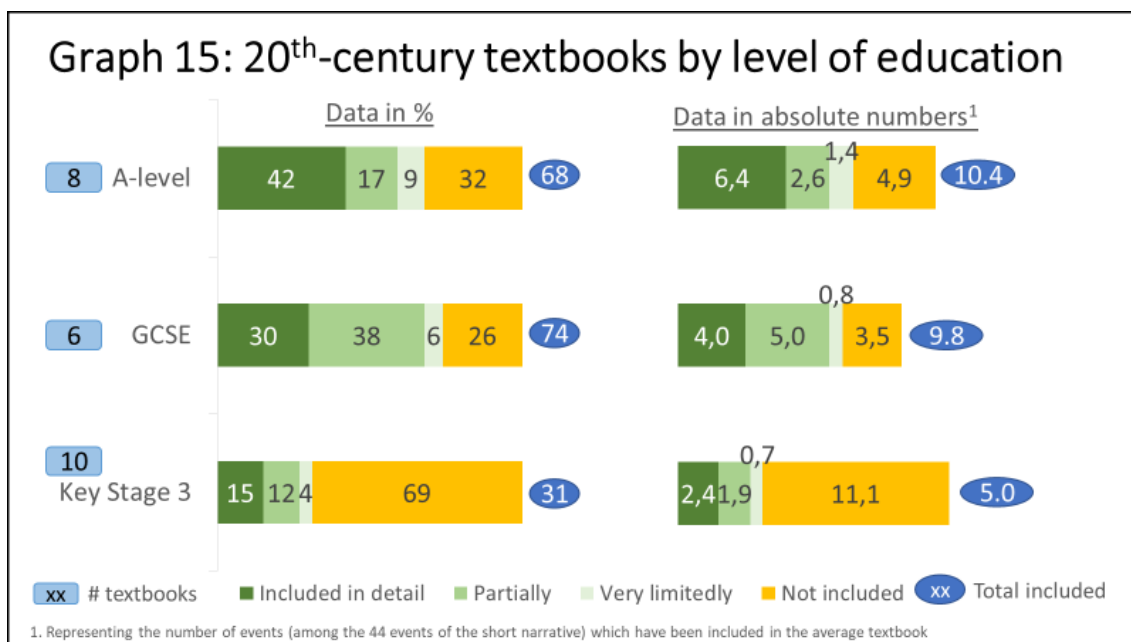
⁶⁴ As explained previously, from the 5.9 events included on average, 0.8 are for background/context.

This of course raises the question if the short narrative of 44 events is not too condensed in the 250-years period of 1500-1750 and too expanded in the 171 years between 1750 and 1921. My belief is that the long 19th century provided a significant number of complex events and their understanding requires a detailed narrative. A quick back-testing of the validity of the guiding narrative can be found in the fact that textbooks dealing with the 16th-17th centuries proportionally have more partial and limited mentions than detailed mentions in comparison to textbooks dealing with the 18th-19th centuries: (excluding the mentions for background/context) textbooks on the 16th-17th centuries have 3.2 detailed mentions, and 2.0 partial or limited inclusions, a ratio of 62%-38%, while in textbooks on the 18th-19th centuries we can find 4.9 detailed mentions and 2.5 partial or limited inclusions, a ratio of 66%-34%. Therefore, it seems that textbooks dealing with the 18-19th century managed to explain a higher number of events with a higher level of detail, in comparison to textbooks focusing on the 16-17th centuries. Should the guiding narrative be artificially too detailed in the 18th-19th centuries and too condensed in the 16th-17th centuries, the result would have been the opposite.

Books dealing with the 20th century stretch through very different timescales; therefore, it is impossible to establish a 'typical' period. Between 1921 and 1998 the abbreviated narrative includes 3 events for (Southern) Ireland and 11 events for Northern Ireland, 14 in total. However, if we also add the 7 events from 1900 to 1921, we would have 21 events in total. In comparison to that - once again excluding the events mentioned for context/background -, on average 6.3 mentions have been included in the analysed textbooks and 7.1 excluded, 13.4 in total. The relative depth of the narrative is however significantly below what we have found in case of textbooks on the 16th/17th and 18th/19th centuries: on average 3.5 events are explained in detail and 2.8 partially/limitedly, which results in a ratio of 56%-44%.

20th century History textbooks interestingly present a significant difference by the level of education (*Graph 15*): A-level textbooks include on average 10.4 events, which corresponds to a coverage of 68% of the relevant events (of which 42% in detail, 17% partially and 9% very limitedly), GCSE textbooks explain 9.8 events, 74% of what could be expected (of this 30% in detail, 38% partially and 6% very limitedly), however, KS3 textbooks only include about half as many events: 5 on average, a 31% coverage of the those they should have explained (15% in detail, 12% partially, 4% very limitedly). This indicates that authors found the more complicated contents of 20th century Anglo-Irish

history maybe too complex or sensitive for the relatively younger students of KS3, aged between 11 and 14.



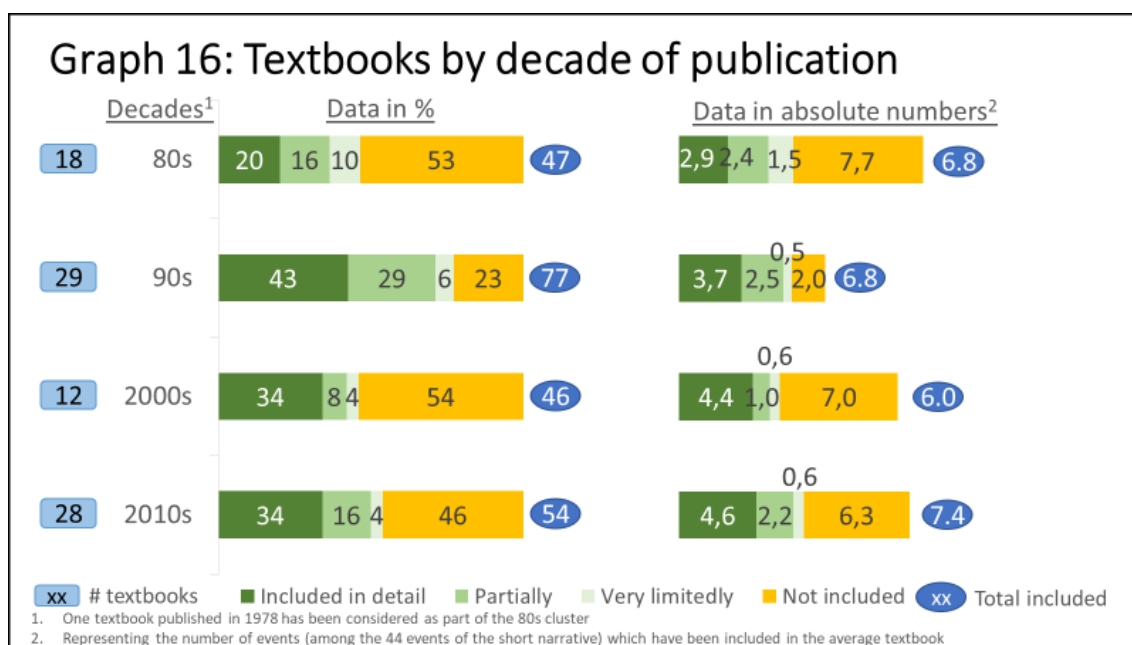
Thus, we can conclude that textbooks dealing with the 16th-17th and 18th-19th century feature the most Anglo-Irish events: 16th-17th centuries textbooks in percentage and 18th-19th centuries textbooks in absolute terms. On the other hand, textbooks covering the 20th century have a moderate coverage in terms of percentage numbers, and the depth of their narrative is also reduced, and that this reduced coverage is based on Key Stage 3 textbooks omitting relevant contents. Maybe it is the historic perspective that allows authors to condense the Anglo-Irish history of the 16th-17th centuries into fewer and more commonly accepted/narrated events, while the narrative becomes more complex in the 18th-19th centuries and in the 20th century many authors choose to remain silent or vague about potentially sensitive topics.

Decade of publication

This analysis considers 18 textbooks published in 1978-1989, 29 in 1990-1999, 12 in 2000-2009 and 28 in 2010-2019. The level of inclusion of events also varies by decade of publication, reaching the highest percentage in the 90s: 77% of events have been treated in total, of which 43% in detail, 29% partially and 6% very limitedly. Textbooks published in the 80s have treated on average 47% of the events of the short

narrative, of which 20% in detail, 16% partially and 10% very limitedly. Textbooks of the first decade of the 2000s include on average 46% of events, of which 34% in detail, 8% partially and 4% very limitedly. Finally, in the 2010s textbooks on average mentioned 54% of the relevant events, of which 34% in detail, 16% partially and 4% very limitedly. The first glance at these figures would indicate that the 90s were a kind of golden age for Anglo-Irish events in British textbooks.

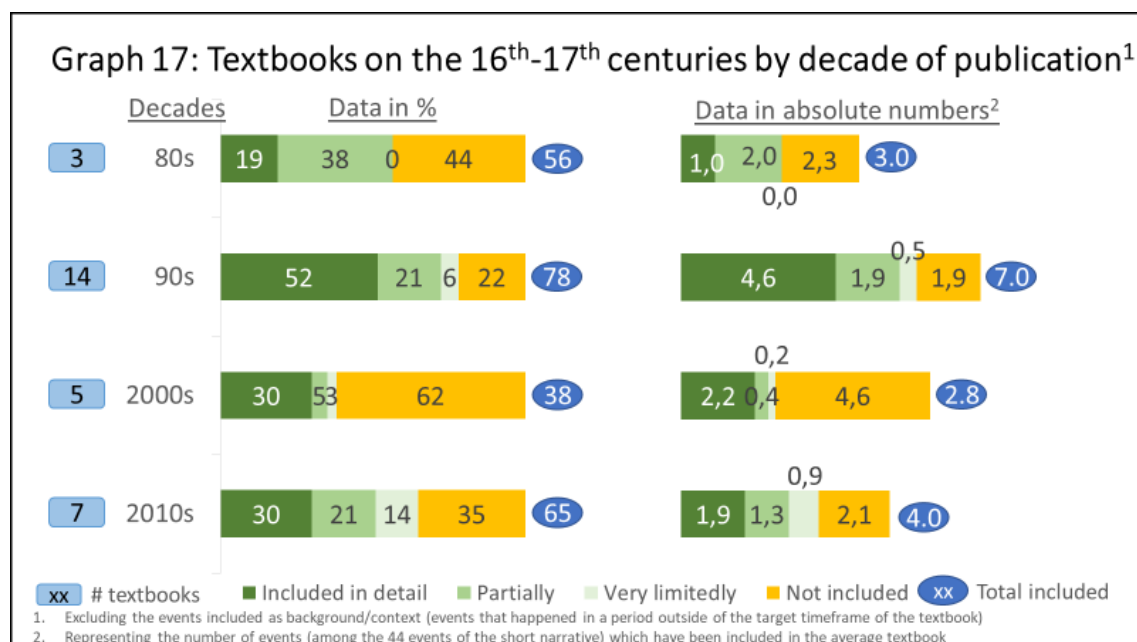
On the other hand, looking at the right-hand side of *Graph 16*, we can see that the reason for this higher percentage in the 90s lies in the lower absolute number of not treated events, only 2 on average, compared to 6.8 included. This stands in a contrast with the other 3 decades, when between 6 and 7.4 events have been mentioned in average and between 6.3 and 7.7 excluded.



An additional analysis can explain what could be behind this: if we look into the decade of publication of textbooks focusing on the 16th-17th centuries, we see that nearly half of them, 14 out of 29 are from the 90s, 3 from the 80s, 5 from the 2000s and 7 from the 2010s. We already know that 16th-17th century textbooks have the highest average percentage of inclusion of Anglo-Irish events: 70%. Thus, it could be that the relatively higher percentage of inclusion of events in case of textbooks published in the 90s is driven by the fact that nearly half of them (14 out of 29) focus on the 16-17th centuries (whereas in case of textbooks dealing with the 18th-19th centuries, only 5 out of 24 come from the

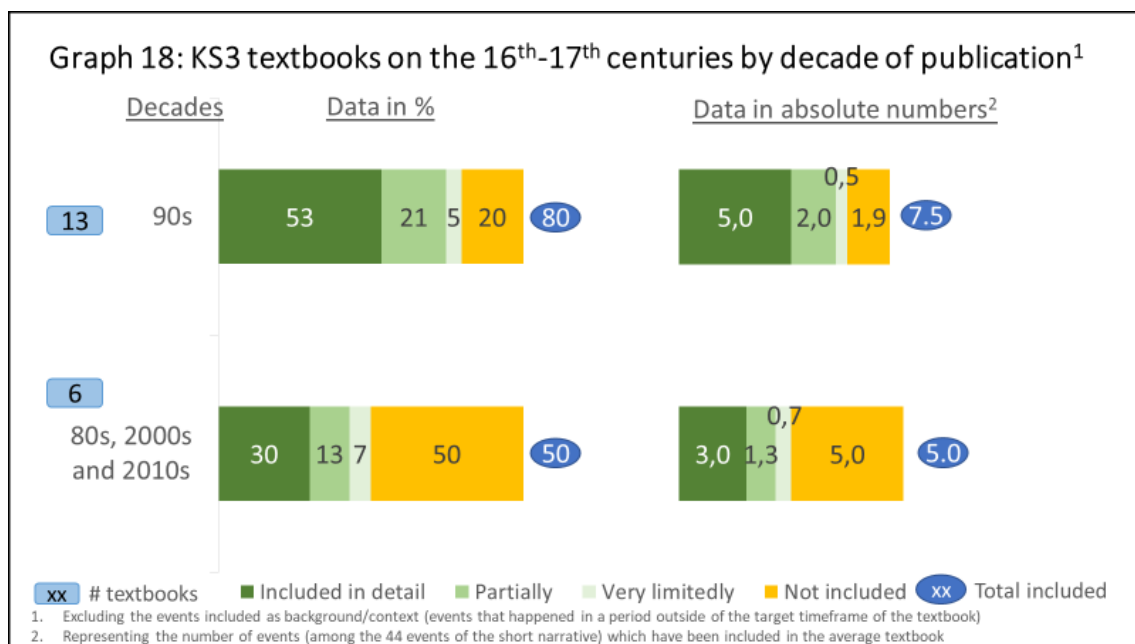
90s, and in case of textbooks dealing with the 20th century, 4 out of 24 have been published in the 90s, around one in five to six.)

Therefore, in order to validate the preliminary conclusion from the left-hand side of *Graph 16* (that textbooks of the 90s included a higher share of relevant events), we shall analyse only textbooks of the 16th-17th centuries by their decade of publication. Considering the number of textbooks published in each decade, the sample size is good in the 90s (14 textbooks), relevant in the 2010s (7) and 2000s (5), but low in the 80s (3). After eliminating the potential ‘noise’ from background/context mentions of events, we see that on average 3 events have been treated by textbooks published in the 80s (resulting in a percentage of inclusion of 56% in total, of which 19% in detail and 38% partially), 7 by textbooks of the 90s (total included 78%, of which 52% in detail, 21% partially and 6% very limitedly), 2.8 by textbooks of the 2000s (total included 38%, of which 30% in detail, 5% partially and 3% very limitedly) and 4 by textbooks published in the 2010s (65% total treated, of which 30% in detail, 21% partially and 14% very limitedly). Therefore, we can confirm that in the 90s textbooks focusing on the 16th-17th centuries on average included more Anglo-Irish content (see *Graph 17*).



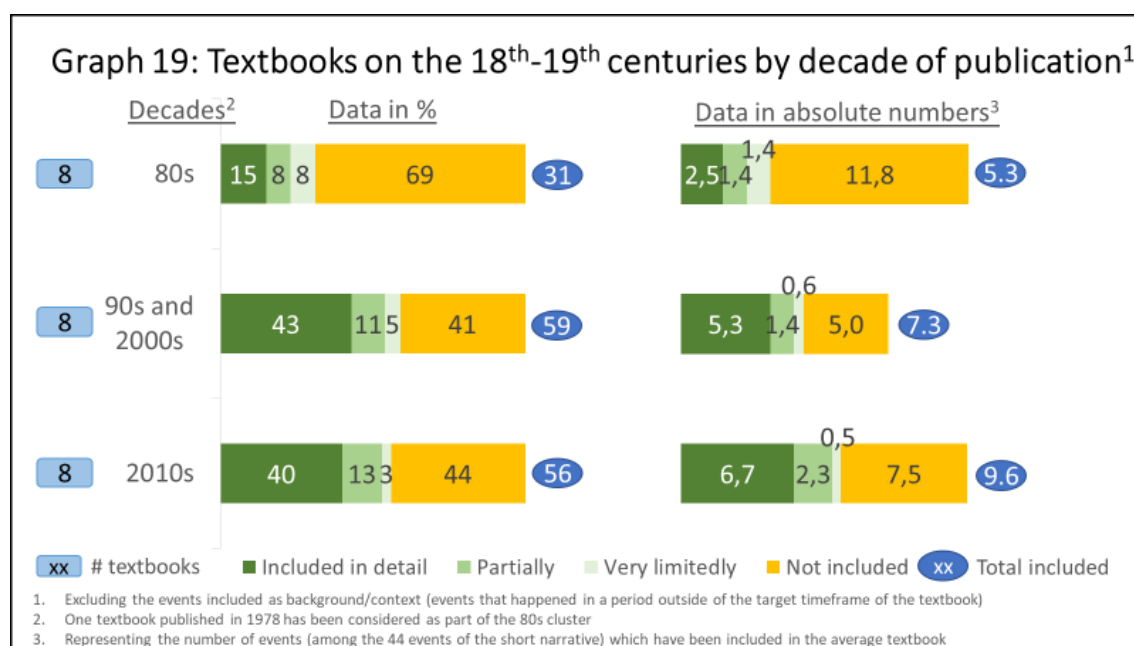
A further look into these 14 textbooks published in the 90s and dealing with the 16th-17th centuries indicates that 13 of them are KS3 textbooks and most of them (11 out of 13) are titled by some synonym of ‘the making of the United Kingdom’. Therefore, it seems reasonable that these textbooks should feature more Anglo-Irish events as

historically ‘the making of the United Kingdom’ included Ireland (and Northern Ireland still forms part of the UK). The sample size starts to become too small when making these highly detailed analysis by cutting the data across 3 different variables (level of studies, decade of publication, and time period of focus), however, it is interesting to observe that the ‘sweet spot’ of ‘most inclusive’ textbooks (in terms of including events of the Anglo-Irish history) are Key Stage 3 textbooks on the 16th-17th centuries, published in the 90s. These 13 textbooks on average included 7.5 events, a ratio of 80%, of which 53% in detail, 21% partially and 5% very limitedly. The KS3 textbooks on the 16th-17th centuries published in other decades (80s, 2000s, 2010s) include on average only 5 events, a ratio of 50%, of which 30% mentioned in detail, 13% partially and 7% very limitedly (*Graph 18*). Therefore, we can confirm that the 16th-17th centuries textbooks published in the 90s included on average more events of the Anglo-Irish history and that this was driven by Key Stage 3 textbooks.



We can also analyse through textbooks focused on other centuries if the 90s has been the most ‘inclusive’ decade for Anglo-Irish events. There are only 10 textbooks in the sample on the 12th-15th centuries, which is insufficient to dive deeper. 8 textbooks in the sample on the 18th-19th centuries have been published in the 80s, 5 in the 90s, 3 in the 2000s and 8 in the 2010s. Given the smaller number of textbooks published in the 90s and 2000s, we can group them together to also achieve a similar sample of 8 textbooks. The level of inclusion increased since the 80s: in the 80s the average number of treated

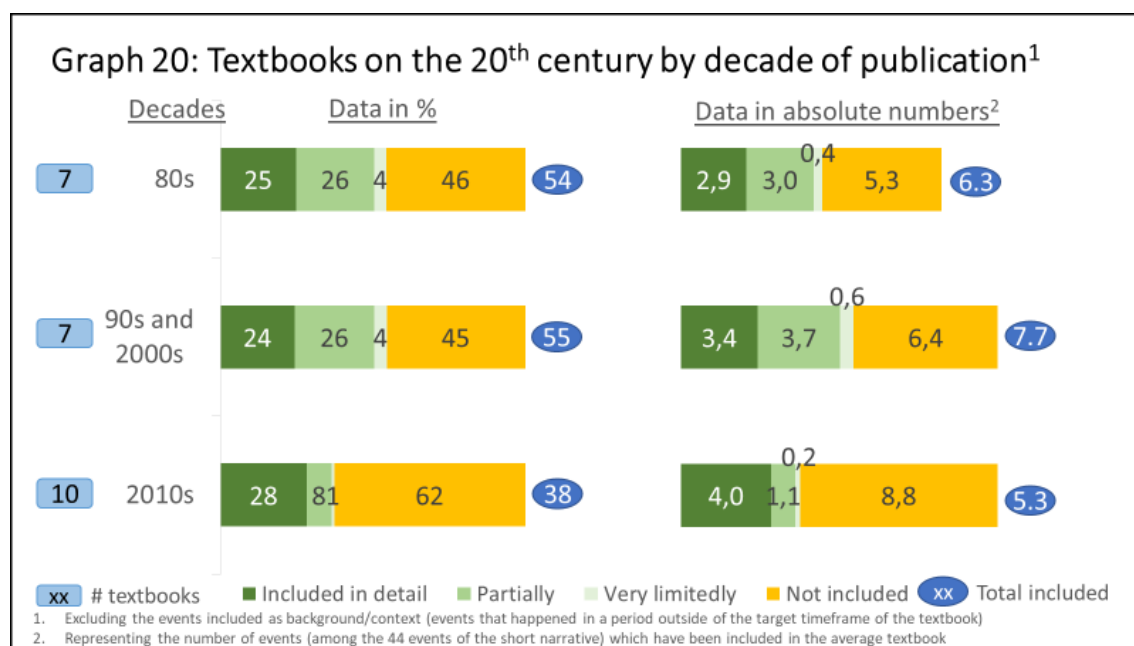
events was 5.3, corresponding to a ratio of 31% (of which 15% in detail, 8% partially and 8% very limitedly), in the 90s and 2000s 7.3, with a ratio of 59% (of which 43% in detail, 11% partially and 5% very limitedly), and in the 2010s 9.6 events have been included, 56% of those in scope (of which 40% in detail, 13% partially and 3% very limitedly). All of these figures exclude events mentioned in the textbooks for context/background (Graph 19).



An additional piece of relevant information is that from the 8 textbooks on the 18th-19th centuries and published in the 80s, 7 are for GCSE, while in the 90s-2000s and 2010s they were mainly for KS3 and A-level. We have seen earlier that GCSE textbooks in general have a lower level of inclusion of Anglo-Irish events than KS3 and especially A-level textbooks. Therefore, it is not clear if this difference between the decades is driven by an increased interest in Anglo-Irish events since the 90s, or, simply by the fact that the sample of the 80s include proportionally more GCSE textbooks. In any case, what seems clear is that the GCSE textbooks dealing with the 18th-19th centuries and published in the 80s did not demonstrate a high level of interest in Anglo-Irish history (there could be a number of potential hypothesis for this, I believe the most probable is that the evolution of the Troubles – also impacting Great Britain strongly – made Ireland-related contents especially in this period more controversial and therefore they have been avoided). Among the 8 textbooks on the 18th-19th centuries published in the 2010s 5 were of A-level and 3 KS3 and 7 of the 8 have been published in 2015 or later. In the 90s and

2000s, out of the 8 textbooks 4 were for KS3, 1 for GCSEs and 3 for A-levels. Thus, it appears that the curriculum changes impacting textbooks from 2015 did not result in a reduction of relevant Anglo-Irish content on the 18-19th centuries, rather on the contrary.

Among the textbooks focusing on the 20th century, 7 have been published in the 80s, 4 in the 90s, 3 in the 2000s and 10 in the 2010s. Among these textbooks, the degree of inclusion of Anglo-Irish events decreased in the 2010s. In the 80s the average textbook included 6.3 events, a ratio of 54% (of which 25% in detail, 26% partially and 4% very limitedly), in the 90s and 2000s number increased to 7.7 but the ratio remained stable at 55% (24% in detail, 26% partially and 4% very limitedly), while in the 2010s the number of included events decreased to 5.3 or 38% (28% in detail, 8% partially, 1% very limitedly), as shown on *Graph 20*.



The 10 textbooks published in the 2010s were over-proportionally for A-level: 5, while 3 were for KS3 and 2 for GCSE. In comparison, among the textbooks of the 80s 4 were for KS3, 1 for GCSE and 2 for A-level. In case of the textbooks from the 90s and 2000s, 3 were for KS3, 3 for GCSE and 1 for A-levels. We know from the previous analysis included in this section that A-level textbooks tend to feature the most Anglo-Irish events, both in terms of percentage and absolute numbers. Therefore, there seems to be little noise from the distribution of textbooks by their level of education when

analysing the results of textbooks on the 20th century by decade of publication and we can reasonably conclude that textbooks on the 20th century decreased its inclusiveness in the 2010s. 8 out of these 10 textbooks have been published in 2015 or after, following the introduction of new specifications for teaching history. Consequently, it seems that the new curriculum resulted in fewer Anglo-Irish events being included in textbooks about the 20th century.

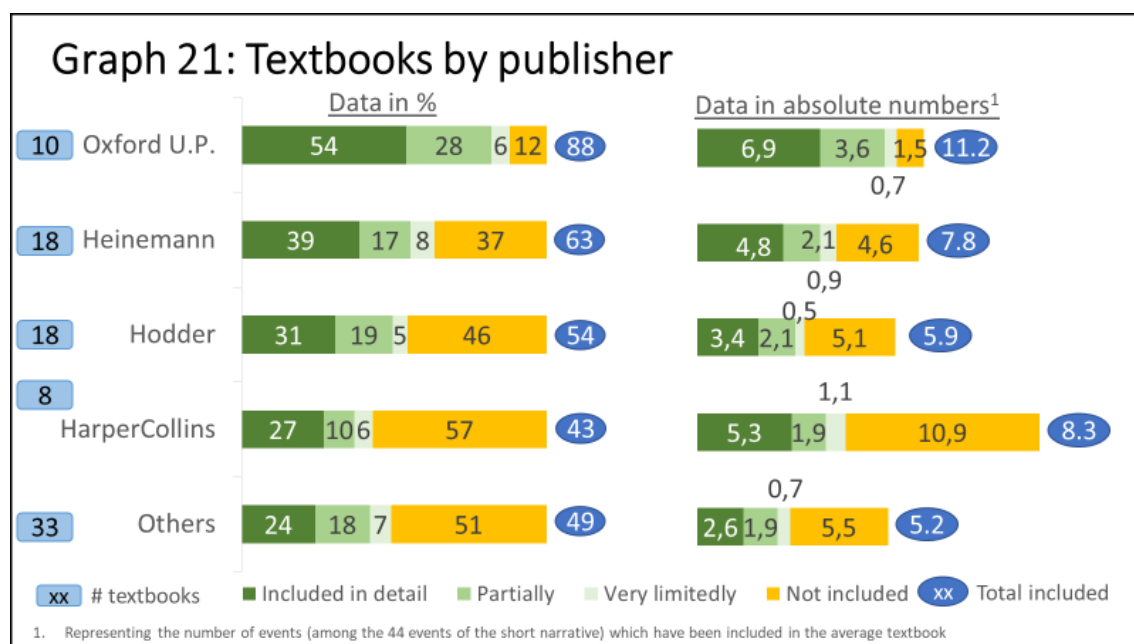
Therefore, from this rather extensive (7 pages) temporary analysis of British textbooks by decade of publication we can conclude that the evolution over time was not uniform by level of education and century of content. 16th-17th century textbooks published in the 90s had a certain ‘golden age’ for including Anglo-Irish events in their narrative, driven by KS3 textbooks explaining how the United Kingdom was formed. At the same time, textbooks dealing with the 18th-19th centuries included the least contents related to Irish history in the 80s, influenced by the high number of GCSE textbooks dealing with this period in the 80s. Among the textbooks focusing on the 20th century, we saw a significant reduction in the mentions of relevant events in the 2010s, driven by A-level textbooks published after the 2015 curriculum reform. However, we cannot say that the 2015 curriculum reform implied a general reduction of Ireland-related contents, certainly this was not the case for events of the 18th-19th centuries.

Publisher

Analysing the results of the quantitative analysis by publisher also provides some interesting insights. In the sample of 87, the 10 textbooks from Oxford University Press (OUP)⁶⁵ feature the highest number and proportion of Anglo-Irish events: 11.2 events have been included on average, resulting in an inclusion rate of 88% (54% in detail, 28% partially and 6% very limitedly, *Graph 21*). These numbers also include the events mentioned as background/context from previous periods: 1.7 events on average. The composition of the sample of OUP textbooks could have some impact, since 6 out of the 10 textbooks are for A-level (from the 2010s), 2 for GCSEs (from the 80s and 90s) and 2 for KS3 (from the 90s) and we know that A-level textbooks usually include more relevant

⁶⁵ There is one cross-period textbook from Oxford University Press in the sample of 90, which has not been considered in this analysis.

Anglo-Irish content. However, we have seen that A-level textbooks on average include 8 events (in comparable terms, including 2 events on average for context/background), resulting in a ratio of inclusion of 65%, significantly less than the numbers for *OUP* (11.2 and 88%). In fact, among the 10 textbooks in question, only one has a ratio of inclusion below 80% (an A-level textbook on the 16th century: *Religious Conflict and the Church in England c1529-c1570* (Carpenter, 2015)) Therefore, it seems clear that OUP textbooks on average feature more Anglo-Irish contents.



The second publisher with most frequent mentions of Irish events is Heinemann Educational Publishers (in short: Heinemann): 63% of relevant events are included (39% in detail, 17% partially and 8% very limitedly), explaining on average 7.8 events. The last textbook in the sample has been published in 2004, and 10 of the 18 textbooks are for KS3, 3 for GCSEs and 5 for A-level. It is interesting to see that in Heinemann's analysed portfolio, KS3 textbooks achieve the highest number and share of total mentions: 8.9 and 72%, compared to 7.6 and also 72% for A-level and 4.7 and 30% for GCSE. Thus, it seems that Heinemann included comparably more Anglo-Irish contents at KS3: 8.9 events compared to 6.4 on average for all publishers, resulting in the 72% ratio of inclusion vs. 55% on average. For A-level, Heinemann's figures were similar to the market average: 7.6 vs 8.0 and 72% vs. 65%. However, for GCSEs Heinemann included significantly fewer events than its competitors: 4.7 compared to 6.5 and 30% compared to 50%.

Hodder Education (in short: Hodder; also including its historic sub-brand Hodder & Stoughton Educational) features on average 5.9 events in its 18 textbooks (excluding two cross-period textbooks), below the overall average of the 87 textbooks of 6.9, resulting in a ratio of 54% (31% in detail, 19% partially, 5% very limitedly). The analysed Hodder textbooks include 8 for KS3 (average treatment of 5.6 events, or 48%), 4 for GCSEs (on average 5.3 events or 52% explained) and 8 for A-level (6.5 events or 61% mentioned). These figures are somewhat below market average, but the difference is not very high. There are many textbooks among those published by Hodder which achieve ratios of 80% or above, however, there are two particular textbooks that fall very short when treating the relevant events of Irish history: the KS3 textbook published in 2015, *Making sense of History: 1901-Present day* (Clare J. D., Bates, Fisher, & Kennett, 2015 (2)) does not include any of the 21 events that should have been mentioned and the A-level textbook published in 2015, *Britain 1930-1997* (Wells & Fellows, 2015) is also completely silent about any Ireland-related event, as if the Troubles would not have become one of the biggest challenges of 20th century British history. Among the cross-period textbooks two are from Hodder and both only include one limited mention of Ireland.

HarperCollinsPublishers' (in short HarperCollins, including previous brand Collins Educational) 8 textbooks in the sample mention on average 8.3 events (above the overall average of 6.9), however only achieve a 43% ratio of total inclusion (27% in detail, 10% partially and 6% very limitedly), below the overall average of 57% (excluding cross-period textbooks). The reason for this difference is one particular GCSE textbook from 1987, *Making modern Britain* (Culpin, 1987), highly ambitious in its scope, ranging from 1700. From the 34 events that should be in its scope, only two have been mentioned in detail: the Great Famine (without explaining the impact in deaths and emigration nor evaluating the government's actions) (p. 258) and the long-term impact on Ireland's declining population (pp. 4, 274). Some additional comments are made on the impact of Irish immigration in Great Britain, however, all other events of Irish history are completely missed. It is also interesting to see that another KS3 textbook published in 2010, *Collins Key Stage 3 History, Book 3: Twentieth Century* (Wilkinson, Martin, Pearson, Wilkinson, & Wrenn, 2010) does only include one of the 44 events and, very limitedly: the intensification of IRA terrorism (p. 9). It is in the summary timescale where:

‘1974: IRA Birmingham pub bombs’ are included as the only and therefore seemingly most relevant Ireland-related event of the 20th century. In addition, p. 57 mentions the Irish quota for immigration to the US 1900-1920 being high and pp. 98-99 show a world map during World War 2, stating that the Irish Free State was neutral. That’s all about 20th century Irish history! Nevertheless, we shall also consider that the book the same pupils have been studying from in the previous year, *Collins Key Stage 3 History, Book 2: 1750-1918* (Murphy, Gosling, & Martin, 2010) includes 22 Ireland-related events up to 1937, covering 76% of those in scope. Thus, we cannot talk about any systematic omission of Ireland-related contents in case of this publisher, only about some examples where these events have been omitted.

The remaining 33 textbooks have been published by 16 different publishers, none of which have more than 5 books in the sample. These textbooks on average include 5.2 Ireland-related events, 49% of what is in their scope (of which 24% in detail, 18% partially and 7% very limitedly).

We have found several relevant patterns when analysing the 87 textbooks by publisher: most interestingly that Oxford University Press includes on average many more events than others and that Heinemann’s Key Stage 3 textbooks are also more inclusive.

4.3 Quantitative analysis of current GCSE and A-level specifications for England

Key conclusions:

- There is no Ireland-focused GCSE topic in England and the specifications for the topics dedicated to British history very often forget about all relevant events of the shared Anglo-Irish history (in 10 out of 16 cases).
- There are 2 Ireland-related A-level topics, focusing on the long 19th century, one from OCR and one from Edexcel. Most A-level topics treat Ireland-related contents with much less detail than desirable (11 out of 32) and many topic specifications do not mention relevant Irish events at all (15 out of 32).
- A-level specifications for topics related to the British Empire completely omit references to Ireland, indicating in a certain way that Irish history should be treated as part of British history.
- The Civil Rights movement is more frequently included in the specifications related to the USA than to Northern Ireland.

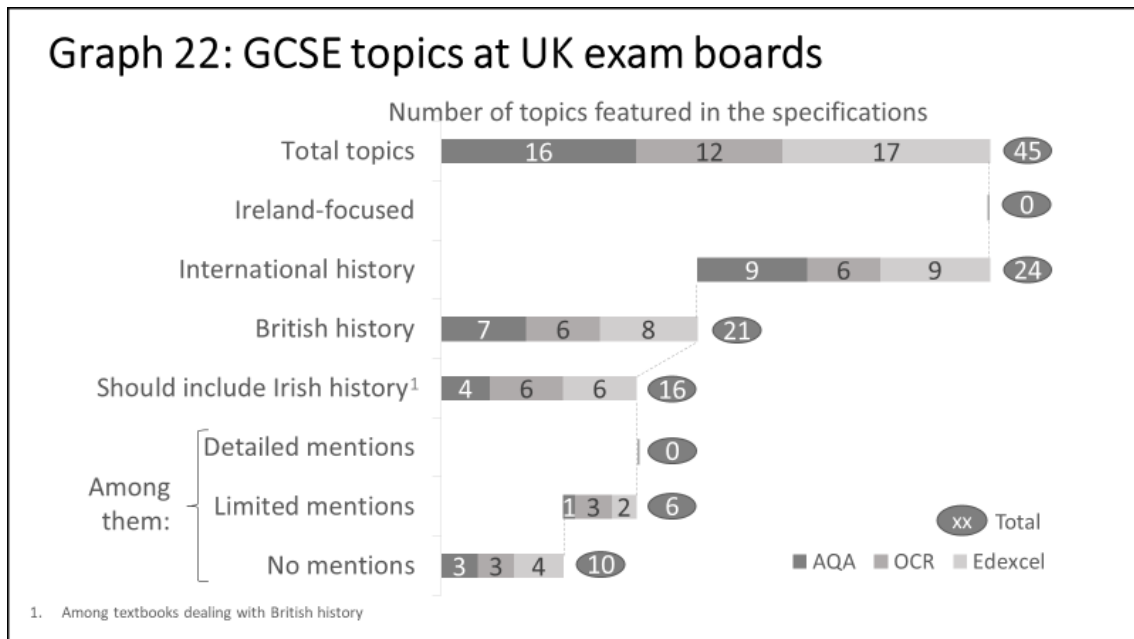
England, GCSE

By analysing the specifications of the three exam boards AQA, OCR and Edexcel, we can conclude that from 45 different GCSE topics offered, 21 relate to British history and the rest to international history. None of them is dedicated to Anglo-Irish history. Among the 21 topics related to British history - given the content and time period -, 16 should include Ireland-related events, however, none of the topics feature them in detail, 6 only partially and 10 do not mention any similar contents. *Graph 22* shows these results.

The fact that the specifications do not include Ireland-related matters does not mean that the textbooks cannot include them either, authors can add additional contents (although they are not part of the exam questions).

History GCSE specifications at AQA (AQA, 2019) include two papers, ‘*Paper 1: Understanding the modern world*’, which relates to world history and ‘*Paper 2: Shaping the nation*’ about British history. From the 7 topics related to British history (under ‘*Paper*

2'), 4 should refer to Ireland and only one of them does that, and even in that case very limitedly: *AC Britain: Migration, empires and the people: c790 to the present day* only includes the medieval invasion of Ireland, the Ulster plantations and the Irish migration to Britain, when much ampler space is dedicated to each of the Caribbean, North America, India and Africa. The end of Empire specifications also focus on Indian and African leaders, but on no one from Ireland (pp. 25-27).



Three of these topics should make a mention of Ireland and they fail to do so:

- *AB Britain: Power and the people: c1170 to the present day* mentions several events where people challenged royal authority, including the Civil War, the English Revolution, and the American Revolution, but not similar events in Ireland. There are also several points about equality and rights, including minority rights, but they focus on the post-second-world-war multi-racial society, without any mention of both historic ethnic discrimination of Irish and religious discrimination of Catholics (pp. 24-25).

- *BB Medieval England - the reign of Edward I, 1272–1307* includes the Scottish and Welsh military campaigns, however, there is no mention at all of Ireland (pp. 29-30).

- *BC Elizabethan England, c1568–1603* does not mention any of the many relevant Ireland-related events of the period, even if it has the perfect chapter for doing so: 'Troubles at home and abroad' (pp. 30-32).

The GCSE specifications of the OCR exam board include the requirement to study one of three British thematic studies and one of three British depth studies combined with studies of the historic environment. On the other hand, there are 6 topics of international relations (OCR, 2022). The available British options are:

Migration to Britain c.1000 to c.2010 (1)

Power: Monarchy and Democracy in Britain c.1000 to 2014 (2)

War and British Society c.790 to c.2010 (3)

The Impact of Empire on Britain 1688–c.1730 with Urban Environments:
Patterns of Migration (1)

The English Reformation c.1520–c.1550 with Castles: Form and Function
c.1000–1750 (2)

Personal Rule to Restoration 1629–1660 with Castles: Form and Function
c.1000–1750 (3) (p. 8)

The specifications are described in detail for each of the options, omitting many relevant Irish contents. 3 of these 6 topics make partial mentions of Ireland-related events:

- *Migration to Britain c.1000 to c.2010 (1)* includes the ‘impact of the Industrial Revolution on migration: Irish and Scottish migrants to England; the impact of migrants on political movements including the Abolition movement and the Chartists’ (pp. 20-21).
- *War and British Society c.790 to c.2010 (3)* includes ‘the Civil Wars of 1642–1651 in England, Scotland and Ireland: the nature of these wars; their impact on the people of England, Scotland and Ireland’ but it misses mentioning the feudalistic conquest of Ireland, the medieval warfare between native and Anglo-Norman landlords, the Tudor conquest, the civil-war-like situation in 1912-1914 and the Anglo-Irish War (pp. 24-25).
- *Personal Rule to Restoration 1629–1660* mentions ‘events leading to the civil war, including rebellion in Ireland in 1641’, however, the specifications fail to include the Confederate Wars in Ireland, Cromwell’s campaigns there nor the following land confiscations (p. 29).

Another 3 topics do not include any reference to Irish events:

- *Power: Monarchy and Democracy in Britain c.1000 to 2014 (2)* does not make any mention to Irish struggles for power and democracy along the studied millennium. The closest the text comes to it is in the ‘challenges to Parliament c.1980 to

early 2000s' when it mentions 'the devolution of power to regions of the UK', although it falls short of indicating the special circumstances in case of Northern Ireland in form of an international treaty (the Good Friday Agreement). The 19th century reform movements are highlighted, also the struggle of women to vote, but not the process of Catholic Emancipation (pp. 22-23).

- *The Impact of Empire on Britain 1688–c.1730* has been developed together with *The Black and Asian Studies Association* and it features the military campaigns in Ireland 1688-1691 and one can also hope that Ireland-related events would be mentioned under 'emigration (including forced emigration) from the British Isles to the Americas'. Nevertheless, the topics do not include the Penal Laws, a significant failure, especially when comparing this lack of depth with the very detailed specifications about the (also rightly included) slave trade and racism. A potential interpretation is that the Irish community would need to establish a similar lobbying activity to ensure that the discrimination of Catholics and the Irish forms part of textbook syllabus (p. 27).

- *The English Reformation c.1520–c.1550* topic does not include any Ireland-related events, when it is related to the English Reformation that Henry VIII had to declare himself King of Ireland, instead of the style of Lord of Ireland, a title based on the medieval *Laudabiliter* (p. 28).

The Edexcel exam board requires students to complete three papers in their GCSEs. The first and second papers together include 8 topics related to British history, from which we could expect 6 to dedicate some space to Irish history:

10: Crime and punishment in Britain, c1000–present and Whitechapel, c1870–c1900: crime, policing and the inner city. (...)

12: Warfare and British society, c1250–present and London and the Second World War, 1939–45.

13: Migrants in Britain, c800–present and Notting Hill, c1948–c1970. (...)

B2: The reigns of King Richard I and King John, 1189–1216

B3: Henry VIII and his ministers, 1509–40

B4: Early Elizabethan England, 1558–88 (Pearson Education Limited, 2021, pp. 4-5)

The specifications hardly make any mentions of Ireland-related contents, they only refer to Irish immigration to England, in two different topics. At the same time, there are several events that should be covered but are omitted:

- *10: Crime and punishment in Britain, c1000–present and Whitechapel, c1870–c1900: crime, policing and the inner city* only mentions Ireland in relation to the Whitechapel case study with reference to the problems caused by the immigration: ‘the tensions arising from the settlement of immigrants from Ireland and Eastern Europe’, when *Crime and punishment in Britain* should certainly include at least the Penal Laws of the 18th century and ideally also the near permanent suspension of the Habeas Corpus in 19th century Ireland in order to ‘pacify’ the island through the so-called coercion laws (pp. 8-10).

- *13: Migrants in Britain, c800–present and Notting Hill, c1948–c1970* includes several mentions of Irish immigration to England, although the text does not specify that the Great Famine also shall be explained. One of the case studies on the 18-19th century migration is ‘Liverpool in the nineteenth century: its role in migration and the experiences of migrants, including Irish migrants’. Nevertheless, as the topic is migration in Britain, should it not explain in detail the Irish emigration also to the US (pp. 17-19)?

The remaining 4 different topics do not include Ireland-related contents:

- *12: Warfare and British society, c1250–present and London and the Second World War, 1939–45* does not mention any Ireland-related war, when there were quite a few since 1250 and with a high relevance also for the English history, such as the Nine Years’ War, Cromwell’s Irish campaign, the Battle of the Boyne, 1798, the Easter Rising, ... (pp. 14-16)

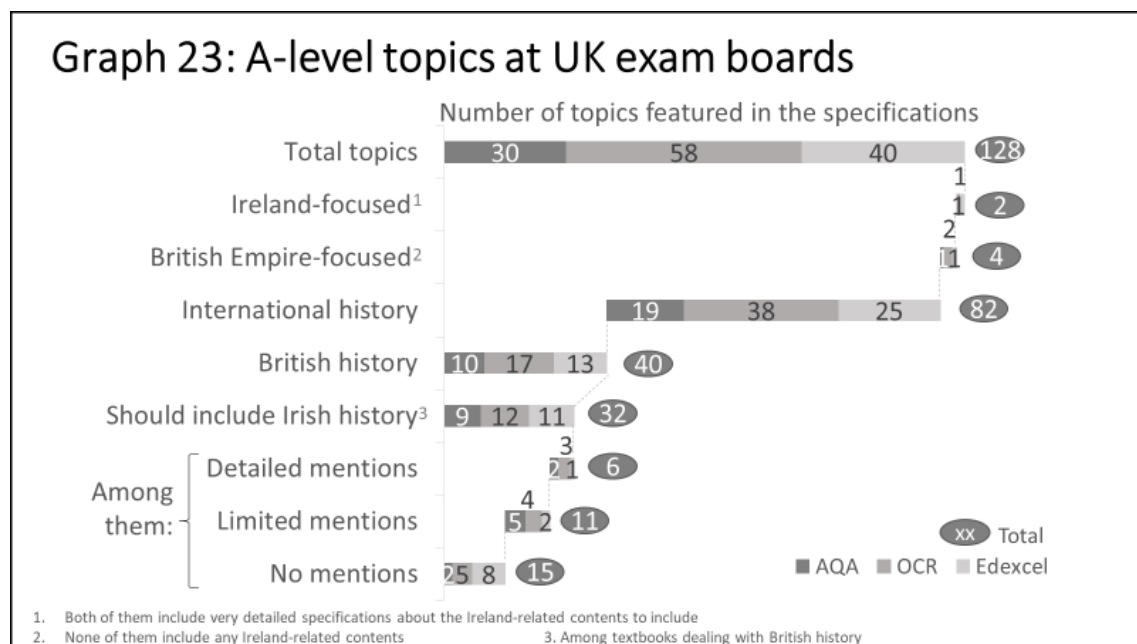
- *B2: The reigns of King Richard I and King John, 1189–1216* does not specify any Ireland-related content when it has the perfect space for it in the ‘key topic 2: involvement overseas, 1189-1204’ which explains the crusading and the loss of Normandy, but does not mention Ireland which was already under English rule at this time (pp. 24-25).

- *B3: Henry VIII and his ministers, 1509–40* should also include Ireland-related events as Henry became King of Ireland, however nothing is included in the description (pp. 26-27).

- *B4: Early Elizabethan England, 1558–88* does not mention any Ireland-related content either, although there are quite a few to choose from in this period, including the Desmond Rebellion and the Munster Plantation (pp. 28-29).

England, A-level

Across the 3 exam boards (Edexcel, AQA and OCR), there are 128 A-level topics to study, of which 2 are specialised in Anglo-Irish history, 4 in the history of the Empire and there are 40 additional topics related to British history. From these 40 topics, 32 should include some Ireland-related content, as they refer to British history from a period when many relevant events of Anglo-Irish history happened. From the 32, only 6 specifications (19%) include Ireland-related contents in detail, 11 partially (34%) and 15 not at all (47%) (*Graph 23*).



Thus, the evaluation of the exam board specifications at A-level shows that about half of the A-level topics related to British history - which should explain some aspects of Irish history - fail to do so and an additional third of these topics only include partial contents related to Ireland.

Among the 4 topics which focus on the history of the British Empire, none of them include any Ireland-related content. A potential interpretation for omitting Ireland in topics related to the Empire is that Ireland did not form part of the overseas territories,

rather it was part of Britain, and therefore it should not be treated as part of the Empire. However, if we accept this logic, we would expect from the experts who developed the specifications that they include the joint events of Anglo-Irish history prominently in the topics dealing with British history, which – as we have seen above – was not the case either. AQA and Edexcel include each one imperial topic in their specifications, OCR two:

- AQA's *1J The British Empire, c1857–1967* does not prescribe any Ireland-related content, suggesting that the exam board treats Irish history as part of the relevant British history. Even if we accept this treatment until the 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty, the treaty only led to Ireland becoming a dominion and the actual process of full separation happened in the following decades (AQA, 2021, pp. 29-30).

- Edexcel: *35.1: Britain: losing and gaining an empire, 1763–1914*: the description does not include any Ireland-related events, when at the same time narrating the loss of the American colonies, the Australian and Indian colonisation, and the interventions in the Nile valley (Pearson Education Limited, 2017, pp. 92-93). On the other hand, the textbook written based on these specifications does include several Irish events, mentioning 6 of the 19 relevant contents that are included in the abbreviated narrative (Christie & Christie, 2016).

- OCR: *The Origins and Growth of the British Empire 1558–1783*: lacks any mention of Ireland (OCR, 2021, pp. 83-84).

- OCR: *From Colonialism to Independence: The British Empire 1857–1965*: there is a lengthy description of the scope including ‘the whole of the Empire’, however, Ireland is not named, a potential explanation also in this case is that Ireland was considered part of the United Kingdom:

Learners should study developments across the whole of the Empire, including Asia (e.g. India, Malaya), North Africa and the Middle East (e.g. Egypt, Sudan, Palestine, Iraq), East and West Africa (e.g. Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Gold Coast, Nigeria), Southern Africa (South Africa should be studied only as far as self-government in 1910, apart from as an agent of change in other parts of the region, plus, for example, North and South Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Bechuanaland), the Caribbean, Canada and Australia/New Zealand. (pp. 101-102)

An analysis of the specifications of the different A-level options available at AQA demonstrate that Irish-related events are often included in the relevant options about British history, however with some significant events missed from the descriptions (AQA, 2021). The missed events more often correspond to events of which a British reader should not be very proud of (e.g. Plantations, Penal Laws, Great Famine, discrimination in Northern Ireland, Civil Rights movement). From the 30 topics, 10 relate to British history (excluding the topic on the British Empire) and I believe that 9 of these should include Irish events related to British history. Among the 9, 2 topics explain these events in detail, 5 partially and 2 do not mention them. The 2 topics that include the events in detail are:

- *1G Challenge and transformation: Britain, c1851–1964* specifies several topics around ‘the condition of Ireland and Anglo-Irish relations’: ‘land agitation and the political response; Home Rule’, ‘the Home Rule movement, opposition and the Home Rule Bills’, ‘the Easter Rising; the Anglo-Irish War; Government of Ireland Act and Anglo-Irish Treaty; divided Ireland before the Second World War’, ‘continuing north-south friction including riots of September 1964, beginnings of civil rights campaign’. The list seems quite complete and the wording neutral, with the exemption of ‘land agitation’, which stands in stark contrast with the way how other social movements outside of Ireland have been described: ‘social movements and policies; self-help; trade unions; education and social reform legislation’. This implies that the authors of the specifications agree with the aims of other social movements but not with the aim for Irish land reforms (pp. 26-27).

- *2A Royal Authority and the Angevin Kings, 1154–1216* specifies the relevant contents related to the establishment of the Lordship of Ireland: ‘Henry II and Ireland: the invasions of 1169 and 1171; relations with the Irish nobility’, ‘England’s overseas territories: developments in Ireland after the 1175 Treaty of Windsor’ and ‘John’s rule in Ireland and the invasion of 1210’ (pp. 34-35).

The following 5 topics only include the relevant content partially:

- *1D Stuart Britain and the Crisis of Monarchy, 1603–1702* includes the opposition to personal rule also in Ireland, the events of the Civil Wars both in England and Ireland including Cromwell’s campaigns and the same applies for the consolidation after the ‘Glorious Revolution’. On the other hand, it does not prescribe the explanation

of the Penal Laws nor does it include the Ulster plantations at the beginning of the period (pp. 21-23).

- *1F Industrialisation and the people: Britain, c1783–1885* mentions the Irish rebellion and the Union, O’Connell and the Catholic Emancipation, Irish Radicalism and Nationalism, but it excludes the Great Famine even though it names the repeal of the Corn Law (pp. 24-26).

- *2E The English Revolution, 1625–1660* includes the policies in Ireland and England 1629-1640 and ‘the impact of events in Ireland 1640-42’, however, it does not specify the required depth of the explanation of the 1641 Rebellion nor does it mention the Confederate Wars and Cromwell’s Irish campaign (pp. 40-42).

- *2M Wars and Welfare: Britain in Transition, 1906–1957* mentions the Irish Home Rule as a challenge, ‘the Easter Rising; the war of independence and the Anglo-Irish Treaty’ but leaves out all following Ireland-related events (which should include the changes to Anglo-Irish relationships as a consequence of the Statutes of Westminster) (pp. 51-53).

- *2S The Making of Modern Britain, 1951–2007* specifies ‘the beginning of the “troubles” in Northern Ireland’, ‘the “troubles” in Northern Ireland, including the Sunningdale Agreement’ and several other mentions to the existence of problems in Northern Ireland and finally the Good Friday Agreement, however it fails to mention the Civil Rights movement and the underlying discrimination of Catholics in Northern Ireland (pp. 62-63). This stands in contrast with the treatment of the US History in the same period in *2Q The American Dream: reality and illusion, 1945–1980* which includes repeated mentions of ‘campaigns for Civil Rights; the responses of the federal and state authorities’ (pp. 58-60).

Finally, 2 topics do not include the relevant Ireland-related contents:

- *1C The Tudors: England, 1485–1603* does not mention Ireland, only Scotland, when this period saw Ireland effectively becoming ruled from England, with several rebellions, early plantations and the Nine Years’ War (pp. 20-21).

- *2D Religious conflict and the Church in England, c1529–c1570* does not include any mention of Ireland, but yes of Scotland (pp. 38-40).

In case of the OCR exam board, there are 58 different topics (units). Among them one is dedicated to Anglo-Irish history of the long 19th century: *Britain and Ireland 1791–1921* and two to imperial history. In addition, there are 17 other topics of British history, from which another 12 should contain events relevant to Ireland (OCR, 2021). Interestingly, the topic that makes the most mentions of Ireland is *The Early Anglo-Saxons c.400-800* when treating jointly Britain and Ireland in the development of kingdoms, religion, economic and social life and cultural change (p. 63). This is somewhat surprising, as this period's connections between Britain and Ireland were less hierarchic and probably less intense than those of the period from the 12th century onwards and is not on the list of the 12 topics that should refer to Ireland. From the 12 topics, 3 make detailed references to Ireland, 4 include limited contents when more should be desirable and 5 do not mention Ireland at all. The 3 detailed references are:

- *From Pitt to Peel: Britain 1783–1853*: mention of 'Roman Catholic Emancipation', 'the Corn Laws, Peel and the reasons for their repeal', 'the condition of Ireland: Peel's approach to land issues, university reform, the crisis of Maynooth and the famine' (pp. 27-28)

- *Liberals, Conservatives and the Rise of Labour 1846–1918*: mention of 'attitudes to Ireland', 'domestic reforms (including Ireland)', Ireland and the failure of Home Rule (including the Gladstone-Chamberlain split of 1886)', 'policy towards Ireland' and 'problems in Ireland 1900-1914' (pp. 29-30)

- *Rebellion and Disorder under the Tudors 1485–1603*: mentions of revolts and rebellions of Kildare, Shane O'Neill, Fitzgerald, Geraldine and Tyrone O'Neill, 'removal of English rule from Ireland', 'differences between rebellions in England and Ireland', and an in-depth study about Tyrone's Rebellion:

Causes; objectives; size; support; leadership; organisation; reasons for its limited success and/or failure; the government response to the threat of disorder at the time and subsequently; the threat posed by the rebellion to the government; the role of central and local authorities in dealing with the unrest. (pp. 73-74)

The 4 mentions when ideally further contents should be included:

- *England 1547–1603: the Later Tudors*: mention of 'the Irish rebellion', probably referring to the Nine Years' War, but does not mention other similar events or the plantations (pp. 21-22).

- *The Early Stuarts and the Origins of the Civil War 1603–1660*: mention of ‘the impact of the Irish Rebellion’ and ‘Cromwell in Ireland’, however, I believe these events would require further detail, for instance also mentioning the land confiscations during Cromwell (pp. 23-24).
- *Britain 1900–1951*: mention of ‘problems in Ireland 1900-1914’, but omits any later events including the Easter Rising and Partition (pp. 31-32).
- *Tudor Foreign Policy 1485–1603*: mention of ‘impact on relations with Ireland’, when Ireland played an active part in the foreign policy, especially during the Nine Years’ War, which nearly bankrupted England (pp. 75-76).

There are no mentions to Ireland in 5 topics where it could be expected: *England 1199–1272* (pp. 15-16), *England 1485–1558: the Early Tudors* (p. 20), *The Making of Georgian Britain 1678–c.1760* (pp. 25-26), *Britain 1930–1997* (pp. 33-34) and *The Changing Nature of Warfare 1792–1945* (pp. 91-92).

From the 40 A-level topics of the Pearson Edexcel exam board, one is specialised in Anglo-Irish history (36.2: *Ireland and the Union, c1774–1923*) and one in imperial history. Students have to complete three papers, the above-mentioned two topics are part of the 16 options for Paper 3 (Pearson Education Limited, 2017). In total there are 40 different topics, of which 13 relate to British history (excluding the above mentioned 2 books on Ireland and the Empire). From the 13, we could reasonably expect 11 to mention Ireland-related contents. However, from the 11, only 1 includes Ireland-related events in detail, 2 partially and 8 fail to mention them. The most detailed specification is the following:

- *31: Rebellion and disorder under the Tudors, 1485–1603* rightly dedicates one of the 5 chapters to ‘Troublesome Ireland: Tyrone’s rebellion, 1594-1603’, although this is not the only rebellion that happened in Ireland during the treated period:

The reasons for the Nine Years’ War (Tyrone’s rebellion) and the significance of the support for Hugh O’Neill and Hue Roe O’Donnell from within Ireland and from Spain.

The significance of events and individuals: the Battles of Clontibret 1595, Yellow Ford 1598, Curlew Pass 1599, and the collapse of the Munster Plantation; the roles of Henry Bagenal, Florence MacCarthy, the Earl of Essex and Lord Mountjoy.

Reasons for the war's duration and England's eventual success, including the battle of Kinsale 1601, the late arrival of Spanish support and the siege of Dunboy; costs to the English government. (pp. 82-83)

Another mention is made to 'the significance of support for the challengers from Burgundy, France, Scotland and Ireland' during the succession of Henry VII.

Among the 2 partial inclusions the first one is rather controversial:

- *1B: England, 1509–1603: authority, nation and religion* provides a brave affirmation as part of the specifications: 'the significance of threats to national security from Spain and Ireland', surely an interesting narrative of how a foreign power effectively colonised a country (in this case, Ireland) and how it treated such colony. There is another hint to potentially Ireland-related contents under 'survival of Catholicism in the regions' (pp. 24-25).

- *2A.2: England and the Angevin Empire in the reign of Henry II, 1154–89* includes 'the submission of Irish kings and bishops', although not more is mentioned from the origin of the Anglo-Norman conquest nor of its consequences (pp. 20-22).

There are 8 topics that should include Ireland-related events but fail to do so:

- *1C: Britain, 1625–1701: conflict, revolution and settlement*: we could expect that a significant number of events related to Irish history are mentioned in this crucial period, but it is not the case. No reference is made to Ireland, only to 'the Catholic question', including 'the exclusion of Catholics from religious toleration; anti-Catholic sentiment' (pp. 32-33).

- *1D: Britain, c1785–c1870: democracy, protest and reform*: although probably the most vehement protests in the whole of the United Kingdom in this period took place in Ireland, they are not mentioned in the specifications at all (pp. 40-41).

- *1H: Britain transformed, 1918–97*: part of Britain's transformation in this period was due to the end of the Union with Ireland and the civil rights movement that started as a reaction to the discrimination of Catholics in Northern Ireland and which converted into the Troubles. None of these are included in the specifications (pp. 72-73). Interestingly, when the related topic *2H.2; The USA, 1955-92, conformity and challenge* is described, the civil rights movement becomes of great importance (pp. 76-77).

- 34.1: *Industrialisation and social change in Britain, 1759–1928: forging a new society*: should we not expect that this topic will explain the Great Famine? Unfortunately, there is no mention to Ireland-related events in the specifications (pp. 88-89).

- 34.2: *Poverty, public health and the state in Britain, c1780–1939*: there are no contents related to the Great Famine, the resulting diseases and the way the poor relief was handled in Ireland, which at the time formed part of the United Kingdom (pp. 90-91).

- 35.2: *The British experience of warfare, c1790–1918*: the topic should explain several Ireland-related conflicts in this period, however, it is not the case: there are no mention to 1798 nor 1916 (pp. 94-95). When reviewing the actual textbook in detail, the only points covered are that poverty in Ireland was good for recruitment for the First World War and that conscription was not enforced there plus a data table on where the soldiers were stationed in 1832 (Ireland being a large chunk) (Rogers & Williams, 2016).

- 36.1: *Protest, agitation and parliamentary reform in Britain, c1780–1928*: we could expect from this specification to explain that Catholics were allowed to vote in 1793, however, they could not become members of Parliament until 1829 and that these issues were at the heart of the relationship with Ireland. Similarly, that the text should explain the different property qualification thresholds in Ireland so that someone can vote: they were significantly above the equivalents in England and when these thresholds were reduced it led to the Irish Nationalist Party receiving most votes in Irish circumscriptions. However, none of these or other Ireland-related contents are included (pp. 96-97).

- 37.1: *The changing nature of warfare, 1859–1991: perception and reality*: also excludes any mention of Ireland, when the Anglo-Irish war was relevant not just from a political but also tactical perspective (guerrilla war) (pp. 100-101).

5. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS ACROSS TEXTBOOKS USED IN ENGLAND, NORTHERN IRELAND AND IRELAND

Chapter 4 has shown that not all relevant events of the shared Anglo-Irish history are included frequently in textbooks used in England and that some bias can be observed in the pattern of inclusion, more frequently featuring the different rebellions than the reasons why they started and often omitting events that would support the Irish perspective. In this chapter we will analyse in nine different sections – organised by historic periods – what types of bias can be observed in the narratives contained in different textbooks. For this qualitative analysis, I have considered all textbooks: the 90 textbooks already mentioned in the quantitative analysis plus the 26 textbooks specialised in Anglo-Irish history, from England, Ireland and Northern Ireland.

5.1 From the Norman Conquest to the 15th century

Key conclusions:

- **Northern Irish KS3 textbooks treat the Norman conquest of Ireland with most detail, Irish textbooks only dedicate a couple of pages to this event and English textbooks vary between a few lines (textbooks dealing with the 16th century onwards) and two pages (textbooks focusing of the Middle Ages). However, it seems that English KS3 textbooks published after 2000 omit Ireland-related contents of this period and reduce the detail of explanation even regarding Wales and Scotland.**
- **The narrative in Irish textbooks sometimes (in 2 out of 4 cases) fails to explain that the invasion brought English over-lordship and often (in 3 out of 4 cases) it starts with the explanation of feudalism in general, followed by an account of the invasion, potentially leaving a doubt in students about the fact that Norman conquest brought feudalism to Ireland.**
- **Irish textbooks also fail to explain the *Laudabiliter* (Papal document from 1155 allowing the English King to intervene in Ireland) or the contemporary criticism**

of the Irish Church, and they also omit other proof points of Ireland's medieval dependency: the Statutes of Kilkenny of 1366 (which legislated about ethnic differentiation) and Poynings' Law of 1494 (which provided for an English veto over the legislation of the Irish Parliament). These events are only mentioned in two British or Northern Irish textbooks, each.

- **A few English books explain the 'otherness' of the Gaelic Irish, in terms that sometimes would require a rewording to show more respect to other cultures.**
- **Most Irish textbooks include a map of the three different zones of influence in Ireland (The Pale, Anglo-Irish lordships and Gaelic Irish lordships), emphasizing that the English rule was not complete, while English textbooks omit these maps and sometimes justify the partial control by the lack of economic or defensive attractiveness.**

This section analyses the narratives of the Anglo-Norman conquest; the support the English king obtained for such enterprise from the Pope via the Laudabiliter; the coexistence of native Gaelic and Anglo-Norman rule throughout the whole period; the Irish otherness; the Statutes of Kilkenny which tried to limit the Gaelicization of Anglo-Normans (Beckett, 1981, pp. 13-15); and Poynings' Law which established a dependence of the Irish Parliament from Westminster (p. 51).

The Anglo-Norman conquest

Although there have been different types of contacts between the inhabitants of the islands of Ireland and Great Britain in the early Middle Ages, the Norman conquest of Ireland from 1169 signalled the beginning of the era which I have considered the shared Anglo-Irish history, as it established a hierarchical relationship between the Kingdom of England and the island of Ireland. The detail in which the Norman conquest of Ireland is treated differs from a few paragraphs (in some cases up to two pages) in English textbooks to a couple of pages in Irish textbooks and long chapters in Northern Irish textbooks.

History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1169-1500 dedicates 40 pages to describe the conquest and the changes the resulting feudalism brought to Ireland (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2007, pp. 26-65), through the chapters *Why did the Normans invade Ireland*

in 1169?, What were people in the past really like? and How did life in Ireland change during 1169-1500? Another Northern Irish KS3 textbook, *History in close-up: The Medieval World*, explains the conquest in 10 pages (Turner Johnston & Johnston, 2011, pp. 77-86) through four units: *Dermot of the Foreigners*, *The coming of Strongbow*, *Henry II comes to Ireland* and *John de Courcy and Ulster*. The Norman Conquest of Ireland is undeniably a key event of Irish history as it established English rule on the island for eight centuries. As *History in close-up: The Medieval World* narrates:

Dermot MacMurrough was the King of Leinster. He is one of the most controversial people in Irish history, because Irish writers called him ‘Diarmait na nGall’ – meaning he was the man who brought the foreigners to Ireland. In other words he is regarded as responsible for bringing the English into Ireland. (Turner Johnston & Johnston, 2011, p. 77)

The main difference between these two Northern Irish KS3 textbooks is how the societal changes resulting from the Norman conquest are treated: for *History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1169-1500* it is the starting point of the relevant history to be taught, and it uses the conquest to explain the differences between the Gaelic way of life and feudalism. The comparison includes forms of government, society, economy, religion and connections to the world. The narrative is highly detailed and factual, for instance it also includes a recognition that women in Ireland before 1169 were better off than after the introduction of feudalism:

... women in Ireland seemed to have enjoyed greater freedom than their European counterparts. In 1169, women were protected by the Brehon Laws, which stated that:

If a couple divorced, women were allowed to hold onto property they had brought to the marriage and also received half of any profits made during the marriage.

Woman could hold personal property, including land.

Men were not allowed to mistreat their wives, or they could be punished.

The Law of the Innocents of 697 stated that women, children and clergy could not be legitimate targets in times of war. This still applied in 1169. (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2007, p. 54)

History in close-up: The Medieval World on the other hand does not include a direct comparison between the pre- and post-conquest situation of Ireland. The Gaelic society and feudalism are explained in two earlier separate units (Turner Johnston &

Johnston, 2011, pp. 38-43, 75-76) and the description of the arrival of the Normans focuses only on the events of the military conquest.

History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1169-1500 also includes a detailed storytelling about the events leading to the invasion, with the supposed love story between Dermot and Dervorgilla and its evaluation based on different historic sources (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2007, pp. 28-31), being the only textbook among the 116 to include this story.

Irish Junior Certificate textbooks generally include 2 pages about the Norman conquest, which usually follow the description of feudalism in earlier pages. For instance, *New Complete History* dedicates 14 pages to how society worked in the Middle Ages (Hayes C., 2009, pp. 41-53), contextualising the chapter by explaining that it ‘lasted from around AD 500 to AD 1500’, and then dedicating pages 54-55 to the Normans, both their invasion of England and later of Ireland. So little space of course does not allow to tell the story of the Norman conquest of Ireland in detail, the only name mentioned is of Strongbow. This order of pages might make some students believe that feudalism in Ireland existed between AD 500 and AD 1500, when effectively it only took hold with the Anglo-Norman invasion of 1169. There is also a line in this textbook which recognises this fact: ‘Some results of the Norman invasion: 1. The feudal system was introduced into Ireland ...’ (p. 55), however, it could have been better to place the description of the feudalistic system after the explanation of the Norman conquest so that any doubts can be avoided. *Uncovering History* applies the same treatment: after 24 pages on the Middle Ages (Delap & McCormack, 2011, pp. 67-90), pages 91 and 92 are dedicated to Ireland in the Middle Ages, which includes a short description of the Norman conquest of Ireland as well, naming 5 different key persons of the time. The same happens in *Discovering History*, 26 pages include a generic description of the Middle Ages (McCaughey, c2009, pp. 67-92), followed by a short summary of the Norman invasion (similarly 5 people are named). *The Past Today* is the only example among Irish Junior Certificate textbooks which starts with a short description of the Norman conquest (again only Strongbow is named) (Lucey, 2002, pp. 69-70), followed by 24 pages on the medieval system of life.

An interesting omission in the two textbooks only naming Strongbow is that they fail to mention that the Norman invasion effectively started an English over-lordship in large parts of Ireland. The impression the reader can obtain is as if the conquest would have been private affairs of some Norman lords, and there is no information about the

English king becoming ‘Lord of Ireland’, the Irish chieftains declaring fealty to him and the Irish clergy becoming dependent from the Archbishop of Canterbury:

From 1169 onwards, Normans from England began to invade Ireland. The most important of the early invaders was Strongbow, who took over the Kingdom of Leinster. (Hayes C. , 2009, p. 54)

... in 1169, Anglo-Norman lords invaded Ireland. They were led by Strongbow, Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, who landed with his army at Passage, Co. Waterford. Over the next sixty years, the well-armed Anglo-Normans conquered many parts of Ireland... (Lucey, 2002, p. 70)⁶⁶

The two other analysed Irish Junior Certificate textbooks clearly explain that Henry II became Lord of Ireland:

The Norman leaders agreed to accept King Henry’s rule over Ireland. This brought the beginning of English attempts to rule Ireland and in turn led to tensions that would last on and off for over 800 years. (Delap & McCormack, 2011, p. 92)

In 1172 Henry II travelled to Ireland with 4,000 soldiers and 500 knights. He was declared Lord of Ireland. (McCaughy, c2009, p. 94)

Most of the analysed English KS3 textbooks dealing with the Middle Ages dedicate two pages to the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland. This is the case of *A Sense of History: Medieval Realms*, within its chapter *England and the British Isles* (Mason J. , 1991, pp. 82-83), similar to the space allocated to Scotland and Wales. Similarly, *Discovering History: Medieval Realms* in its chapter *Scotland, Wales and Ireland* explains the relationship of England with each of these countries in two pages in each case (Adams, 1991, pp. 70-77). The same solution has been chosen also in *Living through History: Medieval Realms* (Kelly, Rees, & Shuter, 1997, pp. 54-61) and in *Foundation History: The Medieval Realms* (Reynoldson, 1995, pp. 30-35).

However, other textbooks explain the story of English invasion of Ireland with lesser detail than the case of Wales and Scotland. *Medieval Realms 1066-1500* treats the Norman conquest of Ireland in a few paragraphs, which stands in contrast with the more detailed narrative of the attempts to conquer Wales and Scotland (Dawson & Watson, 1991, pp. 26-31, 68-69). *Key stages in History: Medieval Realms* has two pages about *The invasion of Ireland*, 4 about Wales and 5 about Scotland (Cootes, 1992, pp. 52-54, 68-76). In case of English textbooks dealing with the following centuries, it is frequent to

⁶⁶ Although, in this textbook, once students pass to the contents of the following year, page 161 recognises that ‘the King of England was “Lord of Ireland”, but had very little control over the country’.

include a few lines about the historic conquest of Ireland, e.g. ‘although the English kings had claimed to rule Ireland since the twelfth century they had controlled very little of the country’ (Maltman & Dawson, 1992, p. 62). As we have seen in *Chapter 4*, there are also some textbooks (22% of all covering this period) which do not mention this event.

Among English KS3 textbooks focusing on the Middle Ages, it might be relevant to observe that all six examples given above relate to textbooks published in the 90s. In our sample there are only three English KS3 textbooks from later periods (2003, 2010 and 2014), however, none of them include any mention of the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland or of the characteristics of English rule in Ireland in this period. While the textbook from 2003 (*Invasion, Plague and Murder. Britain 1066-1485*) still includes a couple of pages about the medieval conflicts between England, Wales and Scotland in the unit *King Edward I: ‘The bully boy’* (without mentioning Ireland in the textbook) (Wilkes A. , 2003 (1), pp. 58-59), the textbook from 2010, *Key stage 3 History. Book 1: 1066-1750*, in its chapters referring the medieval history does not explain England’s relationship with Ireland, Wales and Scotland (except a very short mention that ‘John won battles against Wales, Scotland and Ireland’ and a picture of Caernarfon Castle in Wales built by Edward I (Sparey, Berry, Jackson, & Pearson, 2010, pp. 53, 92-93)). The 2014 textbook *Making Sense of History 1066-1509* only includes two headline events in its opening timeline related Wales and Scotland, but none to Ireland:

1280s-1290s: Edward conquered Wales, built castles to keep control. He invaded Scotland but did not conquered it. 1314: The Scots army led by Robert Bruce beat Edward II’s English army at the Battle of Bannockburn and ended the threat of conquest by England. (Dawson, Bates, Fisher, & McFahn, 2014, pp. 12-13)

This textbook shows the lands ruled by Henry II in England and France on page 4, but it fails to include any part of Ireland⁶⁷. Similarly, pages 50 and 51 include a detailed table showing each English king between 1066 and 1509, explaining what they were known for, what they did in England and abroad and how they died, but there is no mention of Ireland in this text. In the line relating to Henry II the *Abroad* section says: ‘ruled a huge Angevin empire (covering most of France)’, completely forgetting about

⁶⁷ This might be motivated by the fact that the title of the unit is *Why was King Henry being whipped?* and pages 4 to 8 narrate the events leading to the murder of Thomas Becket and the following penance in 1174. However, the text mentions the implications of his bad relationship with the Church on the warfare against Scotland, maybe it would have been correct to also include the opposite impact: the contemporary invasion of Ireland improved his acceptance by the Church.

his conquest of Ireland. The only minuscule mention of Ireland is on page 93 in a map answering the question *Why did wars begin after 1066?*: ‘English armies invaded Wales, Scotland and Ireland to increase English king’s power’. However, pages 98-99 only explain in a bit more detail King Edward I’s wars against Wales and Scotland. As a summary, it seems that from the 2000s English KS3 textbooks stopped to include a narrative of the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland and also reduced the coverage of the wars against Wales and Scotland compared to the textbooks published in the 90s (from 2-5 pages each to 2 pages maximum for the two countries together). Maybe a reason for this reduction is the increase in the amount of space dedicated social history and the fact that the textbooks are not organised any more in chronological order but by topics⁶⁸.

Laudabiliter

There is a papal document from 1155 which allowed the English king Henry II to enter Ireland to oversee the transformation of its Church into a structure more aligned with the rest of the Europe, dependent from Rome (Smith T. W., 2020)⁶⁹. From an English perspective, this document can be seen as the justification of the original Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland.

History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1169-1500 is one of the very few textbooks to explain the existence of this document of Pope Adrian IV, authorising Henry II to intervene in Ireland. However, the adapted version of the *Laudabiliter* quoted in the text below is questionable. It might be a bit ironic that this summary comes after explaining pupils the importance of different versions of source materials (regarding another story, of Dermot and Dervorgilla): *Laudabiliter* also has different transcripts, some of them ‘edited’ to justify the Norman invasion better (Smith T. W., 2020). Also, this text does not mention the important facts that the Pope was asked by the English to grant this paper, that he was an English Pope and that it was not actually a Papal Bull (Smith T. W., 2020).

⁶⁸ For instance, in *Making Sense of History 1066-1509* (Dawson, Bates, Fisher, & McFahn, 2014) the chapters are: Investigating the Middle Ages. Was the Norman Conquest really to significant? Why did the people in the Middle Ages build glorious cathedrals but live in such simple houses? Could medieval kings always do whatever they wanted? Did rats and rebels change people’s lives completely? Are medieval wars worth remembering? (this is the section in which Edward I’s wars against Wales and Scotland are included) Was there a World Wide Web in the Middle Ages? What can Anne Herbert tell us about life during the Wars of Roses? The Big Picture of the Middle Ages.

⁶⁹ Even if there are some doubts about its authenticity, there are many proof points that in the following centuries people believed it existed and acted in accordance (Wikipedia re. *Laudabiliter*, 2022)

Pope Adrian IV. The Church in Ireland was strong, but it was not under the control of the Pope. In 1155, Pope Adrian IV issued a Papal Bull called *Laudabiliter*. This encouraged Henry II to invade Ireland so that the Irish Church and people could be reformed and come under the control of the Pope.

Adapted from the Papal Bull *Laudabiliter*, 1155. 'Bishop Adrian sends greetings to the King of the English ... As a good Catholic prince, enter Ireland to declare the truth of the Christian faith to that barbarous nation. Make sure the people obey the laws of the Church so that the evil there can be removed. You, of course, will pay an annual pension to the Church of Rome.' (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2007, p. 33)

Source 2: 'Endeavour to enlarge the boundaries of the Church and reveal the truth of the Christian faith to ignorant and barbarous nations ... Encourage these people to have good morals, and plant the Christian religion and make it grow and you will obtain an abundant and lasting reward from God, and on earth a name glorious through the ages.' Papal Bull, 1155 (p. 58)

This textbook also dedicates two pages to explain the belief system in Ireland before 1169, stating that it 'was a combination of Christianity and Celtic spirituality' (pp. 58-59), therefore clarifying that it did not fully follow the norms of Rome.

Another Northern Irish KS3 textbook, *History in close-up: The Medieval World* does not include as much detail about the wording of the *Laudabiliter*, however, the text clarifies much more of the context which can help students to understand why this document could have been issued:

One reason Henry II was willing to help [Dermot] was that, in 1155, the Pope (Adrian IV) had given his blessing to Henry II to come to Ireland. This was because the Irish church was not yet under the control of the Pope, so Henry would 'enlarge the boundaries of his (the Pope's) church' by taking control of Ireland. When Dermot came to Henry, he saw this as an opportunity to carry out the Pope's wishes. (Turner Johnston & Johnston, 2011, p. 78)

Incidentally this Pope was an Englishman. Might this have helped? (p. 81)

As you might have noticed, the two mentioned Northern Irish textbooks have a different attitude towards these first events of the Anglo-Irish history. *History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1169-1500* has been edited by Hodder Education and we will see with more examples in the coming sections of this *Chapter 5* that this series of textbooks (*History for NI Key Stage 3*) in general follows a storyline more aligned with the British perspective, however, also including many of the Irish points of view. The other series,

History in Close-up, by Colourpoint Educational, in general reflects more of an Irish perspective, although it also includes many of the British points of view.

None of the four analysed Irish Junior Certificate make any mention of the *Laudabiliter*, nor of the fact that there was criticism of the ways the Church in Ireland conducted its business. For instance, *New Complete History* includes 8 pages dedicated to Early Christian Ireland (Hayes C. , 2009, pp. 33-40), including impact abroad, and then 6 pages to the monastic life in the medieval times (pp. 58-63), but there is no mention of the connection between the two, nor that in-between the Norman invasion had to establish the superiority of the Roman church.

Textbooks used in England also omit the *Laudabiliter*, however, one of the KS3 textbooks (*Key Stages in History: Medieval Realms*) refers to the religious background of the conquest:

Henry did not try to conquer the whole of Ireland. He seemed more interested in pleasing the Pope by making some changes the Pope wanted in the Irish Church. It was Henry's chance to get back in favour with Church leaders after the murder of Becket. Without delay, he called a council of Irish bishops at Cashel. The Irish Church was brought into line with the rest of Christendom by being organised into dioceses and parishes. Also the Irish agreed to pay tithes and to make their marriages, baptisms and other church services like those in England (Source 17). (Cootes, 1992, p. 53)

Source 17. The Pope, Alexander III, was delighted with the reforms in the Irish Church brought about by Henry II. In 1172 he wrote to thank him. 'Alexander ... to his dearest son in Christ, Henry ... When we heard ... that you had assembled a mighty force by sea and land to subject this people [the Irish] to your rule ... we were duly thankful - ... All of them eat meat during Lent; they do not pay tithes; and they do not respect, as they should, either the churches of God or the clergymen who serve them ... We bid you to strengthen and renew your purpose to bring back this people to the worship of Christ. (Cootes, 1992, p. 54).

Thus, it seems that there is a bit of collective amnesia about the *Laudabiliter*, only a few textbooks remember it, none from Ireland, and those which do, focus on the content they think is the most supportive of their overall storyline: in case of one Northern Irish and one English textbook it is about the backwardness of the Irish Church which had to be brought in line with the rest of Europe, in case of the other Northern Irish textbook it is about a 'plot' between the English king and the only English Pope in history to control Ireland both politically and ecclesiastically.

Coexistence of Gaelic and Anglo-Norman rule

In the 12th to 15th centuries a large part of Ireland remained under control of native Irish lords who lived much like earlier and many Anglo-Irish lords took up Irish customs (e.g. ‘the Norman barons who had settled in Ireland were now [1500] as Irish as their neighbours’ (Aylett, 1992, p. 56)). We have already seen in *Chapter 4* that 58% of textbooks used in England mention this event, of which only 32% in detail. It is important to know that most of these inclusions come from textbooks dealing with the following centuries, and provide this information as the context for the Tudor conquest. An example from *Island Story: Britain from the Tudors to Queen Anne* (England, KS3):

In 1485 Ireland was made up of three parts. There was an English area around Dublin known as the ‘Pale’. This was ruled by English officials and was the English king’s foothold in Ireland. In the west of Ireland were the Celtic chiefs and their tribes. Between the two lay the lands of the Anglo-Irish noble families. They had come over to Ireland as far back as Norman times. By the fifteenth century they had become very much part of Ireland. (Larkin, 1984, p. 64)

While recognising the fact that Ireland did not fully become part of the English sphere of influence, the narrative of English textbooks is sometimes focused on the relatively low economic and military importance of Ireland for a potential conquest, for instance:

Only small areas of Ireland were closely controlled by England. Other areas were held by lords who had come from England. Law cases from these areas were often decided at Westminster and taxes were collected for the English king’s wars. However most of Ireland was free from English rule. Ireland was not rich or troublesome enough to be invaded. It is unlikely it could have been conquered. (Dawson & Watson, 1991, p. 31)

Ireland. English rulers never really tried to conquer Ireland completely. Ireland was not rich enough to provide much money and it did not threaten England because it was further away [compared to Wales and Scotland]. However Ireland was not peaceful. The Irish fought the English settlers, and by 1400 the English only controlled a small area around Dublin called ‘The Pale’. The rest of the country was controlled by native Irish lords. During the Hundred Years War, England ignored Ireland because it was not a threat. The English only became worried in the 1490s when rebels used Ireland as a base. (p. 69)

Other English KS3 textbooks narrate the conviction that the area outside of direct English control lacked order: ‘...Ireland remained only partly conquered. English law was in force only in the area round Dublin, known as the Pale. “Beyond the Pale” there was still much disorder’ (Cootes, 1992, p. 54)

All analysed Irish textbooks feature the coexistence of different areas of influence, either in their chapter explaining medieval history or the history of Plantations: *Uncovering History* (Delap & McCormack, 2011, pp. 91-92, 165-167), *New Complete History* (Hayes C. , 2009, p. 110) and *The Past Today* (Lucey, 2002, pp. 70, 160-162) and as a specific example *Discovering History*:

Some areas of Ireland however, especially west Ulster, remained under Gaelic control. The Normans controlled the rest ... Slowly the Normans began to mix with the Gaelic Irish. The Normans lived largely in towns but they married Gaelic Irish people and learned the Irish language. (McCaughey, c2009, pp. 94-95)

The Gaelicised Anglo-Normans were descendants of the Norman settlers in Ireland. By 1500 they adjusted to the Gaelic way of life and followed Irish customs and laws. (p. 193)

Most Irish textbooks also reproduce a map of Ireland with the different areas of influence: the Pale, Anglo-Irish lordships and Gaelic Irish lordships, the only one not doing so is *New Complete History* (Hayes C. , 2009). *Discovering History* also adds a table which for the three groups explains where they lived, which customs they followed, what relations they had with the English monarch and it also provides examples of family names (McCaughey, c2009, p. 192). These maps on different areas of control are only very seldom included in English textbooks.

Among the two Northern Irish KS3 textbooks dealing with the period, *History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1169-1500* provides the longer account, it includes a map of Ireland with the three zones of influence and it explains that ‘outside the Pale, many Normans continued to live the Irish way of life’ (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2007, p. 49). On the other hand, *History in close-up: The Medieval World* does not include any map on the areas of influence and only a short mention of the Treaty of Windsor of 1175 between Henry II and Rory O’Connor (the last high king of Ireland) which delimited Norman parts (Turner Johnston & Johnston, 2011, p. 82), however, there is no mention of the different customs coexisting in Ireland.

Therefore, it seems that Irish textbooks are the ones which emphasize most the fact that England did not control the whole of Ireland and they also provide the most supporting information, in form of maps and also with texts which clarify that effectively many of the Anglo-Normans got assimilated into the Gaelic way of life. If English textbooks explain the lack of complete control of Ireland, they focus on proof points of the control (where it existed) and do not provide much information about the rest of the country nor tell much about the Gaelicization of the Anglo-Norman families.

Otherness and Statutes of Kilkenny

The Gaelic customs in Ireland were different from the rest of Europe in this period, which caused tensions and some signs of discrimination. The most relevant demonstration of discrimination was the 1366 Statutes of Kilkenny, adopted by the Irish Parliament⁷⁰, which stated that many Norman settlers became like the ‘Irish enemy’ and forbade them to speak, dress, behave like the Irish or inter-marry.

The textbook *Key Stages in History: Medieval Realms* (England, KS3) explains that Ireland was seen as a society not fully aligned with the customs in the rest of Europe. While the below description must correspond to the view of the time, probably the same also applies to the view Europeans had about any other country colonised in the 15th-16th centuries in the Americas, thus one can ask if the descriptions criticising the otherness of the Irish should not undergo the same review as those texts referring to the natives in the Americas and elsewhere:

To most people in Europe, the Irish were a backward and quarrelsome people. They were not united under a single ruler but divided into a number of warring kingdoms. Bands of bearded warriors, in black woollen clothing, fought each other with spears, axes and sling-stones. (Cootes, 1992, p. 52).

A Sense of History: Medieval Realms (England, KS3) visualises the Gaelic ‘otherness’ with a picture of Gaelic knights, although distancing itself from the beliefs of the Normans: ‘a medieval Irish carving. Irish lords had long hair and beards. The Normans, who had very short hair and no beards, thought this made the Irish look wild and savage’ (Mason J. , 1991, p. 56). *Foundation History: The Medieval Realms*

⁷⁰ Itself an institution of the English-controlled Pale, although also other Anglo-Irish lords attended its sessions.

(England, KS3) includes a source material about the Irish beards ‘written by Gerald of Wales in 1186: “Some of John’s friends laughed at the long beards of the Irish chiefs. They tugged their beards in a rude way” ’ (Reynoldson, 1995, p. 30).

Discovering History: Medieval Realms (England, KS3) includes a complaint from Irish kings: ‘letter to Pope John XXII, c.1317. The Irish have become wicked by mixing with the English. Different from us in the language they speak and the way they behave, all hope of staying peaceful with them is out of the question’ (Adams, 1991, p. 76).

History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1169-1500 (Northern Ireland, KS3) is one of the few analysed textbooks that includes the Statutes of Kilkenny in its narrative, explaining well its background and content:

1350s. Norman control of Ireland began to decline. 1360s. King Edward III became alarmed about the extent to which the Normans adopted Irish laws, customs, dress and language. 1366. King Edward called a parliament in Kilkenny which passed laws – or statutes – forbidding the Normans from following Irish ways (see opposite). (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2007, p. 50)

Some of King Edward III’s laws. Statutes of Kilkenny. I Settlers must not marry Irish natives. II Speaking the Irish language is forbidden. III Irish modes of dress and other customs must be rejected. (p. 51)

A Sense of History: Medieval Realms (England, KS3) is the other book making a reference of the Statutes of Kilkenny, although without explaining its content, only the context in which the legislation was approved:

Source A. Later English kings saw the early settlement of Ireland as a failure. They wanted a group of people running the country who were on their side. In the Laws of Kilkenny, made in 1336 [sic], the kings complained: ‘While at the time of the conquest of Ireland they spoke their own language, now many of them have given up this and their old way of life. Instead they use the language and the ways of life of the Irish. They have married into and fought with the King’s Irish enemies. (Mason J. , 1991, p. 56)

Maybe surprisingly, none of the analysed Irish textbooks and no other Northern Irish or English textbooks mentions the Statutes of Kilkenny, this highly relevant example of medieval legislation aimed at ethnic discrimination. I believe it would be important that students hear about it, so that it becomes clear that early European societies did not discriminate only because of the colour of skin (as happened after the ‘discoveries’) but also because of other forms of ‘otherness’. It would be interesting to know the reasons

why this legislation has not been mentioned in more textbooks, especially in Irish textbooks: is there any tint of ‘shame’ attached to being labelled different and backward?

Poynings’ Law

This legislation from 1494 gave the English Parliament veto over Irish legislation, therefore effectively establishing a hierarchical dependence of Ireland from England. The existence of the Irish Parliament in Dublin since the 13th century (but representing only the area under effective English rule) provided a perception of independence to The Pale, however this law clarified that it was de facto considered a kind of English colony.

The most detailed description among the analysed textbooks of Poynings’ Law appears in *Paper 3: Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923* (UK, A-level):

Poynings’ Law. An Act of Parliament passed in 1494 and encouraged by the Lord Deputy of Ireland Sir Edward Poynings, It declared all of the Irish parliament’s legislation to require the approval of the British parliament ... The result was effectively British control of Irish legislation... (Kidson, 2016, p. 39)

The only other reference to this legislation is a short mention in *History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1169-1500* (Northern Ireland, KS3): ‘by 1494, all Irish laws had to be approved by the King of England’ (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2007, p. 47).

No other textbooks involved in the analysis explain this law nor what it meant for Ireland, which I believe is a shame considering the earlier public debate about whether Ireland effectively was a colony of England or not. Although parliamentary dependency is not the ultimate proof point for being a colony, it however made clear that Ireland was not an independent realm in personal union with England but a dependent ‘lesser’ unit.

5.2 Reformation and Plantations

Key conclusions:

- **The English Reformation's impact on Ireland:** English textbooks focus on the resulting security threat to England, Irish textbooks on religious discrimination in general and on the reasons for the failure of conversions. English textbooks also make the readers believe that the 'rebels' were Irish, when they were mainly Old English Catholics.
- **In England, Henry VIII's policy of 'surrender and regrant' is only explained in a few A-level textbooks.**
- **The Irish 'otherness' and its English interpretation of being 'uncivilised' were mentioned by one of five English KS3 textbooks in the 90s however since then they distance themselves from the contemporary (16-17th century) English point of view less.**
- **Plantations vs. colonisation:** many textbooks prefer to use euphemistic terms to refer to England's colonisation of Ireland, and in a Northern Irish textbook plantation is associated with trying to plant a tree.
- **Plantations:** Irish textbooks provide a balanced view, also explaining what economic benefits they brought to Ireland. Among the Northern Irish textbooks we can find a mixed picture: while the narrative of the Ulster plantation showcases different points of view, the earlier plantations are either mentioned very briefly or with a clear bias supporting the point of view of the settlers. English textbooks have drastically reduced the depth of explanation in the last two decades and even before in some textbooks a few examples of bias could be found: justifying the plantations by the 'threat' from Ireland or complaining that the plantations were not profitable to England.
- **An English KS3 textbook presents two competing views of historians about factual events during the Plantations, in an apparent aim to keep equal distance, however, this practice is highly questionable as schoolchildren will have no background knowledge to challenge the incorrectness of any of the two accounts.**

It would be better to teach the interpretation of contrasting opinions than the interpretation of different accounts of factual events.

- **Late 16th century rebellions in Ireland: English textbooks tend to omit the description of the underlying reasons, especially the activity of adventurers claiming the land owned by both Gaelic and Anglo-Norman lords. The Flight of the Earls is described in detail by Northern Irish textbooks, less by Irish textbooks, and both miss to opportunity to challenge this decision.**

This section reviews the narrative of the English Reformation's impact on Ireland (with its perceived threat to the security of England) (Beckett, 1981, pp. 16-21, 39-43, 57); how Ireland became a kingdom under Henry VIII and his policy of 'surrender and regrant' (pp. 16-19); the treatment of Irish 'otherness' (pp. 37-38); the Plantations (pp. 20-21, 43-47, 53-55); the different Irish rebellions of the late 16th century and their outcome: the Desmond Rebellions (p. 20), the Nine Years War (pp. 22-24) and the Flight of the Earls (pp. 43-44). The end of this period is marked by the establishment of a centralised government in all Ireland, and the growing tensions between the 'Old English' and the new settlers (pp. 13, 24, 34-37, 52-60, 63-65, 72-74).

The English Reformation's impact on Ireland

Henry VIII's English Reformation and the break from Rome in 1533 (annulment of his marriage and the following excommunication) has impacted the Anglo-Irish relationship ever since. English textbooks obviously thoroughly explain Henry's Reformation, however its impact on Ireland is a much less featured content. The textbooks that explain the impact on Ireland however tend to focus on the fact that the different religious beliefs had implied a threat to English security, as seen below in a few examples of the English KS3 textbooks *Discovering the making of the UK* and *Island Story: Britain from the Tudors to Queen Anne* and the A-level textbooks *Elizabeth I: Meeting the challenge, England 1541-1603* and *Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923*:

England and Ireland. The Protestant reformation that changed England so much did not take hold in Ireland. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries deep divisions remained between the Irish people, who were Catholics, and their English rulers, who were Protestants. Ireland was a real danger to England because Catholic

countries such as France were ready to help the Irish rebels against the English. (Shephard & Lomas, 1995, p. 72)

The change to the Protestant faith under Henry VIII did not help either. This new problem of Protestant against Catholic caused more trouble under Elizabeth ... The Pope and Spain sent troops to help the rebels. (Larkin, 1984, p. 64)

After all, the break with Rome brought Ireland to the European stage. Foreign enemies of Henry VIII and his Protestant successors could use Ireland, its loyalty to Roman Catholicism and its Gaelic dissent as a potent weapon against England: either as a springboard for invasion of England or as a means of tying down English troops and thereby sabotaging the economy of the country. (Warren, 2008, p. 144)

The English Reformation and the break with Rome in 1533 never really obtained a foothold in Ireland and it raised the possibility of foreign intervention in Ireland on behalf of the Pope ... The prospect of Ireland being used as a backdoor against England was to haunt English rulers and statesmen for centuries to come. (Adelman & Byrne, 2016, p. 2)

On the other hand, *Living through History: the Making of the United Kingdom* and *Collins Key Stage 3 History: Book 2: 1750-1918* both incorrectly claim that Catholicism was the reason for rebellions during Henry VIII's time - the main Irish rebellion during his time was organised by the Fitzgeralds of Kildare in 1534 -, however, as *Beckett* confirms 'religion played, in fact, very little part either in provoking the war or in maintaining it; and neither the pope nor his allies took part' (Beckett, 1981, p. 17). In the first narrative it is also important to take note of the positive connotations attached to the English Reformation as it 'broke free from the control'.

Reformation and rebellion. During the reign of Henry VIII, English religion broke free from the control of the Pope in Rome. Henry wanted to do the same in Ireland. Some Irish leaders were happy to buy lands which had previously been owned by the monasteries, but many of them were strong Catholics who objected to what Henry was doing and rebelled against English control. (Kelly, Rees, & Shuter, 1998 (2), p. 72)

In the 1530s Henry VIII supported religious reforms against the Catholic Church. The Irish Catholics disliked his reforms. They attempted a rebellion in 1534. (Murphy, Gosling, & Martin, 2010, p. 90)

It is remarkable that all previous examples omit the complex nature of local Irish power structures between Gaelic, Old English (who remained overwhelmingly Catholic), and the newly arrived Protestant English. These examples give the impression as if only the Gaelic and the Protestant English existed and thus hide the crucial role Old English

Catholics played: ‘Irish people, who were Catholics, and their English rulers, who were Protestants’, ‘Irish rebels against the English’, ‘Ireland, its loyalty to Roman Catholicism and its Gaelic dissent’, ‘Irish leaders’ and ‘Irish Catholics’. In fact, the power struggles of this period were mainly between Old English Catholics and the newly arrived Protestant Englishmen, two groups of people who originally owed their loyalty to England.

It is an interesting feature of English-British rule in Ireland, that the ruling class of English origin established an interest on its own (also claiming a degree of Irishness), thus the crown (and later parliament) did not trust them enough to put them in charge of executing the policy decided in London and therefore new more trustworthy Englishmen arrived. Until, usually a generation or two later, they also considered themselves the true representatives of Ireland. We see this to happen during the reformation (with the Old English) (Beckett, 1981, pp. 60, 72-73), after the Cromwellian settlement (p. 112), and later in the 18th century as the Protestants in Ireland also develop a self-consciousness different from that of Britain (see Section 5.6, also in (Beckett, 1981, pp. 156-157)). In this sense, we can criticise many English textbooks for simplistically representing the conflict as if it was between ‘Catholic Irish’ and ‘Protestant English’, also equalling the ‘Catholic Irish’ with ‘rebels’ when it was a conflict between the local elites in Ireland (mostly represented by people of English origin) aiming for a localised government and England/Britain aiming for a centralised administration. Regarding the 18th century movement, Beckett describes their motivation by the assertion that ‘it was based on the claim that, both by the law of nature and by the common law, Englishmen in Ireland had a right to equality with their fellow-subjects in England’ (Beckett, 1981, p. 157).

Irish textbooks explain the impact of the Reformation on Ireland in a different tone. *New Complete History* focuses on the phenomenon of religious discrimination both by Catholic and Protestant powers and the failure of the conversion due to language barriers:

Religious persecution. Many rulers thought that only people of the same religion as themselves could be loyal subjects. This is why Catholics were sometimes persecuted in Protestant countries such as England, while Protestants were sometimes persecuted in Catholic countries such as France. (Hayes C. , 2009, p. 107)

However, attempts to bring the Reformation to Ireland largely failed. Most Protestant missionaries could not speak Irish and so could not communicate with people.

Protestantism also became associated with England's domination of Ireland and this made Protestantism unpopular with many Irish people. (p. 108)

The Past Today also focuses on the reasons why the Reformation failed in Ireland:

However, the kings and queens of England failed to convert Ireland to Protestantism. The monasteries in Ireland were closed. But Irish Catholics rejected Protestantism because it was seen as part of England's plan to control Ireland. Also, the new religion was closely linked to the English language, whereas Irish was the main language of the people in Ireland. (Lucey, 2002, p. 154)

Uncovering History explains that the Old English families have kept their Catholic faith, however it is debatable if the conclusion that 'their loyalty to the Pope in Rome proved to be far stronger than their loyalty to an English king in London' (Delap & McCormack, 2011, p. 167) is fully correct, as they originally wanted to be loyal to both the Pope and the king⁷¹.

Interestingly, the two Northern Irish KS3 textbooks dealing with the 16th century are very brief on the English Reformation's impact on Ireland. *History in Close-up: The Age of Discovery* positions the religious differences as one of the reasons for the Plantations: 'the Irish remained Catholic, culturally Gaelic and used their own laws. England was not happy with this' (Hodge, 2011, p. 57). *History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1500-1900* does not even explain in the specific section that Catholicism remained the majority religion in Ireland: 'Henry declared himself the Head of the Church of England. Henry made Protestantism the official religion in Ireland. Catholicism was banned and land belonging to the Catholic Church was confiscated' (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008, p. 26). The text is clearly debatable as Henry in fact remained Catholic, as the same textbook also confirms this on page 14.

Therefore, it seems that each sets of textbooks tend to focus on different perspectives of the English Reformation's impact on Ireland: English textbooks on the resulting security threat to England – also wrongly giving the impression that Catholicism was to blame for the Geraldine rebellion and that the power struggles were between the 'Irish' and the 'English', when in fact they were between the Old English Catholics and the newly arrived Protestant Englishmen –, Irish textbooks concentrate on religious

⁷¹ As Beckett explains 'even in Elizabeth's reign the bulk of the Old English, and especially those of the Pale, remained loyal to the crown, while refusing to accept its ecclesiastical settlement' (Beckett, 1981, p. 19).

discrimination in general and on the reasons for the failure of conversions and Northern Irish textbooks seem to be very brief on this matter.

Ireland becomes a kingdom, policy of ‘surrender and regrant’

The end of the Papal supremacy in Henry VIII’s realms also meant that Henry required a new legitimisation for his power in Ireland, as the one provided by the *Laudabiliter* wasn’t relevant in this new setting. He was proclaimed King of Ireland, however, this title wasn’t recognised by Catholic monarchs and – maybe ironically – it is thanks to (Bloody) Mary I that the personal-union between the English and Irish crowns has been accepted among others by the Pope (Wikipedia re. Monarchy in Ireland, 2024). The policy of ‘surrender and regrant’ was instrumental in establishing both the royal supremacy and a clear feudalistic relationship in parts of Ireland in hands of native chieftains: it was a big change for the structure of land ownership, as the Gaelic lords previously did not personally own the land but were elected by the freemen of their clan to administer it for life (Beckett, 1981, p. 18). This policy came after the rebellion of the Fitzgeralds of Kildare, who have been the lord deputy of Ireland for a very long time, effectively inheriting the deputyship from father to son in the same way as the earldom, and thus providing a mutually accepted link between royal power and Gaelic and Anglo-Norman lords which meant that Ireland could be governed at a very low cost. The cause for the rebellion was Henry’s desire to reduce the power of the Fitzgeralds (Beckett, 1981, pp. 16-17).

Among the English textbooks analysed in *Chapter 4*, 59% include in some way a reference of Henry VIII becoming King of Ireland, although most of the KS3 books do not include any detailed explanation. For instance, in *Making Sense of History 1509-1745*: ‘In 1541, Henry VIII declared himself king of Ireland and imposed English laws’ (Clare, Fisher, & Kennett, 2014, p. 117) or in *Living through History; the Making of the United Kingdom*: ‘Henry VIII said he was the King of Ireland’ (Reynoldson & Taylor, 1998, p. 72). With the same level of detail, *A Sense of History: The Making of the United Kingdom* offers a source material to describe the decision of the Irish Parliament: ‘that the king’s highness, his heirs and successors, kings of England, be always kings of this land of Ireland’ (Mason J. , 1992, p. 42). *Collins Key Stage 3 History, Book 2: 1750-1918* summarises the events in a few more words, although incorrectly blaming the 1534 Geraldine rebellion on religious reforms instead on Henry VIII’s attempt to strengthen

royal power: ‘in the 1530s Henry VIII supported religious reforms against the Catholic Church. The Irish Catholics disliked his reforms. They attempted a rebellion in 1534. By 1541, however, the Irish were forced to accept Henry VIII (1509-1547) as king’ (Murphy, Gosling, & Martin, 2010, p. 90).

More detailed references can be found in some of the British A-level textbooks: *Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923* explains both Henry becoming king of Ireland and the changes to land ownership structure in a neutral wording (Adelman & Byrne, 2016, p. 2). *Elizabeth I: Meeting the challenge, England 1541-1603* provides an even more detailed account, explaining the Gaelic system of succession, the mighty power the Earl of Kildare enjoyed and how it became ‘outmoded’ after the Wars of the Roses, how the Fitzgeralds got replaced by London courtiers, how Henry VIII became styled as ‘King of Ireland’ and his policy of ‘surrender and regrant’ (Warren, 2008, pp. 142-144). The author is critical with the expectation that this policy should have solved the problems:

This was unlikely to ‘civilise’ Ireland in the short term and would, of course, cause resentment among the freemen. What right, they might justly ask, had the chieftain to surrender land belonging to the clan as a whole? And, if the new earl subsequently fell foul of the King, what right had the King to confiscate that land? (Warren, 2008, p. 144)

Some Northern Irish KS3 textbooks also remain at the same depth as English KS3 books, as in *History in Close-up: The Age of Discovery* (KS3): ‘Henry VIII, the Protestant King of England, had taken the title “King of Ireland”. Tudor governments therefore tried to make all of Ireland obey English law’ (Hodge, 2011, p. 57), however, there is no mention of the policy of ‘surrender and regrant’. *History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1500-1900* explains this policy without detailing its significance for the breakdown of Gaelic customs:

... in 1541 Henry called himself ‘King of Ireland’. Finally, Henry used a policy of ‘surrender and regrant’ to control the Gaelic lords. The Gaelic chiefs were encouraged to surrender their lands to the King but were given them back if they swore loyalty to Henry. (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008, p. 26)

However, the narrative is questionable in the sense that it says that from the early 15th century foreign powers could use Ireland for attacking England, thus claiming to act in self-defence when such situation of foreign danger cannot be explained until the English Reformation. The text also causes the impression as if Gaelic lords caused the

rebellions in Henry's reign, which is incorrect, as the threat this time came mainly from Anglo-Irish lords. Even if Henry VII had the experience of Ireland being used as a base for a contestant claim to the throne, it was not based on foreign powers or Gaelic lords either, but on the Anglo-Irish lords (and as it happened before the Reformation, we cannot even claim that the problem was their religion):

By the early fifteenth century, English power had declined in Ireland. Most of the land was controlled by Irish Gaelic chieftains. England began to get frightened that Ireland could be used as a base by the enemies of England to launch an attack.

What do you remember about King Henry VIII? He wanted to have stricter control over Ireland. Henry VIII used a range of different methods of control.

Firstly, he sent troops to crush rebellions in Ireland.

Then he appointed his own Englishmen to important jobs ruling Ireland, because he felt they would be more loyal to him than Irishmen.

In 1536, Henry declared himself the Head of the Church of England... (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008, p. 26)

Irish textbooks dedicate much more space to the description of the mechanism of 'surrender and regrant'. In *Uncovering History* it is narrated as a mechanism to try to control Ireland without having to pay for an army:

Wars are expensive and the kings and queens of Ireland in the sixteenth century hated having to pay for them. They also hated the idea of paying for a war, winning it, and then having to go back a few years later and pay for another war. This was exactly the problem faced by the English in sixteenth century Ireland. At first, King Henry VIII tried an idea called 'Surrender and Regrant'.

The idea was for the Old English Lords and Gaelic Chieftains of Ireland to 'surrender' their land and property to Henry. They would then swear an oath of allegiance (loyalty) to him, and he would reward them with English titles such as 'Lord', 'Earl', and 'Baron'. Henry would then regrant the surrendered land in return for the promise of loyalty...

This was a short-term solution designed to save money. The policy failed to extend English law outside the Pale. However, it did result in a significant weakening of the power of the Gaelic clans, as many fought over the English tradition which said that the Lord's eldest son should inherit his title and lands. This went against traditional brehon law and the resulting conflict eroded the strength of many of the Gaelic families at the worst possible time. (Delap & McCormack, 2011, pp. 167-168)

The Past Today uses the same argument when describing the events in similar detail, also adding a table with differences between the Gaelic and English legal systems in terms of land ownership (Lucey, 2002, pp. 163-164). In both cases the explanation comes after a few lines dedicated to the rebellion of the Fitzgeralds of Kildare. *The Past Today* rightly explains that the rebellion came as result of Henry VIII wanting to reduce the power of the Fitzgeralds, while *Uncovering History* (incorrectly) gives the impression as if the rebellion was the cause not the result. *Discovering History* explains the policy of ‘surrender and regrant’ based on Henry VIII’s desire to extend his realm so that he can compete with Spain and Portugal and based on the lack of trust in Catholics, but no mention is made of the Geraldine rebellion. This textbook also provides a detailed comparison between the English system of succession and the Brehon Laws (McCaughey, c2009, pp. 194-195). At the same time, *New Complete History* does not mention the Fitzgerald rebellion, ‘surrender and regrant’ and the resulting change to land ownership structures, the only reference is to frequent rebellions by ‘Irish clans and Old English families ... against England’ (Hayes C. , 2009, pp. 110-111).

Thus, we have seen that the treatment of the policy of ‘surrender and regrant’ and its effects on the landholding system in Ireland have been treated in most detail in Irish textbooks, often highlighting that it was a low-cost solution to rule Ireland. In England, only A-level textbooks explain this policy and some of them show a critical tone with its legality and effectiveness. One of the analysed Northern Irish textbooks seem to incorrectly justify Henry VIII’s early aim to increase control of Ireland by the threat from England’s enemies and Irish Gaelic chieftains, when the motivation could have been the support Anglo-Irish lords gave to other throne pretenders in times of Henry’s father, reinforced by the Geraldine rebellion of Anglo-Irish lords.

Irish ‘otherness’

We have seen in the previous *Section 5.1* that the native Irish already in the Middle Ages were considered backward by the English, and this perception intensified further after the Reformation.

The British A-level textbook *Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923* rightly explains this phenomenon, also showing the necessary distance to the perceptions of Elizabethan England:

It was Henry's daughter, Queen Elizabeth I, who really carried through the effective conquest of Ireland. To do this, she relied primarily on English commanders and officials. For the Queen and many Elizabethans, the English were engaged in a civilising mission in Ireland. Elizabeth's view of the Irish as 'a rude and barbarous nation' became an assumption of the English governing class for long afterwards. (Adelman & Byrne, 2016, pp. 2-4)

Another British A-level textbook, *Elizabeth I: Meeting the challenge, England 1541-1603* also refers to this contemporary English opinion on the Irish, with a lesser degree of distancing:

Policy towards Ireland had to take account of the fact that many English, and particularly the Puritans, detested the Irish, who were regarded as beast-like papists.

... this [effective colonisation] would also pander to English views of the Gaelic Irish as barbarians and justify colonisation as a gift of civilisation. But the Gaels were, of course, unlikely to see colonies in this light. (Warren, 2008, p. 145)

Among the KS3 textbooks used in England, *Collins Living History: The Making of the United Kingdom 1500-1750* offers probably the best explanation why the beliefs about the Irish were incorrect, making schoolchildren to understand that being different is not equivalent to uncivilised and that the executions carried out by the English were not more civilised than the customs of the Irish:

A vicious circle. The English did not understand the Irish: because they were different, the English regarded them as uncivilised. This can be seen in Source 18, where the Irishman is shown as a wild savage. In Source 19, Spencer obviously thought the old woman's action was barbaric, but that hanging, drawing and quartering was not.

Source 18. An illustration of 1575 showing a woman from the Pale and a Gaelic Irishman.

'An old woman, which was his foster-mother, took up his head when he was quartered, and sucked up all the blood running thereout, saying that the earth was not worthy to drink it.' Source 19. The poet Edmund Spencer, secretary to Queen Elizabeth's representative in Ireland, describes the execution of Murrough O'Brien in 1583. O'Brien was hanged, drawn and quartered by the English. That is he was first hanged, and while still alive, his insides were cut out and then his body cut into four parts. (Culpin, 1992, p. 50)

Key stages in History: The making of the United Kingdom also provides a source material to support the aim that 'the Irish became outcasts in their own land', which

highlights that the Irish were considered ‘uncivilised’ at the time, however the level of criticism is much lesser compared to the previous example:

In 1571 the English Governor of Ireland, Sir John Perrot, issued these orders to be obeyed by the people of the Irish province of Munster.

The inhabitants of cities and towns shall wear no mantles (cloaks), shorts, Irish coats, or great shorts, nor allow their hair to grow long ... but they are to wear gowns, jerkins, and some civilised garments; and no maid or single woman shall put any great roll or linen cloth upon their heads ... [instead] they are to put on hats, caps, French hoods ... All bards (minstrels), rhymers and common idle men or women within this province ... are to be put in the stocks, there to remain until they shall promise to leave their wicked way of life. (Snellgrove, 1992, p. 47)

Discovering History: The making of the United Kingdom also visualises several source materials which refers to the consideration of the Irish as barbarous, including two pictures that show the Irish at feast (the same as the one shown in *Collins Living History: The Making of the United Kingdom 1500-1750*) and during cattle raids and asking students the question ‘what view of the Irish is given by these pictures?’ (Hepplewhite & Tonge, 1992, pp. 56-57). One of the sources (*Source B*) states different insults to the Irish:

It was not too long ago, the Irish lived like barbarians, in woods, in bogs and lonely places, without law and government, neither knowing religion or even superstitious papism (Catholic religion). They steal, they are cruel and bloody, full of revenge, enjoy horrible executions, they are common rapists and murderers of children. Barnaby Rich (an English historian), ‘A New Description of Ireland’, 1610 (p. 56)

The related questions students have to answer is: ‘a) Do you think the English historian gives an accurate picture of the Irish? Explain your answer. b) If the English believed this description, how might it help to explain their behaviour as outline in Source A?’ (p. 57). The content of *Source A* describes different cruelties that an English expedition in 1574 made the Irish suffer:

We drove the Irish from the plains into the woods, where they would freeze or die of hunger with the onset of winter. How godly it is to overthrow so wicked a race. To my thoughts this is the greatest sacrifice we can offer to God. We did kill women and children and even those that did not fight so that we could kill the men of war by famine. The heads of the killed were cut from their bodies and lined the route to the tents. All who entered passed the heads and this did bring great terror to them when they saw the heads

of their dead fathers, brothers, children and friends. Thomas Churchyard, who accompanied an English military expedition to Ulster, 1574. (p. 56)

On one hand the critical reader needs to applaud the comparably exceptional detail of the material included in the textbook, which clearly recognises ethnic discrimination and cleansing, on the other hand, the above question to students trying to justify the actions described in *Source A* by the opinions English held about the Irish (see *Source B*) is clearly inappropriate: believing that the other side are murderers of children can never justify your own actions of killing children, even less to claim that it is a godly act, and schoolchildren should learn this early enough. Even if *Source C* includes the opinion of an Irish historian from 1612 comparing the English scholars with dung beetles who only stop at the dung, uninterestedly passing by flowers and blossoms, and then the textbook asks students the question ‘why might English historians have been biased when writing about Ireland?’ (pp. 56-57), this book should have been much more outspoken in the condemnation of the English behaviour and opinion described in *Sources A* and *B*.

Making Sense of History 1509-1745 is more apologetic towards English attitude when discussing the three different interpretations of Irish history (Nationalist, Loyalist and English) claiming that:

Most modern historians argue that none of these ‘myths’ are true. They say that English ‘brutality’ was simply how all rebellions were quelled in those days. Equally, they suggest that Irish Catholics were not much worse treated than poor English people in the eighteenth century. (Clare, Fisher, & Kennett, 2014, p. 118)

The above is clearly debatable, we have seen above that in the 16th century Irish Catholics certainly were treated worse than poor English people and we will see later that in the 18th century there were other types of discrimination (e.g. the Penal Laws). This textbook describes English historiography regarding Ireland as ‘the English history of Ireland portrayed the Irish as “backward” and “troublesome”. It ignored or tried to explain away the darker side of English rule (such as the Drogheda massacre)’ (p. 118). Could someone be fully mistaken to read the above lines as an attempt to equidistance ourselves from the (proto)-colonial rulers and their unhappy subjects complaining about their treatment? Should a textbook in 2014 not draw from the tradition of the above quoted textbooks from the 1990s and recognise what was wrong in English attitudes against the Irish?

Out of the 14 KS3 textbooks used in England published in the 80s and 90s and analysed in this thesis, only three (see above, only 21% of all) offered some kind of recognition and criticism of the English treatment of the Irish ‘otherness’, among the five KS3 textbooks published in the 2000s and 2010s only one makes any mention of the English opinion about how ‘backward’ and ‘troublesome’ the Irish were, and even then the authors try to equidistance themselves from this opinion and of the Irish ‘Nationalist’ view that the Irish were oppressed. One can hope that following the *Black Lives Matter* movement, this is not the example based on which the multicultural aspects of British heritage and the unfair treatment of people of colour will be explained...

The attempt of assimilation is clearly explained in *A Sense of History: The Making of the United Kingdom*: ‘Henry said he wanted the Irish to become: “True subjects, obedient to his laws, forsaking [giving up] their Irish laws, habits and customs” (State Papers, 1541)’ (Mason J. , 1992, p. 42). How difficult this could have been, the next page illustrates by explaining the situation the Old English faced with James I:

The Old English soon started to complain that the government listened only to newcomers, the ‘New English’. They claimed that they could be Catholics and still loyal [to] the Crown; but James I called them ‘half-subjects’, saying: ‘You give your soul to the Pope and to me only the body and even it ... you divide between me and the king of Spain ... Strive ... to become good subjects ... and then I shall respect you all alike.’ James I’s speech to the Old English delegation, 21 April 1614. (Mason J. , 1992, p. 43)

Three out of the four analysed Irish Junior Certificate textbooks recognise this perception of otherness: in *New Complete History*: ‘most English monarchs thought that Irish people were uncivilised. They wanted to civilise the Irish by introducing them to the English customs and laws that would exist in planted towns’ (Hayes C. , 2009, p. 111), in *The Past Today* ‘they [the Tudors] thought that English culture was superior to Irish Gaelic culture ... the planters would use English law, language and customs, they would be “models of civility and religion for the barbarous natives” ’ (Lucey, 2002, pp. 163-164) and in *Uncovering History* ‘study source D, which is an illustration ... (c1575) of a civil woman from the Pale and a Gaelic Irishman. (i) From the picture, give one piece of evidence to suggest that the artist felt that the Gaelic Irish were uncivilised’ (Delap & McCormack, 2011, p. 180) while *Discovering History* does not mention this concept.

However, in comparison with the quoted English textbooks, the detail of the description is much lesser.

Also the Northern Irish KS3 textbook *History in Close-Up, The Age of Discovery* adds that ‘there was a view that a barbaric country must first be broken by war before it will be capable of good government’ (Hodge, 2011, p. 57) without adding any narrative to qualify the above text and *History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1500-1900* gives the words into the mouth of an imaginary member of one of the London guilds: ‘distant, barbarous, papist Ulster’ (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008, p. 30).

As a summary, the Irish ‘otherness’ and its English interpretation of being ‘uncivilised’ are mentioned most often in Irish textbooks, however with not much detail and proof points. Some of the English textbooks describe the situation with more detail, however their share among KS3 textbooks did not surpass one in five even in the 90s and since then they distance themselves from the contemporary (16-17th century) English point of view less than what could be seen in the 90s.

Plantations

The Irish Junior Certificate textbook *Uncovering History* rightly highlights the relevance of the plantations in the history of Ireland:

It can be argued that the plantations were the single most important event in Irish history. Up until this time in history, England had very little power in Ireland and most of the country was ruled by local people following Celtic tradition. Following the plantations, England had complete control over Ireland. It is important for you to know how, why and when this happened. (Delap & McCormack, 2011, p. 165)

I believe that the first aspect to treat is the name itself: ‘plantations’. Some of the analysed textbooks try to define it, sometimes even in contrast to ‘colonisation’, however, I do not think the reader will be any smarter after seeing some of these definitions about what the actual difference is.

In the Northern Irish KS3 textbook *History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1500-1900* the following definitions are given in the glossary: ‘Colony. A country or piece of land which is taken and ruled by another state ... Plantation. The policy of putting settlers in a land in order to control it’ (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008, pp. 94-95). After a whole chapter dedicated to the process of colonisation in the Americas on pages 16-25

(with the examples of the Spanish conquest of Mexico and of the Roanoke settlement, both defined in the text as ‘colonies’), in the same book the following highly questionable text is used to explain what the Ulster plantation was: ‘Mary I and Elizabeth I used a policy of plantation to try to control Ireland. Think about the process of planting something and explain what they were hoping to achieve’ (p. 27).

Even the Irish Junior Certificate textbook *Uncovering History* attempts a separate definition for plantation ‘the idea and practice of removing disloyal people from the area, and replacing them with loyal subjects who will obey the government’ and colony ‘a country or region that is ruled by another country’ (Delap & McCormack, 2011, pp. 165, 144). *Discovering History* (Ireland, Junior Certificate) is more specific in its definition as it links plantations only to Ireland: ‘English policy in Ireland that “planted” loyal English in lands confiscated from disloyal Irish’, while colonies are considered ‘foreign lands that a country claims to own’ (McCaughey, c2009, pp. 215, 158). *Collins Key stage 3 History: Book 2: 1750-1918* (England, KS3) also applies the same ‘trick’ when defining ‘Plantation of Ulster: Land given to English and Scottish settlers in Ireland’ (without mentioning that it meant displacing the native population, nor explaining other plantations in Ireland) and ‘colony: an overseas territory of an empire’ (without providing a definition for ‘empire’) (Murphy, Gosling, & Martin, 2010, pp. 90, 148).

On the other hand, the British A-level textbook *Elizabeth I: Meeting the challenge, England 1541-1603* provides a definition in which plantation is a form of colonisation, which requires a high number of settlers to arrive in the foreign territory: ‘Plantation: Colonisation by settling in numbers. Colonisation: One country seizing foreign territory by dispossessing original owners and occupants’ (Warren, 2008, p. 147). With this definition, any plantation is automatically colonisation and it also means that also in case of plantations a country seized foreign territory and dispossessed the original owners and occupants. To avoid any doubt, the textbook applies the term colonisation straight away for what happened in Ireland: ‘colonisation should be seen as a mechanism for conquering Gaelic Ireland’ (p. 147). However, with this definition, we can also ask why the colonisation of North America is not referred to as ‘plantation’, given that the proportion of settlers to natives was much higher there than in case of Ireland⁷². A similar

⁷² A reference to this is made in the Irish Junior Certificate textbook *The Past Today*: ‘the lessons learnt during plantations in Ireland were used when the English government organised plantations in North America’ (Lucey, 2002, p. 176)

definition is given in *Elizabethan England c1568-1603* (England, GCSE), however focusing on the feature that the settlement should be government-sponsored in order to be considered a plantation, instead of the high numbers of settlers seen in the previous example: ‘plantation: a type of colonisation involving the establishment of a government-sponsored settlement of emigrants’ and ‘colony: an area ruled over by another country’ (Royle, 2016, pp. 94-95). This textbook also equates plantation with colonisation, also signalling that ‘plantation’ implies a degree of euphemism: ‘English Protestant settlers began to colonise Ireland in so-called “Plantations” ’ (p. 7).

However, English history textbooks only seldom include a direct comparison of Irish affairs with other colonial confrontations and with the aim for self-determination of other nations. A rare example from 1981 (*British History 1815-1914*, GCSE), regarding the late 19th century:

The government’s reply was to declare the [Land] League illegal and to imprison its other leaders. At once there was an increase in violence in Ireland encouraged by a rash of newly formed secret societies. It was to become a familiar pattern for Britain’s modern wars of colonial liberation. To imprison nationalist leaders like Parnell and, in the twentieth century, Gandhi, Kenyatta and Nkomo, usually meant the removal of restraint and the cutting of channels of communication, a lesson which successive governments found it hard to learn (Hill & Wright, 1981, p. 170)

I believe that we can conclude that the most reasonable explanation is the one provided by the above A-level textbook *Elizabeth I: Meeting the challenge, England 1541-1603* in which it defines plantations as a form of colonisation in which a high number of settlers arrive in the foreign territory, dispossessing and even displacing the native population. As we have seen, many textbooks prefer to use euphemistic terms to refer to England’s colonisation of Ireland, and the most surprising description could be found in a Northern Irish textbook, trying to insist in explaining how the two concepts are different and that plantation can be associated with trying to plant a tree... It is understandable that the situation in Northern Ireland requires to balance many sensitivities in a textbook aimed to be shared across communities, however, it is questionable if it will be achieved by not calling things by its name. Both the plantations in Ireland and the colonisation in North America combine achievements and shameful past, and children should learn about both. The shameful aspects of the plantations in Ireland are similarly unacceptable as the treatment of native Americans.

In the following pages I will continue to use the term ‘plantations’ without placing it in inverted commas, as it has been widely accepted to refer to the process of colonisation in Ireland, even if I personally consider that this terminology has (incorrect) euphemistic connotations.

There were several waves of plantations in Ireland, each motivated by different circumstances and therefore applying partially different methodologies: the main ones (organised by the respective English governments) being Laois-Offaly by Queen Mary I and King Philip (1556), Munster by Elizabeth I (1586), Ulster by James I (1610) and the Cromwellian Plantation by Oliver Cromwell (1652) (Beckett, 1981, pp. 20-21, 43-47, 53-55). What was common, however, is the aim to settle down a significant number of English and Scottish settlers on lands taken from their previous owners and often also displacing the previous population. There were also private initiatives in the East of Ulster (Beckett, 1981, pp. 47-48).

Irish textbooks understandably dedicate the most space to the treatment of this process: 15 pages in *New Complete History* (Hayes C. , 2009, pp. 110-124), 17 pages in *The Past Today* (Lucey, 2002, pp. 164-180), 20 pages in *Uncovering History* (Delap & McCormack, 2011, pp. 165-184) and 23 pages in *Discovering History* (McCaughey, c2009, pp. 194-216). These textbooks treat the different waves of plantations as basically the same process, and before the explanation of the Munster Plantation the Desmond Rebellions are narrated, in the same way as before the Ulster Plantations the Nine Years War and the Flight of the Earls. Similarly, the Cromwellian Plantation is preceded in the textbooks by the 1641 Rebellion and the Cromwellian Conquest.

In this thesis, I will treat the 1641 Rebellion and the Cromwellian Conquest separately in the next *Section 5.3*, given their importance in the narrative of the Anglo-Irish history, and also considering that Cromwell’s ‘retaliation’ went to previously unseen levels.

Although there are many similarities between the different waves of plantation, it would be incorrect to treat them as part of a premeditated multi-step process⁷³. However, this perception could be obtained from reading some of the Irish textbooks, for instance

⁷³ As Warren also highlights regarding the first Elizabethan plantations: ‘it is clear that these attempts were simply not thought through’ (Warren, 2008, p. 147)

in *The Past Today* the policy of the plantations is introduced in the following way after explaining Henry VIII's 'surrender and regrant':

A New Policy: Plantations. The English government decided to use another policy to conquer Ireland. This was called plantation. This is how the policy worked:

After rebellious chiefs and lords were defeated, their lands would be confiscated.

The land would be given to loyal settlers or 'planters'.

The planters would use English law, language and customs; they would be 'models of civility and religion for the barbarous natives'.

The planters would defend their new land; they would be 'bulwarks [defence] against foreign invasion'.

This new policy was first tried in Laois and Offaly. (Lucey, 2002, pp. 164-165)

I believe that there are many proof points which indicate that the respective English governments after each wave of plantation thought that they have 'dealt' with the 'problem' and the solution they have found is the final one. Thus, every new wave of plantation was rather 'improvised' when the development of the circumstances made the English governments believe that they need to act again. It is difficult to imagine Queen Mary I's officials in 1556 to foresee the Desmond Rebellions, the Nine Years War etc.

A very good practice that the quoted textbook *The Past Today* however follows is to start the narrative of each wave of plantation with a few paragraphs on its 'background and causes': in essence explaining the different rebellions which preceded them. Another very good practice is to close the treatment of each wave with another set of paragraphs with 'how successful was the plantation'. In these paragraphs on the impact of the plantations also positive economic impacts are listed: on page 168 after the Munster Plantations the book explains how new plantation towns were built and how agriculture, industry and trade improved and on pages 172-173 the same positive effects are explained after the Ulster Plantation. *Discovering History*, *Uncovering History* and *The Past Today* also explain the same positive economic consequences of the plantations in both Munster and Ulster (McCaughey, c2009, pp. 201, 206) (Delap & McCormack, 2011, pp. 173, 179) (Hayes C. , 2009, pp. 115, 118), recognising that 'all this helped to make Ulster prosperous' (Hayes C. , 2009, p. 118) or using the economic benefits as an argument to confirm that 'it is untrue to say that the Munster plantation was a complete failure' (Delap & McCormack, 2011, p. 173).

Irish textbooks naturally also explain in detail the negative consequences of the plantations, like mixed population with a long-term political divide between the new

planters and the dispossessed, also sustained by the religious divide, the reduction in Catholic land ownership (see later in *Section 5.5*) and the decline in the use of the Irish language. All of these textbooks also use maps to show the location of each wave.

The extent of the text dedicated to the plantations in textbooks used in England varies from a sentence to a few paragraphs. In *Chapter 4* we found that 29% of textbooks explain them in detail, 32% partially, 8% very limitedly and 32% of textbooks omit any reference. In the earlier *Section 4.2* we have seen the conclusion that KS3 textbooks dealing with the 16-17 centuries and published in the 1990s had a ‘golden age’ in which proportionally more Ireland-related content has been included in them. These textbooks typically carry as their title a synonym of ‘making of the United Kingdom’ and have a unit in the textbook dealing with the relationship between England and the other realms under a title similar to ‘how united was the United Kingdom’ (Shephard & Lomas, 1995, pp. 74-77). These units were the usual place where English textbooks analysed the plantations. The disappearance of these units also seems to have reduced the attention paid to the narrative of the plantation: among the 38 textbooks used in England which should have included a mention of the plantations, 18 were published in the 80s and 90s and 44% of these included this event in a detailed form, 28% partially, 6% very limitedly and 22% not at all. Among the 20 textbooks published in the 2000s and 2010s, 15% mentioned this event in detail, 35% partially, 10% very limitedly and 40% not at all. The difference is even bigger in case of KS3 textbooks: in the 80s and 90s 62% included a detailed mention, which reduced to only 11% in the 2000s and 2010s. The percentage of KS3 textbooks not including the plantations at all increased in the same period from 8% to 33%.

We have already seen before when examining the definition of the word ‘plantation’ that the English KS3 textbook *Collins Key stage 3 History: Book 2: 1750-1918* only refers to Ulster under this phenomenon, although it also explains that Elisabeth I also sent ‘English settlers to Ireland’ (Murphy, Gosling, & Martin, 2010, p. 90). Among the consequences, only the changes in Catholic land ownership are narrated. *Island story: Britain from the Tudors to Queen Anne* (England, KS3) explains the Ulster plantation in a few lines (naming the ‘flight of the earls’ as the immediate cause), and before this briefly mentions that Elizabeth ‘also began the practice of settling Protestants on Irish land’. As the effect of the plantations the 1641 rebellion is mentioned (Larkin, 1984, p. 64). *Making*

Sense of History 1509-1745 (England, KS3) similarly only briefly explains the Ulster plantation, without providing any reason for it and mentioning the reduction of Catholic land ownership as the impact (Clare, Fisher, & Kennett, 2014, p. 117). *Past Historic: The Making of the United Kingdom 1500-1750* (England, KS3) only narrates the Ulster plantation, citing the threat of French or Spanish invasion as one of the causes and explaining as consequences both the changes to land ownership and the social tensions this created:

More than once, the Irish rebelled. Each time, the leaders lost their land, which was given to Protestants. English monarchs were afraid that the French or Spanish might invade England through Ireland. So James I gave land in Ulster to Scottish Protestants. He hoped that these colonists would help the Irish under control. By 1640, over 30,000 Scots and English had gone to live in Ireland. But it was like putting a match to gunpowder. The colonists looked down on the Irish; in return, the Irish hated them ... Map of Ireland. showing where the colonists lived. Ireland became divided between rich Protestants who owned the land – and poor Catholics who did not. (Aylett, 1992, p. 56)

Key stage 3 Oxford history study units: The making of the United Kingdom names the threat of foreign invasion from Catholic countries as the main reason for the plantations – similarly to the previous examples – and explains only that it happened in Ulster. The motivation provided is that ‘it was impossible to change the religious ideas of the people – so the answer was to change the people!’ (Maltman & Dawson, 1992, p. 16), and the book mentions the increased animosity as the result. Page 62 even lists 7 different events to demonstrate ‘the Irish threat’, starting with rebellions against Henry VII being launched from Ireland and using Irish troops (however, this happened before the Reformation and it formed part of the Wars of the Roses) and finishing with the Irish support for James II instead of William III (which once again was not a rebellion of Ireland but the aftermath of a dispute over the English throne). This book therefore expresses a strong belief that the actions of plantations were somehow justified.

The British A-level textbook *Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923* similarly only refers to the plantation of Ulster in its summary of the previous periods *England and Ireland 1170-1798*:

One of the most significant developments in Anglo-Irish history took place in the reign of Elizabeth’s successor, James I. This was the ‘Plantation of Ulster’ in 1610. The settlement involved the eviction of most of the existing Irish landowners, who were

reduced to the status of tenants or labourers for the new landlords, who were mainly Scots. By 1700, Ulster had become mainly a Presbyterian and Anglican province, and the old Catholic ruling class had been displaced. (Adelman & Byrne, 2016, p. 4)

Another British A-level textbook, *Stuart Britain and the Crisis of Monarchy 1603-1702*, only dedicates a sentence to the policy of plantation ‘in the north of Ireland’: ‘land was taken by the English Crown and given to English settlers’ (Farr, 2015, p. 70)

On the other hand, the English KS3 textbook *Collins Key Stage 3 History: Book 1: 1066-1750* exclusively refers to the plantations in times of Charles I, more as a side story in his confrontation with parliament and a new ‘ingenious’ way to raise more money. In reality, this was not a new invention, as similar actions (dispossessing some wealthy Catholic landlords) already happened earlier during Elizabeth I’s time outside of the large plantation waves – we will discuss this tactic in the next point about the Desmond Rebellions and the Nine Years War.

From 1629 to 1640 Charles avoided calling parliament. He appointed a chief minister, the Earl of Strafford, who found ways of raising money without parliament. Strafford went to Ireland and began to make the English colony there more profitable. He ‘planted’ Protestant landlords, throwing off Catholic landowners; these new landowners then paid taxes to Charles. (Sparey, Berry, Jackson, & Pearson, 2010, p. 168)

About the half of the English textbooks dealing with the plantations also refer to the process before the Ulster Plantation. *Foundation History: The Making of the United Kingdom* (KS3) includes a map with the pre-1603 plantations and positions them as a revenue source for the English government:

Plantation. The English needed to find a way to pay for the English army in Ireland. They took land away from the Irish. The land was sold to English people. Parliament hoped that these settlers would help to keep Ireland under control. This system was called ‘plantation’. (Kennedy, 1994, p. 28)

A source material included in *Britain: losing and gaining an empire, 1763-1914* (A-level) also highlights the financial motivations behind the plantations and the aim to increase security:

During the period of mid-16th century to mid-17th century Ulster is unique in being the only place to be colonized on a major scale within Europe ... The Ulster Plantation, like earlier 16th century plantations in Leix, Offaly and Munster, was chiefly driven by the

English government's desire for financial gain and increased security, pragmatic concerns rather than a political or religious crusade. The aims were: to replace Gaelic law with English law; protect against future alliances between a Gaelic Ulster and Spain; establish the king's title to confiscate lands and offer land to English servitors and settlers. (Christie & Christie, 2016, p. 124)

In *Living through History: the Making of the United Kingdom* (England, KS3) both the pre-1603 and the Ulster plantations are included in a paragraph each and the text also shows on a map the territory impacted by both (however missing the Laois and Offaly plantations). The narrative emphasizes the motivation to pay for the army and the desire to control a country considered uncivilised:

This plan had two good points as far as the English were concerned. It provided money for an army to be stationed in Ireland to keep control. It also meant that there were more English people in Ireland and so English law and customs spread more rapidly. (Kelly, Rees, & Shuter, 1998 (2), p. 72)

The government believed that the Irish were dangerous and uncivilised. The only way to control the country was to send English and Scottish Protestants to live there. The English government seized the lands of the two earls [Tyrone and Tyrconnel]. They sacked the Gaelic landlords and arranged for Protestants from Scotland and England to settle on their land – land that had previously been farmed by Irish Catholics. The Irish Catholics deeply resented this Ulster Plantation. (p. 73)

The foundation version of *Living through History: the Making of the United Kingdom* is of course much briefer in its wording, however, also manages to include an abbreviated narrative of both waves of plantations (Reynoldson & Taylor, 1998, pp. 72-73).

Discovering History; The Making of the United Kingdom (England, K3) sees the process of plantations (without naming it as such) as one of the ways through which the English tried to control the Irish, however its main conclusion is that it was expensive and it did not provide England with a profit! One can wonder what would people say if the colonisation of other continents would be treated with an equally one-sided view only focusing on economic benefit for the coloniser...

... the English attempted several ways to subdue the Irish. Firstly, through force and terror. Secondly, from the time of Mary Tudor onwards, by driving the native Irish off their land and replacing them with loyal Protestant English and Scottish settlers. Whatever method the English tried, it proved very expensive. In most years it cost more

to rule Ireland than was gained through trade with Ireland. (Hepplewhite & Tonge, 1992, p. 56)

The 17th century was to see the almost complete takeover of Irish land by English and Scottish settlers. All of County Derry was handed over to a group of London companies, while the eastern counties were settled by many thousands of Scottish Protestants. (p. 58)

A Sense of History: The Making of the United Kingdom (England, KS3) is the only British textbook to show each wave of plantations on a map, although in the text it only refers to the Ulster plantation, giving as the reason that ‘the government thought the Irish were dangerous, because they were Catholics, and uncivilised, because of their Gaelic way of life’ (Mason J. , 1992, pp. 42-43).

The narrative of *Key stages in History: The Making of the United Kingdom* (England, KS3) also considers the plantations as a way to gain greater control, explaining both the Munster plantations (‘leading to 30,000 deaths from fighting and starvation’ (Snellgrove, 1992, p. 47)) and then also referring to Ulster. It also includes two contrasting views on page 48, the first one stating that ‘Elizabeth’s actions in Ireland were disastrous ... Almost half of the Irish people [were] killed ... the entire southern half of Ireland was a barren wilderness, and famine and plague raged in the remainder. Ireland had fallen, but with it [went] England’s honour...’ and the second view provides certain level of support for the plantation of Ulster, ‘... the Irish were not, as popularly supposed, driven off the lands wholesale ... The Irish proprietors (landowners) were to be allowed to take as much land as they could develop before [land was given to] English and Scots’ (p. 48). Schoolchildren then are asked ‘how two historians could come to such different conclusions’ and which of the views they believe to be more convincing. Although it is positive that students should learn about conflicting interpretations, however, it is questionable if enough factual knowledge has been provided in the previous pages so that they can challenge any of the two narratives. This seemingly enlightened method of ‘standing above’ contrasting narratives about factual events in my opinion does not help to create mutual respect, it rather teaches kids that ‘post-truth’ does exist: either it is true that almost half of the population died or it is not... similarly, either it is true that Irish landowners were allowed to take as much land as they could or it is not⁷⁴. It would be

⁷⁴ Beckett explains that the original proposal of the Lord Deputy of Ireland, Chichester, for the Ulster Plantation was to allow natives to develop as much land as they profitably could, however, the scheme finally approved ‘treated the native landholders much less favourably ... a comparatively small area was assigned to “deserving” natives’ (Beckett, 1981, p. 45)

better to teach the interpretation of contrasting opinions than the interpretation of different accounts of factual events.

Collins Living History: The Making of the United Kingdom 1500-1750 (England, KS3) does not describe the specific waves of plantations, but treats them as one single process. This textbook provides a detailed narrative of the process of plantation (citing as the reason the English belief that the Irish were uncivilised), distances itself from the contemporary English view, explains the results in land ownership and the ‘vicious circle’ of hatred which has been created as a consequence:

Plantations. The English came up with a solution to their Irish ‘problem’. The Irish people, they thought, were uncivilised Roman Catholic rebels, so should be replaced by civilised, Protestant English settlers. Land was taken from the Irish and handed out to English or Scottish farming families as ‘plantations’. About ten settler families were ‘planted’ on each 1,000 acres (see Source 21). These settlers introduced English farming methods, sold off the cattle, and grew crops. The Irish were employed as labourers on the land they once used themselves. In 1603, Roman Catholics owned 90% of Ireland. By 1641 they owned only 59%.

So a vicious circle of hatred grew up (see Source 20).

Source 20, The ‘vicious circle’: IRISH: Roman Catholic; English were taking their lands for plantations; English did not understand their way of life; English behaved brutally >> HATRED. ENGLISH: Protestant; Irish could rebel at any time, perhaps with foreign help; Irish were backward savages; English settlers the best way of civilising Ireland; Irish behaved brutally >> HATRED. (Culpin, 1992, pp. 50-51)

This illustration of the ‘vicious circle’ seems to be a much better attempt to explain different points of view than the previously quoted example of *Key stages in History: The Making of the United Kingdom*, including two diverging narratives about factual events.

As the last example from the English KS3 textbooks, the most recent one published in 2016 *Collins Key Stage 3, Early Modern Britain 1509-1760* does not dedicate any specific section to the relationship between Ireland and England and the plantations are mentioned as a background to Cromwell’s campaign in Ireland, as they led to the 1641 Rebellion which Cromwell wanted to revenge. There is no explanation of what caused the plantations nor of any other impact they implied:

Ireland was still a Catholic country. The only Protestants in Ireland were descended from Scottish and English settlers sent to Ireland by Elizabeth I and James I. These Protestant settlers had seized land from the native population, and mostly lived in the northern

province of Ulster. The Catholics strongly disliked the Protestant settlers... (Peal, 2016, p. 54)

The relevant Northern Irish textbooks stand closer to Irish than English textbooks in terms of the extent of their narrative related to the plantations, obviously more attention being paid to the Ulster plantations. *History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1500-1900* dedicates 8 pages to the topic (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008, pp. 26-33) and *History in Close-Up: The Age of Discovery* 20 pages (Hodge, 2011, pp. 57-76). From the two textbooks, the latter also provides two supporting maps (pp. 57, 60), while no maps are included in the first book.

The narrative of *History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1500-1900* feels relatively balanced when the story of the Ulster plantations is told, with different imaginary figures telling their account of what happened (although 4 Protestants and only 2 Catholics, among which one loyal to the Throne) and 4 source materials show the different interpretations (2 Unionist-leaning and 2 Nationalist-leaning). There is very little explanation by the authors of these events, probably due to the disputed narratives they have preferred to give the different points of view into the mouths of imaginary and real people. However, the narrative of the early plantations seems biased, especially in case of the Munster plantation: the reason for the preceding rebellions is not explained (adventurers challenging current landholdings), nor what happened to the natives after the plantations⁷⁵, and one can nearly feel sorry for poor settlers being attacked by the Catholics. The Irish point of view is not represented in this narrative:

During the reign of Elizabeth I (1558-1603), there were rebellions in Ireland. When troops sent from England stopped these rebellions, a plantation began in Munster in 1586. A plantation was when settlers were encouraged to go to Ireland by being granted land. When they were there, they would rule the land they owned and remained loyal to Queen Elizabeth I. These settlers could help Elizabeth to control the Irish people. However, attacks by the Irish made life difficult and dangerous for the settlers. Most of them left Ireland by 1600. (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008, p. 27)

Although *History in Close-Up: The Age of Discovery* shows the earlier plantations on a map, and it enumerates them in the text, there is no detailed explanation of what

⁷⁵ The Irish textbook *New Complete History* asks the question ‘what happened to the Irish’ and the answer provided is ‘many Irish people were driven from their lands. They retreated into the hills, bogs and forests where they struggled to survive. Some became outlaws, called tories or woodkerne. They attacked the planters who occupied their lands’ (Hayes C. , 2009, p. 117).

happened any why in these waves. The general reasons why the English were interested in carrying out plantations are listed on this page, but not what led on each occasion to initiate the process and how it worked out (Hodge, 2011, p. 57). Regarding the Ulster plantation of 1610, the main reasons given on page 60 are that England had to enhance control of the area so that Spain cannot use it as a base to revenge the defeat of the Armada and that the ‘officials in London believed that as long as Catholics held land, they could raise the men and equipment necessary to stage another rebellion’ (p. 60). This textbook also prompt students to put themselves into the shoes of the different groups of people, for instance when explaining the opposition to the Ulster plantation, page 72 asks students to ‘imagine you are part of a band of woodkern’. The author also includes a source from 1900 claiming that the Scottish settlers were the rightful owners of Ulster after returning from their medieval emigration to Scotland and asks schoolchildren to decide ‘how convincing’ the argument is.

As a summary, Irish textbooks provide the most detailed and balanced view of the plantations, also explaining what economic benefits they brought to Ireland. Among the Northern Irish textbooks we can find a mixed picture: while the narrative of the Ulster plantation showcases different points of view, the earlier plantations are either mentioned very briefly or with a clear bias supporting the point of view of the settlers. Among the English textbooks, about half of those which treat the plantations only refer to Ulster, omitting the earlier waves. The ‘threat’ from Ireland, with potential foreign support is the most frequently mentioned reason for the plantations, thus in a certain sense justifying the plantations (as if England acted in self-defence). However, some books explain that economic reasons were also behind. Also, some English textbooks narrate the contemporary English point of view with a certain level of distancing, showing that we should not agree with the motivations of the plantations. We can also criticise some English textbooks which seem to complain that the plantations were not profitable to England and another example where two different source materials provide completely opposing views about data points which should be factual and not left to the interpretation of the schoolchildren. However, the largest problem in English textbooks regarding the plantations seems to be that the depth of their treatment reduced significantly over time: the most detailed examples could be found in textbooks published in the 90s. Moreover,

the share of textbooks not explaining the plantations at all or only very limitedly increased from 28% in the 80s and 90s to 50% in the last two decades.

The Desmond Rebellions, the Nine Years War and the Flight of the Earls

We have seen in the previous point about plantations that each wave was preceded by an Irish rebellion. These recurrent rebellions form part of the traditional English narrative of how unreliable the Irish were, however what is not often explained is that they were often prompted by so-called adventurers claiming ownership over land owned by Catholics (both Gaelic and Old English)⁷⁶. As a refreshing exception, the A-level textbook *Elizabeth I: Meeting the Challenge, England 1541-1603* calls the acts of the adventurers ‘naked aggression’ (Warren, 2008, p. 148). No other analysed textbook used in England employs the word ‘adventurer’ nor their actions when explaining the late 16th century Irish rebellions. Similarly, Northern Irish textbooks do not explain either these attempts to dispossess Catholic landlords. On the other hand, all four analysed Irish Junior Certificate textbooks include a similar account. In the narrative of *Discovering History*:

She [Elizabeth I] also encouraged Protestant Englishmen called adventurers to travel to Ireland and lay claim on land, particularly in Munster. Understandably the fact that these adventurers could come to Ireland and declare land as their own angered the Catholic Fitzgeralds. (McCaughey, c2009, p. 198)

He [Hugh O’Neill] demonstrated his loyalty when he fought for the English during the Desmond Rebellion in 1579. However, during the early 1590s Elizabeth and Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam encouraged adventurers to lay claims to land and imposed sheriffs in Ulster. This made Hugh O’Neill and the leader of the O’Donnells, ‘Red’ Hugh O’Donnell, feel very threatened. (p. 202)

Similar explanations can also be found in other Irish textbooks (Delap & McCormack, 2011, p. 172) (Hayes C. , 2009, pp. 113, 116) (Lucey, 2002, p. 166).

The late 16th century Irish rebellions form part of the narrative of all Irish and Northern Irish textbooks in our scope, and in case of the English textbooks – as we have seen in *Chapter 4* – it is the 7th most mentioned event, with 18% of textbooks explaining it in detail, 42% partially, 9% very limitedly and 30% not including this content. The

⁷⁶ Interestingly, Beckett only indirectly refers to the adventurers in this period when stating that the government wanted ‘to extend the influence of the crown, though rather by negotiation and intrigue than by direct military force’ (Beckett, 1981, p. 20). Later, in pages 53-55 he also describes how the same policy evolved further after 1615, this time directed against the ‘Old English’.

partial inclusions can generally be characterised by excluding the reason of these rebellions which in the abbreviated narrative I described as ‘led by Catholic lords threatened in their property and old customs’.

Among the textbooks used in England, the most detailed account of these rebellions can be found in the already mentioned A-level textbook *Elizabeth I: Meeting the Challenge, England 1541-1603*, which explains how the actions of the adventurers were supported by the Lord Deputy of Ireland and Elizabeth I’s Privy Council, how this established an alliance between the Gaelic lords and the Old English, how the standard policy of the crown was to destroy all livestock and harvest so that the rebels die of famine, how the low-cost-policy of Elizabeth to control Ireland did not work and thus she had to commit very considerable resources to finally defeat Hugh O’Neill and the Spanish who disembarked in Kinsale and how the final terms of the peace treaty were favourable to the rebels (Warren, 2008, pp. 144-152). However, this textbook does not mention the aftermath, the Flight of the Earls (as it is outside of the analysed time horizon).

The next most detailed English narratives are in KS3 textbooks and each of them dedicate 2 paragraphs to these events, also naming the Earl of Tyrone (Hugh O’Neill), the Spanish forces, and the collaboration between the Old English and Gaelic leaders (Kelly, Rees, & Shuter, 1998 (2), p. 72) (Mason J. , 1992, p. 42). Other English textbooks, mostly of KS3, only make very short mentions of the fact that several rebellions took place and that as a result the land of the rebel leaders were taken away (Wilkes A. , 2003 (2), p. 94) or that the rebellions were supported by the Pope and Spain (Larkin, 1984, p. 64) (Maltman & Dawson, 1992, p. 62). *Spotlight on Elizabethan England*, a GCSE textbook puts the emphasis on the Spanish support in 1602 and their defeat and on the complaints in the English Parliament about the cost of the war, sentencing triumphantly that ‘the Elizabethan “pacification” of the country endured for many years’ (Harris, 1985, p. 69).

The 1603 Peace of Mellifont conceded favourable terms to the rebels, however, in 1607, the Gaelic leaders of Ulster left their homeland in what became known as the Flight of the Earls, in effect enabling the Crown to seize their land and to organise the Ulster Plantation. The relevance of this event is highlighted by Beckett: ‘...to Gaelic Ulster “the flight of the earls”, rather than Mountjoy’s victory in 1603, marked the end of the old order...’ (Beckett, 1981, p. 44). The Flight of the Earls is clearly a key event for Northern Irish textbooks, both *History in Close-Up: The Age of Discovery* and *History*

for NI Key Stage 3: 1500-1900 dedicate two pages to its narrative (Hodge, 2011, pp. 58-59) (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008, pp. 28-29), the first also explaining that their intention was to reach Spain (maybe to gather military support), but they ended up in Rome after landing in France and crossing over Belgium and Switzerland into Italy. The reason for their departure given in this textbook is the diplomatic wording that ‘without any real power the Earls found it impossible to reconcile themselves to the new order’. However, the textbook does not question the wisdom of leaving, only adding the question to the students: ‘do you think the Earls would have left if they had known how their story would end’.

Irish textbooks only treat the Flight of the Earls in a few lines, without clarifying the purpose of leaving (to gather support), giving the impression as if their departure would not have had a political purpose (however yes a political reason: the harassment by the English power). There is no questioning either if it was the right decision to leave. *Section 3.2* already expressed my opinion that probably it was a miscalculation, a type of ‘own goal’, and I believe Irish textbooks should explain this as well:

...the Ulster chiefs were so harassed by the English that they decided to leave Ireland. In 1607, O'Neill and almost 100 members of Ulster's leading families sailed secretly out of Lough Swilly for mainland Europe. This event was known as the Flight of the Earls. Because the chiefs had left without permission, King James I declared them to be traitors. This meant that, under English law, he could take all their lands. (Hayes C. , 2009, p. 116)

O'Neill and his fellow Irish lords found it impossible to live under English rule so, in 1607, they left Ireland in an event that became known as the Flight of the Earls. Most of Ulster's Gaelic nobility went to Rome where they were given assistance by the pope. (Delap & McCormack, 2011, p. 177)

But the Crown was still determined to extend English power into Ulster, and the Ulster chiefs were constantly harassed. There were also claims on their lands. Flight of the Earls. In 1607, O'Neill and the other Ulster chiefs fled Ireland, setting out from Lough Swilly on a ship bound for the Continent. This event was later called the ‘Flight of the Earls’. (Lucey, 2002, p. 169)

In 1607 Hugh O'Neill and many of the Gaelic chieftains fled Ireland and went to other Catholic countries in Europe in what became known as the Flight of the Earls. While many of the Gaelic chieftains hoped to return, the Flight effectively ended all organised Gaelic resistance to English rule in Ireland. (McCaughey, c2009, p. 203)

Very few English textbooks explain the Flight of the Earls, and in these cases, this event is presented in brief neutral terms. E.g. ‘upset over the loss of their power they fled to Europe in 1607, taking their families and their allies with them. The English crown took their lands’ (Larkin, 1984, p. 64) or ‘In 1607 the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel fled to Europe. This gave James I’s advisers the chance they wanted (Kelly, Rees, & Shuter, 1998 (2), p. 73).

In summary, the late 16th century rebellions in Ireland are not explained in detail by English textbooks, most frequently missing the description of the underlying reasons, especially the activity of adventurers claiming the land owned by both Gaelic and Anglo-Norman lords. The Flight of the Earls are described in detail by Northern Irish textbooks, less by Irish textbooks, and both miss the opportunity to challenge this decision.

5.3 Irish Rebellion of 1641 and Cromwellian Conquest

Key conclusions:

- **1641 Irish Rebellion:** very different interpretations across countries. The most detailed narrative can be found in Northern Irish textbooks, however, one of the books incorrectly gives the impression that the rebellion was unprovoked as relations between the settlers and the dispossessed were improving.
- **1641:** Irish textbooks are rather short and frequently (in 2 out of 4 cases) play down the importance of the events either by not quantifying the impact or by claiming that both sides committed similar atrocities. These textbooks rather focus on the propagandistic use of the massacre by the English.
- **Half of English textbooks narrating 1641** omit why the rebellion broke out, referring to it either as part of the storyline of the English Civil War or as one of the potential justifications for Oliver Cromwell's actions a few years later. In addition, since the 90s much fewer KS3 textbooks include 1641 into their narrative. English textbooks usually represent 1641 with a good level of objectivity, however, there is an example of a highly biased recent A-level textbook which describes 1641 as morally much less acceptable than Cromwell's reaction and suggests that the high estimates for the number of casualties should be accepted.
- **Confederation of Kilkenny:** the period between 1641 and 1649 is omitted or minimised in nearly all textbooks, not even Irish textbooks explain the relevant events in the desired detail.
- **Cromwell in Ireland:** it is the most frequently treated event in English textbooks, usually reflected in a balanced manner, however some examples of bias can be found where Cromwell's positive evaluations are over-emphasised or where the position of Irishmen is narrated as a rebellion against England, when they effectively supported the English King. I have also found that English textbooks tend to omit the economic reasons behind the Cromwellian conquest, only one of 28 books refers to them. We can also note that in the 2000s and 2010s only about half as many textbooks included Cromwell's own account of what happened

compared to the 80s and 90s, which can be perceived as an increasingly apologetic evaluation of his character.

- **Cromwell in Ireland: Northern Irish textbooks show significant differences: either the reader will learn that although there are different interpretations, he should be probably considered a ‘defender of the Protestant faith’, or he is represented as a conqueror who wanted to revenge 1641, massacring Catholics. Irish textbooks explain the reasons for the Cromwellian conquest (also the financial ones), however are rather brief about the military conquest, lacking emotionality.**
- **The Cromwellian settlement is treated in most detail in Irish textbooks, Northern Irish textbooks either cover it in similar way or not at all, less than half of English textbooks mention the land expropriations and even less any other consequence of the Cromwellian conquest and the storytelling of the Cromwellian plantation became much less detailed in English textbooks of the last two decades.**

The GCSE textbook dedicated to the recent history of Northern Ireland, *The struggle for peace in Northern Ireland*, provides a short but reasonably equilibrated summary of the events subject to this chapter: ‘1640s – rebellions and massacres. Catholics rebelled because their land was given to new Protestant settlers. Catholics massacred Protestants, then Oliver Cromwell’s Protestant army massacred Catholics’ (Dawson & Walsh, 2004, p. 8)

A more detailed narrative should also include other relevant aspects, such as the continued pressure on Catholic landlords (both Old English and Gaelic) between 1610 and 1640 to prove their legal title to the land, which made them clear that their property won’t be safe under Protestant rule (Beckett, 1981, pp. 54-55); that those Irish Catholics who committed the massacres in 1641 acted independently from the leaders of their community (p. 83); the fact that the number of dead of the 1641 rebellion had been exaggerated in London which prompted public pressure for retaliation (p. 83); the effective establishment of Confederate Ireland (or Confederation of Kilkenny) – an (unstable) alliance between the Old English and the Gaelic (and later of other royalists), who sided with the King in the English Civil War and ruled most of Ireland until Cromwell’s arrival and victory (pp. 87-101) –; the fact that the English Parliament and

King Charles I in March 1642 approved the Adventurers' Act to raise private capital for the war to be paid back from the lands to be confiscated in Ireland after the Irish have been beaten (p. 87); and finally the terms of the Cromwellian settlement which considered Catholics collectively responsible for 1641, thus effectively banned Catholic landholdings in three out of the four historic provinces of Ireland (except Connaught) and paid the wages of the New Model Army in land obtained in Ireland, a system of landholding which with smaller amendments also survived the Restoration of Charles II (pp. 104-121).

The 1641 Irish Rebellion

The 1641 Irish Rebellion is probably one of the most controversial events of the joint Anglo-Irish history and textbooks on all three sides tend to show certain level of bias, justifying the actions of 'their side' more than 300 years ago. Therefore, I believe it is important that we spend substantial time reviewing the narratives.

Irish Junior Certificate textbooks tend to be very short when describing the 1641 Rebellion. Among the four analysed books, three recognise that a massacre of Protestants took place, while the fourth book (*New Complete History*) only refers to the exaggerated claim that over 100,000 planters have been killed, without acknowledging that the massacres actually happened, even if with fewer victims:

In 1641 there had been a Catholic rebellion in Ulster and in other parts of Ireland. False reports reached England that more than 100,000 Ulster Protestant planters had been killed in the rebellion. Cromwell believed these reports and wanted revenge against Irish Catholics. (Hayes C. , 2009, p. 120)

Apart from the textbook quoted above, another book (*Uncovering History*) refers to the fact that the number of deaths reported in London was higher than the actual. However, this narrative gives the false impression as if in this stage of the rebellion both sides were equally to be blamed for the atrocities, when this time Catholics massacred Protestants first:

In 1641, news arrived in England of a Catholic rebellion in Ireland. The rebellion occurred mostly in Ulster and terrible crimes were committed by both sides. It is estimated that around 4,000 Protestants were killed in Ulster in 1641. However, reports

that reached England stated that more than 100,000 had been massacred. (Delap & McCormack, 2011, p. 181)

Therefore, two out of the four textbooks either do not fully recognise that a massacre of Protestants took place or suggests both sides committed similar crimes.

Apart from the above example, only another textbook (*Discovering History*) provides an estimate of the number of Protestant victims, expressed in percentage terms:

The tensions in Ireland between the new Protestant settlers and the Gaelic Catholic Irish continued. In 1641 a rebellion broke out across all of Ulster. Between 10 to 15% of Protestants in Ulster were killed and many more fled either to Britain or to the safety of Dublin and towns. (McCaughey, c2009, p. 207)

The fourth textbook (*The Past Today*), is even shorter in its description, although recognising the massacre of Protestants, however only mentioning ‘thousands’ of casualties:

In 1641 the native Irish attacked the planters in a rebellion and massacred thousands of them. (Lucey, 2002, p. 172)

In 1641, a rebellion broke out in Ireland. During the rebellion a massacre of Protestants took place in Ulster. The rebellion spread over most of the country. (p. 173)

As 1641 is one of the few events in Anglo-Irish history when Catholics can be clearly blamed for committing atrocities (even if the accumulated anger due to the loss of land and thus their livelihood can explain – although not justify – why this happened and even if also the other side committed cruel acts later), I believe it would increase the impression of objectivity of Irish textbooks if they actually explained in a bit more detail what happened and maybe also dedicate a few words of moral judgement against massacres of people of any belief, nationality or social status.

Among all the analysed textbooks, the Northern Irish KS3 textbook *History for NI Key Stage 3: 1500-1900* treats the events of 1641 with the highest level of detail. The 1641 Irish Rebellion is especially relevant for the narrative of the history of Ulster and this can be also perceived from this textbook. It provides a generally fair representation of the facts (acknowledging that the deaths were over-represented), however, the number of deaths is still above the figures found in other books (12,000 vs. 4,000). The authors also recognise that cruelty happened on both sides, also providing examples of violence

against Catholics. The book shows the Portadown Orange Order banner as well (depicting Catholic men drowning naked Protestants), with certain level of criticism. There are four other sources which illustrate the massacres of Protestants, however, the following questions prompt schoolchildren to question whether these sources are reliable.

With the problems Charles was facing ruling his kingdoms, the Irish used the opportunity to try to get their lands back. A rebellion broke out in October 1641.

Source 9: 'In October 1641, the Irish Catholics did rise all over Ireland at once: 200,000 persons were murdered.' R. Baxter, Autobiography written in 1696.

Source 10: 'Though the numbers were fantastically exaggerated (one Protestant historian put the Protestant dead at over 150,000, more than the entire [Protestant] population of Ireland at the time), on balance historians seem to think that about 12,000 Protestant men, women and children were either murdered or died of cold and starvation in 1641.' Robert Kee, Ireland, a History written in 1980.

Source 11: This is a picture from a set of playing cards sold in London after the rebellion. It is a Protestant's view of the killing of Protestant settlers that took place on a bridge at Portadown in 1641. [Picture with the inscription]: 'Driving man, women and children by hundreds upon bridges & casting them into rivers, who drowned not were killed with poles & shot with muskets.'

Source 12: This is an extract from a letter written by a man called Thomas Partington. He was in Ireland at the time of the rebellion and sent this letter to a friend in England at the end of November 1641. 'The rebels increase daily in men and weapons. They use all kinds of cruelties in tormenting the poor Protestants, cutting off their private parts, ears, fingers and hands, plucking out their eyes, boiling the heads of little children before their mother's faces and then ripping up their mother's bowels. They kill the children as soon as they are born and rip up the mothers' bellies as soon as they have given birth. Men, women and children are driven to bridges and then cast down into the rivers. Those who do not drown are shot with muskets or have their brains pierced with poles. I pray the Lord that England and Scotland will send relief to these afflicted Protestants.'

Get Active 10. a. How and why do Sources 9 and 10 differ? b. Read Source 12. What is the message of this source? c. In what way does Source 11 support Source 12? Are these sources reliable? ... Ask yourself: Were the Protestant settlers the only people in the 1640s to suffer? How has history been used to justify a viewpoint today? Why is it important to look at other evidence about the past instead of just using one source? (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008, pp. 34-35)

However, the text also claims that relations were already improving between the communities when these events happened. This can give the impression that 1641 was unprovoked, and that the first atrocity was 1641 (not the previous confiscations of land, or any other event), and thus the Protestants only ‘responded’ on this occasion (and consequently in the following centuries). We should be highly critical with this part of the narrative, as it would imply that temporal lack of protests by the dispossessed population against those who became their new lords means the acceptance of the terms of their submission forever and a kind of ‘peace’. With this false logic, we could similarly describe any uprising of dispossessed African, American or Asian communities against their European colonisers as ‘unprovoked’.

Modern historians stress that the massacres of 1641 had a psychological impact on the Protestant settler community. Before the rebellion, relationships between the native Irish and the settlers have been improving. After it, many Protestants in Ireland took the attitude that the native Irish Catholic community could never be trusted again. This attitude led many settlers to take revenge on Catholics when they got the chance. In 1641-2, massacres of Catholic prisoners occurred at Kilwarlin woods near Newry, Rathlin Island, Glenmaquinn near Strabane and elsewhere (...) William Lecky, the nineteenth-century historian of the rebellion, concluded that ‘it is hard to know on which side the balance of cruelty rests’. The effects of the massacres of 1641 can still be seen in divisions in Northern Ireland today. Images of 1641 are still represented on the banners of the Orange Order. (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008, p. 35)

History in Close-Up, The Age of Discovery, another KS3 textbook from Northern Ireland, provides a shorter treatment of 1641, in about half a page. The storyline explains that the rebellion was started by Catholics who lost their land during the Plantations, also claims that Catholics feared of further persecution, estimates the number of Protestants massacred to be 4,000 ‘most historians believe around 4000 Protestants were killed by Catholics, especially in one incident in Portadown’ (Hodge, 2011, p. 83). The authors continue with two source materials: the account of a survivor of Portadown⁷⁷ and ‘a picture drawn around 1645 showing the event in Portadown. The artist may or may not have been present at the event’ (p. 83). In continuation schoolchildren are asked to

⁷⁷ ‘We were locked up, 100 men and children, in Loughgall church. Many were sore, tortured by strangling and half hanging... then driven like hogs six miles to the River Bann in Portadown ... pushed onto the bridge, stripped naked and then forced by pikes into the river... those that did not drown were shot at by the rebels as they tried to swim ashore... I was saved by paying a rebel £15. The leader of the rebels was Toole McCann.’ William Clarke, a survivor of the massacre at Portadown in 1641. (Hodge, 2011, p. 83)

compare both source materials and to think about their reliability and if they are primary and secondary sources. This narrative also includes an incorrect data when claiming that ‘the Catholics in Ireland ... rebelled against the King’ (p. 83). As we know, the rebels promised to be loyal to the King. On the other hand, the authors also include a recognition of the fact that ‘several hundred Catholics are said to have been killed on Rathlin Island by being thrown off cliffs’, after the Scottish army arrived. The fact that the number of deaths has been over-estimated in England is explained eight pages later:

The stories of the massacre of Protestants were greatly exaggerated and by time the Puritans in the House of Commons were told about these events, people in England believed that up to 300,000 Protestants had been slaughtered. Parliament was determined that this rebellion should be crushed and it was decided that the cost of the exercise would be paid for by confiscating more Irish land once the war was over. (p. 91).

We have seen in *Section 4.1* that the 1641 Rebellion is the 5th most frequently included event of the joint Anglo-Irish history in English textbooks, 76% of the analysed textbooks includes some kind of mention. Similarly to the previously analysed events of the 17th century, the level of inclusion is higher among the textbooks published in the 90s: from 12 KS3 textbooks 10 (83%) included a relatively detailed description, while among the 6 KS3 textbooks published since, 1 includes this event in detail, 2 partially and 1 very limitedly (in total 67%). The difference is even bigger when narrating the related event, that the number of Protestants killed has been exaggerated in England: among the 12 KS3 textbooks from the 90s, 2 include this event in detail and 3 partially (in total 43%), while in case of the textbooks published since 2000, none of them mentions this important aspect of 1641 (the average among all analysed textbooks used in England is 31% of total inclusion, thus being the 39th most – or the 6th least – mentioned event). Even among the KS3 textbooks of the 90s the depth of explanation of the 1641 Rebellion varies significantly, between a sentence to a whole page. The motivation for the revolts is also represented in different ways, two textbooks focus on the loss of lands by the Irish Catholics, three talk about the mutual hatred between the settlers and the native population, while five of the English KS3 textbooks covering the 17th century and published in the 90s do not explain at all why the rebellion broke out. These five textbooks rather include 1641 as either one of the background events of the English Civil War (enhancing the conflict between the King and Parliament) or as part of the analysis of

Cromwell's deeds in Ireland, as a potential justification. Overall the narratives are fair, however there are some comments which visualise the conflict as a kind of a colonial nuisance caused by natives where 'an army had to go to deal with the problem'. Among these ten KS3 textbooks, eight include at least one picture of the massacre of Protestants⁷⁸ – probably the most frequently graphically represented event of the Anglo-Irish history in English textbooks – although in all textbooks there are either different source materials to put the drawing into context or the description of the drawing makes it clear that it corresponds to the propagandistic use of the rebellion.

Key stage 3 Oxford history study units: The making of the United Kingdom provides the most extensive description: although the entire narrative is embedded into the story of 'Irish threat' based on the hypothesis that 'Catholic Ireland could provide a base for Catholic countries to attack Protestant England' and among the seven different instances in which the authors feel the 'Irish threat' had been manifested also the '1641: Rebellion in Ireland led to massacre of English and Scottish settlers in Ireland' is listed (Maltman & Dawson, 1992, p. 62). The detailed account of 1641 is quite balanced, highlighting that the reason was the aim to recover the lost land properties, that the number of dead is disputed (but should be around 4,000), that the number has been exaggerated later, that Catholic priests were not always the instigators, and that also Catholics have been killed. To showcase the disputed nature of the historic memory of 1641, apart from two academic source materials also a quote from Ian Paisley had been included, in addition to the known drawing of the Portadown massacre (the same picture as included in *History for NI Key Stage 3: 1500-1900*).

Rebellion – 1641. The plantation of English and Scottish settlers did not solve the problem. In October 1641 the Catholics of Ulster revolted against Protestant rule. Many of them had been deprived of their land or forced to move on to poor land. They turned against the Protestant settlers and killed four thousands of them. Others died from hunger and cold as they fled. The Ulster Catholics were joined by Catholics from the rest of Ireland. Although they wanted to make Ireland a Catholic country, their real grievance was that their lands had been given to English and Scottish settlers. It is difficult to know what happened in the early days of the 1641 revolt. These sources will help you to understand why.

⁷⁸ Among the 10 textbooks all but the following two include a drawing: *Past Historic: The Making of the United Kingdom 1500-1750* (Aylett, 1992, p. 56) and *Foundation History: The Making of the United Kingdom* (Kennedy, 1994, p. 38)

Source J. The outbreak of the rebellion in 1641 had been marked by the massacre or death by starvation of about 12,000 Scottish or English planters. This was not part of a deliberate plan. Many times Catholic priests intervened to save planters' lives. (John Ranelagh. *A Short History of Ireland*. 1983)

Source K. In 1641 the Roman Catholic Church decided to exterminate Protestants in Ulster and there took place one of the most bloody massacres in Irish history. It was led by the priests of the Roman Catholics and the rivers of Ulster ran red with Protestant blood. The River Bann was so choked with Protestant bodies, that the Roman Catholics could walk dry shod across the river. (Ian Paisley, September 1969)

Source L. From 22 October 1641 an attack was launched on Ulster settlers by their native neighbours, especially directed at those outside the walled towns. Possible 4,000 were killed, not counting those who died from their sufferings as refugees. Retaliatory attacks on Catholics soon accounted for nearly as many. These figures are arresting enough. But the number of victims killed in the initial 'massacre' rapidly became inflated to fantastic levels. (R. E. Foster, *Modern Ireland: 1600-1972*, 1988)

Source M. A contemporary picture of the 'massacre' at Portadown Bridge. (Maltman & Dawson, 1992, p. 63),

Discovering History: The Making of the United Kingdom acknowledges that the reason for the rebellion was the aim to win back lands, that the leaders claimed to support the King and that both sides committed 'terrible cruelties', however, we only learn about the propagandistic usage of the events through the description of a source material: 'this illustration comes from an anti-Catholic pamphlet published in London in 1642. It shows Irish Catholics massacring Protestants during the 1641 rebellion' (Hepplewhite & Tonge, 1992, p. 58).

Past Historic: The Making of the United Kingdom 1500-1750 also focuses on the plantations as the reason for the 1641 rebellion, although it tries to explain the situation by mutual hatred, instead of the more obvious point of land ownership and this textbook omits any reference to how events had been reported in London:

By 1640, over 30,000 Scots and English had gone to live in Ireland. But it was like putting a match to gunpowder. The colonists looked down the Irish: in return, the Irish hated them. In 1641, the situation exploded in war. The Irish killed huge numbers of settlers; many more died of cold and hunger. (Aylett, 1992, p. 56)

The 'vicious circle' presented in *Collins Living History: The Making of the United Kingdom 1500-1750*, leading to mutual hatred, is also held responsible for the 1641 rebellion: 'when the Irish did rise up in protest in 1641, they attacked English settlers and

2,000 were massacred', supported also in this book by a drawing representing another 'Protestant view of the Irish rebels 1641' in which Catholics expel naked Protestants into the mountains in times of frost and snow (Culpin, 1992, p. 51).

Similarly, also in *Living through History: The Making of the United Kingdom* the focus is on the mutual hatred: 'this resentment grew until, in 1641, they [the Irish Catholics] murdered several thousands of these Protestant settlers. (Kelly, Rees, & Shuter, 1998 (2), p. 73). However, this textbook also includes a drawing of the massacres highlighting that it was part of a propaganda move: 'a picture of Irish Catholics murdering Protestant settlers. This propaganda picture made in 1641 was designed to convince English people that the Catholics were planning a wholesale massacre of Protestants in Ireland' (p. 73). On the other hand, the foundation edition of the same textbook does not mention any more the motivation for the rebellion, although it includes the same picture and clarifies that 'it made things look worse than they really were' (Reynoldson & Taylor, 1998, p. 73)

A Sense of History: The Making of the United Kingdom includes a case study on Cromwell's role at Drogheda and it presents 'the Ulster killings of 1641' as a potential partial justification, however the text makes it clear that it was a kind of propaganda and that in reality what happened could not be even called a massacre:

The English hated the Catholic Irish because they believed they had massacred many thousands of Protestants in Ulster when the rebellion began in 1641 (source 7). Like most English people, Cromwell believed the Irish should be punished for this.

Source 7. The killing of Irish Protestants by Catholics in 1641. Propaganda pictures such as this caused the English to believe that the Catholics planned and carried out a wholesale massacre of Protestants. Although about 3,000 Protestants were murdered during the uprising, there was no massacre and no plan for one. The Protestants quickly retaliated for the murders. (Mason J. , 1992, pp. 84-85)

Discovering the Making of the UK analyses 1641 both as a trigger for the English Civil War and from the perspective of 'what kind of man was Oliver Cromwell', clearly showing in its narrative that the events have been used in England:

Trigger 2: November 1641: the Irish Rebellion. On 1 November news reached London of a rebellion in Ireland. Catholics had risen up against their Protestant rulers. Rumours spread through London like wildfire – 200,000 Protestants had been murdered! Charles was behind the rebellion! It was the first part of a plan to make England Catholic! Source

15. An English print showing the actions of the Irish rebels. 1. Why do you think people in England believed rumours like these? (Shephard & Lomas, 1995, p. 47).

However, the conclusion is rather Anglo-centric: ‘but nothing could be done about the Irish rebellion until the English Civil War was over’ (p. 64).

Other English KS3 textbooks also narrate 1641 as part of the events leading up to the English Civil War. For instance, in *Key stages in History: The making of the United Kingdom*. This textbook does not provide more detail about why the rebellion happened and it shows the well-known drawing of the Portadown massacre:

... it was a complete surrender on the part of the King. Suddenly the situation changed dramatically. A serious rebellion broke out in Ireland where Catholics attacked Protestant settlers (Source 16). Once again Charles asked Parliament for an army, to crush the rising. Pym and his supporters knew they were in great danger: if the King got an army he would use it to crush them first!

Source 16: Irish Catholics killing Protestant settlers in Ireland, 1641. This drawing was published in England where it caused an outcry against the Irish. (Snellgrove, 1992)

Foundation History: The Making of the United Kingdom provides an even more Anglo-centric view of the events when narrating the English Civil War: ‘Ireland. In October 1641 there was a rebellion in Ireland. The Catholic Irish murdered many Protestant settlers. An army had to go to deal with the problem’ (Kennedy, 1994, p. 38).

Among the English KS3 textbooks published after the 90s, the longest description of 1641 comes in *Renaissance, Revolution and Reformation. Britain 1485-1750*, which explains the background of plantations and that ‘in 1641, the hatred between the two groups burst out into violence and the Irish killed thousands of English and Scottish settlers’ (Wilkes A. , 2003 (2), p. 94) and that the English Civil War prevented the English to ‘resolve the Irish question’ immediately. *Collins Key Stage 3: Early Modern Britain 1509-1760* also explains the plantations and then concludes that ‘Irish Catholics strongly disliked the Protestant settlers, and in 1641 there was an uprising against the Protestants known as the “Portadown massacre” ’ (Peal, 2016, p. 54). *Making Sense of History 1509-1745* does not include 1641 into the main narrative, however when discussing the ‘Interpretations of Irish history’ it concludes that the traditional interpretations of all sides are myth and that ‘English brutality was simply how all rebellions were quelled in those days. Equally, they [modern historians] suggest that Irish Catholics were not much worse

treated than poor English people in the eighteenth century’ and one of the supporting drawings is ‘a picture from the Teares of Ireland, a book about a Catholic rebellion published in 1641’ (Clare, Fisher, & Kennett, 2014, p. 118). I believe there are still many ‘modern historians’ that would argue that the treatment of the Irish Catholics in the eighteenth century was worse than of poor English people, and we shall discuss this when reviewing the Penal Laws in *Section 5.5*. This is the only analysed textbook among the KS3 textbooks published since 2000 which include a supporting drawing (depicting the mistreatment of Protestants). Finally, for *Collins Key stage 3 History, Book 1 1066-1750*, the 1641 rebellion is just an episode within the English Civil War:

Pym proposed abolishing bishops; when Ireland rose up in rebellion against the Protestant landlords, Pym demanded that parliament be given an army to put the rebellion down. For Charles this was too much. Armies were commanded by the Crown not parliament. (Sparey, Berry, Jackson, & Pearson, 2010, p. 170)

Some recent specific British A-level textbooks however represent the 1641 Rebellion with a higher level of detail, especially about the reasons for its outbreak. For *The English Revolution 1625-1660*, the revolt was caused by the desire of the Catholic noblemen ‘to lead a programme of constitutional reform that would give them a similar settlement to that achieved by the scots in 1638-1641, but with a strong Catholic flavour’, and by the plan of the Long Parliament ‘to manage Ireland from Westminster, to enforce strengthened anti-Catholic legislation and to renew and extend the plantation policy’ (Daniels, 2015, p. 96). This textbook also clarifies that ‘the initial popular uprising was not directly connected to the noble plotters but happened somewhat autonomously. Catholics whose families had been evicted by Ulster Plantation settlers decided to take revenge and rose up...’ (p. 96). The quite objective portrayal however turns quickly Anglo-centric when describing the number of dead: ‘estimates ranging from 2000 to 200,000 (Clarendon reckoned that 40,000 were murdered)’ (p. 96). As we have seen from the previously reviewed textbooks, the consensus seems to be around 4,000 for people directly killed and around 12,000 including those who died of cold or hunger, and the entire Protestant population of Ireland should have been below the indicated 200,000. The author of this textbook is quite unique among the studied textbooks in believing that it is questionable whether the number of deaths has been used propagandistically: ‘the extent to which accounts were distorted and exaggerated is debated – multiple witnesses

confirmed an atrocity at the Bridge of Portadown which matches Partington's account' (p. 97). To support this claim, the author also includes a link to the database set up by Trinity College Dublin which includes the 'witness statements' and suggests students 'use this site to find out whether the experiences recounted by Partington in Source 1 were accurate and typical' (p. 96). This narrative does not explain in which circumstances the statements were taken, that they were rather statements of victims who asked for compensation after Cromwell assumed rule – which would be an important piece of information about the alleged trustworthiness (Marsh, 2020). The textbook even goes further when concluding that 'what is not in doubt is that the Catholic rebels committed horrendous war crimes' (Daniels, 2015, p. 96). While agreeing with this moral evaluation based on today's standards, for an unbiased representation the author should have also explained the response of Protestant militias at the time and during Cromwell's campaign and should have equally condemned their actions which according to earlier quoted sources matched in cruelty those of the Catholics. However, contemporary massacres of Catholics (at hand of Protestants) are not mentioned and the evaluation of Cromwell's actions is clearly apologetic, justifying his behaviour by military precedents in Germany and by the 1641 rebellion itself, referring to the question as controversial (while being categorical that the Irish Catholics 'committed horrendous war crimes')⁷⁹.

Another British A-level textbook, *Stuart Britain and the Crisis of Monarchy 1603-1702*, published in the same year (2015) by the same editorial (Oxford University Press), covers a longer time horizon and therefore dedicates a shorter description to 1641, focusing only on Cromwell's motivation for his Irish campaign. This narrative also includes a quote from Cromwell explaining the reasons for his revenge to the Catholic clergy, stressing that 'Ireland was in perfect peace' before the Catholics 'unprovoked' committed 'the most unheard of and most barbarous massacre in 1641'. Although the

⁷⁹ To visualise the degree of bias, the entire paragraph is reduced in continuation:

There is no greater example of Cromwell's willingness to act with utmost brutality for a cause that he felt was justifiable before God than his command of the sieges of Drogheda and Wexford. While he defended his actions to Parliament as 'a righteous justice... a just judgement upon them who [were] made with their blood to answer the cruelties which they had exercised upon the life of divers poor Protestants,' controversy has raged about the extent to which he broke conventions of seventeenth-century warfare (and basic human morality) by putting two entire towns, civilians and military populations alike, to the sword in a wholesale slaughter. While it may seem – especially to modern sensitivities – that his actions were unconscionable, in fact there was considerable recent military precedent for this strategy, an example being the brutal massacre of Protestants in Magdeburg, Germany, by a Hapsburg Catholic army in 1631. Moreover, memories of the 1641 Irish rebellion and particularly the brutal treatment meted out to the Protestants by the Catholics had already created an environment of savage brutality in Ireland. (Daniels, 2015, p. 176).

textbook does not criticise Cromwell's view, certain distancing can be observed in the introductory paragraph when the author writes that 'he thought' it was the right action and also explaining that the conquest was used for financial benefit:

Cromwell landed with 10,000 parliamentary troops in Ireland in August 1649 to impose English Protestant control and, as he and most other Protestant English thought, punish the Catholics for their 1641 rebellion. Not only would Ireland be made to pay for the bloodshed of 1641, but it would also be exploited financially by the new regime. Cromwell's stance is clear in his declaration to the Irish Catholics clergy of January 1650.

Source 1. Adapted from Cromwell's declaration to the Irish Catholic clergy (January 1650): You Irish, unprovoked, put the English to the most unheard of and most barbarous massacre in 1641 (without respect of sex or age) that ever the sun beheld. And at a time when Ireland was in perfect peace. You are part of Antichrist, whose Kingdom the Scriptures so expressly speaks should be laid in blood... (Farr, 2015, p. 132).

Therefore, we have seen that the portrayal of the 1641 Irish Rebellion varies significantly among the Irish, Northern Irish and English textbooks. The most attention to the event is played in Northern Irish textbooks (however one of the books incorrectly gives the impression that the rebellion was unprovoked as relations between the settlers and the dispossessed were improving). Irish textbooks are rather short and frequently (in 2 out of 4 cases) play down the importance of the events either by not quantifying the impact or by claiming that both sides committed similar atrocities. These textbooks rather focus on the propagandistic use of the massacre by the English. On the other hand, English textbooks omit in about half of the cases any explanation about why the rebellion broke out, including 1641 into their narrative either as part of the storyline of the English Civil War or as one of the potential justifications for Oliver Cromwell's actions a few years later. The other half of English textbooks which deal with 1641 either argue that the revolt was caused by the Plantations or by the mutual hatred. English textbooks usually represent 1641 with a good level of objectivity, however, there is an example of a highly biased recent A-level textbook which describes 1641 as morally much less acceptable than Cromwell's reaction and suggests that the high estimates for the number of casualties should be accepted. In addition, since the 90s much fewer KS3 textbooks include 1641 into their narrative.

The Confederation of Kilkenny and the English Civil War

The Confederation of Kilkenny actually stood a good historic chance to gain support for policies of relative toleration. Despite the atrocities of 1641, the aims of the rebellion were moderate, they claimed to be loyal to the King, they did not want to eliminate the Protestant religion or its followers, only aimed to end discrimination of Catholicism. Was it not for the lack of military expertise, the infights between rival military leaders and the intransigency of the papal nuncio, they could have secured the rule on the entire island of Ireland and later relatively beneficial peace terms could have been observed (Beckett, 1981, pp. 82-103). Whether that would have been enough to keep Cromwell away in 1649 is doubtful. However, Cromwell would have had a very different start to his Irish campaign without relying on the bridgehead around Dublin. The Confederation also had a significant role in the English Civil War, as the King hoped that once the hostilities in Ireland were settled a confederate army would provide him significant support in England (although, seen how ineffective they were in military terms, it is questionable if they ever stood a chance against Cromwell on English soil).

Therefore, one could expect that the Confederation of Kilkenny's story is told in detail in Irish Junior Certificate textbooks. However, among the four analysed textbooks, two (*New Complete History* and *The Past Today*) do not mention it at all, at most only a brief reference is made to the position Irish Catholics took during the English Civil War: 'many Irish Catholics had supported King Charles in the English Civil War' (Hayes C. , 2009, p. 120). Interestingly, this is the only mention in the four textbooks that the Irish Catholics played a part in the English Civil War and they stood beside the King.

Two books provide a more detailed account of the Confederation, but fail to mention its relation to the English Civil War: *Discovering History* explains that the Confederation consisted of the Old English and the Gaelic, what the reason for their alliance was, and that their collaboration wasn't completely unclouded:

Fearing that the new Protestant English would associate them with the Gaelic Irish and persecute them for their religion, the Old English joined forces with the Gaelic Irish in an alliance called Catholic Confederacy in 1642. However, the Old English and the Gaelic Irish did not really trust each other and they fought two separate campaigns against the Protestant settlers rather than fully cooperating and fighting as one group... In the nineteenth century the Catholic Confederacy became known as the Confederation of Kilkenny. (McCaughey, c2009, p. 207)

Uncovering History provides a different narrative of the Confederation of Kilkenny, claiming that the cause for the joint rebellion of the Old English and the Gaelic was religious freedom and it does not explain the tensions between the two constituent groups nor provides any detail of the following battles fought, previous to Cromwell's arrival:

In yet another example of how the Reformation affected Ireland, the leaders of the 'Old English' families joined with the Gaelic rebels, led by Phelim O'Neill, because they were fed up with English attempts to force them to reject the Catholic religion. These forces combined in what became known as the Confederation of Kilkenny. However, the news and rumours that spread across England were that the Catholics had continued attacks on the Protestants, slaughtering women and children. Cromwell was horrified at this news and was determined to punish the Irish papists at the first opportunity. (Delap & McCormack, 2011, p. 181)

Summarising the narratives of the four Irish Junior Certificate textbooks, there is not one account which would treat the Confederation of Kilkenny with the desired level of detail, explaining all of the following contents: who did it consist of, what were the dynamics between the constituents, what was their aim, if there were wars in Ireland in this period and against whom, and the relation to the English Civil War. The Eleven Years' War, as the Confederate Wars also became known, led to approximately 15% of Ireland's population, or at least 200,000 dead⁸⁰, and it was not just thanks to Cromwell's campaign (which only impacted the last 3 years). Thus, I believe that Irish Junior Certificate textbooks should dedicate more attention to these events.

The Northern Irish KS3 textbook, *History in Close-Up, The Age of Discovery*, dedicates seven pages the events of the English Civil War, however the involvement of Ireland is only explained on the following page titled 'Cromwell in Ireland'. In this section the authors explain that the Irish Catholics sided with the King and thus became part of the English Civil War, however, the Confederation of Kilkenny is not mentioned, only that 'the Civil War in England meant that only a small force could be sent to Ireland in 1642 and the result was a military stalemate for the next seven years' (Hodge, 2011, p. 91). The other Northern Irish KS3 textbook dealing with the period, *History for NI Key stage 3: Ireland 1500-1900* interestingly – after two whole pages dedicated to the

⁸⁰ The relevant Wikipedia article explains that contemporary estimates stated at least 400,000 dead, but the lowest revised estimates reach 200,000, compared to a population of around 1.5 million. (*Wikipedia re. Irish Confederate Wars*, 2023)

rebellion of 1641 – does not mention the existence of the Confederation of Kilkenny and any of the armed conflicts between the 1642-43 landing of the Scottish army and Cromwell's campaign (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008, pp. 34-37).

For English textbooks the period in Ireland between 1641 and Cromwell's 1649 campaign also represents a void, only a few of them make any reference to it. *Discovering the Making of the UK, Renaissance, Revolution and Reformation* and *Collins Key stage 3 History; Early Modern Britain 1509-1760* mention Irish Catholics supporting Charles I and his son and thus posing a threat to Cromwell. (Shephard & Lomas, 1995, p. 64) (Wilkes A. , 2003 (2), p. 94) (Peal, 2016, p. 54). Only one of the KS3 textbooks (*Living through History: The Making of the United Kingdom*) refers to the alliance between the native Irish and the Old English when explaining how 'after the execution of the King, Irish Catholics and Irish Royalists joined together in rebellion against Parliamentary rule' (Kelly, Rees, & Shuter, 1998 (2), p. 73). The A-level textbook *The English Revolution 1625-1660* includes a much more detailed narrative, even naming the 'Irish Confederates' and their alternative government, being 'loyal to the king and determined to restore Catholicism throughout Ireland' (Daniels, 2015, p. 166), the first Ormond agreement of 1646 (not accepted by the papal nuncio), the further actions of Ormond returning with arms to Ireland and the successful 'agreement that brought together Confederates and Protestant Royalists into one movement, loyal to the Stuart monarchs' (p. 174), leading to 'full assurance that Catholics in Ireland would have equality with Irish Protestants' (p. 175). Another British A-level textbook, *Stuart Britain and the Crisis of Monarchy 1603-1702*, also provides an evaluation from a source material which describes very well the political positions in this period:

Extract 3. Adapted from *The English Republic, 1649-1660* by Toby Barnard (Longman, 1997). 'As rebellion engulfed Ireland in the 1640s, Charles I played the dangerous game of seeking soldiers from Catholic insurgents in return for political and religious concessions. When the Second Civil War ended, Parliament sought to re-establish its hold over Ireland. However, the forces it sent were too few, and by 1649 they faced a new and more formidable alliance of Irish Catholics and Protestants. The alliance was based on the belief that its interest would be better protected by Charles II than by an English Parliament, traditionally anti-Catholic and hostile to Ireland. By 1649 Cromwell agreed with the Rump that the new English Commonwealth would be safe only when the Irish had been subjugated.' (Farr, 2015, p. 133)

Thus, we can conclude that the period between 1641 and 1649 is omitted or minimised in nearly all textbooks, not even the Irish textbooks explain the relevant events in the desired detail and one needs to choose a related A-level study in order to understand what happened.

Cromwell in Ireland

We have already seen a few pages earlier when reviewing the narrative of the 1641 Rebellion that Cromwell's Irish campaign is closely connected to the revolt and that the evaluation of both still presents a level of controversy.

The Irish Junior Certificate textbook *Discovering History* lists three reasons for the English Parliament sending Cromwell to defeat the Catholic Irish: financial needs, as they wanted to pay both the salaries of the soldiers and to repay the loans of the adventurers from the land they hoped to obtain after the victory in Ireland; revenge for the 1641 killing of Protestants; and eliminating the possibility that any continental Catholic army uses Ireland as a landing point to intervene against England (McCaughey, c2009, p. 209). *New Complete History* mentions the first two reasons and also adds that Cromwell wanted to revenge Catholic Ireland's support to the King during the English Civil War (Hayes C. , 2009, p. 120). *Uncovering History* and *The Past Today* only mention the punishment of the 1641 rebels killing Protestants as Cromwell's motivation for the invasion, however, *The Past Today* also explains a few paragraphs later that significant amounts were owed to soldiers and adventurers. (Delap & McCormack, 2011, p. 181) (Lucey, 2002, pp. 173-174).

In the Irish Junior Certificate textbooks Cromwell's military conquest is explained rather briefly, maximum a few lines are dedicated to the related events, however all of them highlight the brutality of the conquest. Nevertheless, considering that Cromwell tends to be remembered from an Irish Catholic perspective as one of the most negative personalities of the joint Anglo-Irish history⁸¹, the narratives seem rather restrained and lack emotional appeal. There are no supporting images either that would underpin the suffering of the besieged:

⁸¹ As Adelman and Byrne in the British A-level textbook *Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923* writes: 'for Catholics, Cromwell's ruthlessness has made his name the most hated in modern Irish history' (Adelman & Byrne, 2016, p. 4)

Cromwell and his army invaded and conquered Ireland in a brutal campaign of 1649-1650. (Hayes C. , 2009, p. 120)

He [Cromwell] often treated the defeated forces cruelly. (Lucey, 2002, p. 174)

Eventually the town [Drogheda] fell and Cromwell killed all the defending soldiers as a warning to other towns that did not surrender ... It [Wexford] was captured and all its defenders and most of its population were killed. (McCaughey, c2009, p. 209)

When his [Cromwell's] army laid siege to Drogheda and the defenders refused to surrender, the ruthless power of the New Model Army was displayed. The town was captured and every member of the defending garrison was executed. The same thing happened when the defenders of Wexford refused to surrender. (Delap & McCormack, 2011, p. 181)

As seen previously through many examples of other historic events, many textbooks show several primary and secondary sources reflecting both sides' views. This is especially so in the textbooks of Northern Ireland written in the last decades, which aim to represent a balanced picture, so that pupils of both communities can use the textbook. However, this aim of equidistance to both views cannot be always correct. There are tragic events in history that students have to learn were morally wrong (e.g. Holocaust, Apartheid).

Without the aim to directly compare the above tragic events with those that took place in Ireland during Cromwell, some examples can be found in textbooks where the authors should call out if one side's opinion is obviously not acceptable in the eyes of today's society. For example, the Northern Irish textbook *History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1500-1900* refers to a mural in West Belfast depicting Cromwellian soldiers in the process of slaughtering a Catholic, with the following text:

Source 14. A mural of Shankill Parade, West Belfast, 2002. [Inscription on the mural:] Oliver Cromwell. Born 1599. Died 1658. Lieutenant General. Lord Protector Defender of the Protestant Faith. Catholicism is more than a religion. It is a political power therefore I am led to believe there will be no peace in Ireland until the Catholic Church is crushed. Oliver Cromwell. Our clergy persecuted and our Protestant churches desecrated also our Protestant people slaughtered in their thousands. Oliver Cromwell. (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008, p. 37)

The textbook evaluates this source in the following way:

This is a mural painted in 2002 on Shankill Parade in Belfast. The mural commemorates the life of Oliver Cromwell. Cromwell is viewed as a hero for his role as defender of the Protestant faith and his conquest of rebellious Catholic Ireland in 1649-52. The mural shows four of Cromwell's New Model Army (Roundheads) putting to death a native Irish rebel. (p. 37)

Even if there are questions asked to the students about the value of the above source from the perspective of a historian, there is no part of the textbook that would in any way criticise the existence of this mural celebrating the killing of a Catholic by Protestants. If the book passes a moral judgement against 'rebellious Catholic Ireland', it should at least do the same about ethnic and religious cleansing. It should not surprise us that the previous owner of the printed book I read drew a large question mark over the narrative quoted above.

It might seem promising, however, that while the 2008 textbook did not find it necessary to criticise this mural, a personal visit on 4 September 2022 has shown that this particular mural has been taken down and replaced by a sculpture celebrating mutual respect. There is an information plaque beside with a small black and white reproduction of the original mural stating that 'REMEMBER / RESPECT / RESOLUTION replaces a mural depicting Oliver Cromwell and the expulsion of Catholics from Ireland'.

The previous page of the above textbook reproduces a newspaper article from the *Irish Examiner* 'Residents protest as Cromwell's death mask is displayed', from 22 May 2000, and the text explains the reactions to an exposition of Cromwell's death mask at the Drogheda Heritage Centre. One of the reactions is from the local deputy mayor, who compared the exhibition to 'showing off the head of Adolf Hitler to a Jewish community', but then the newspaper article also cites historian Tom Reilly who states that Cromwell could be even considered restrained and he did not act worse than the standards of his time (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008, p. 36). Therefore, the textbook includes one source from Ireland which shows a relatively balanced description of Cromwell and a mural from Northern Ireland which celebrates the execution of Catholics and then asks schoolchildren to examine 'how has history been used in Sources 13 and 14 to justify a stereotypical viewpoint of Cromwell' time (p. 37), in a clearly biased comparison: it would not be surprising that some children understood that the main stereotypical representation of Cromwell is not the one which shows him as a defender of the Protestant faith, but the one that considers him a ruthless conqueror.

In *History in Close-Up: The Age of Discovery*, another KS3 Northern Irish textbook, four different source materials are reproduced, the most relevant of them is probably ‘Cromwell’s own report to Parliament in England about what happened at Drogheda in September 1649’, leaving little doubt about his motivations⁸²:

... And indeed, being in the heat of the action, I forbade them to spare any people who carried weapons in the town and I think that night they put to the sword 2,000 men. Many of their officers and soldiers fled over the bridge into the other part of the town, where about 100 of them [went into] St Peter’s church steeple. These being summoned to yield to mercy, refused, whereupon I ordered the steeple of St Peter’s Church to be fired [set on fire] ... The last Lord’s Day before the storm, they had a mass in St Peter’s Church. About one thousand Catholics were put to the sword, fleeing there for safety. I believe all the friars [Catholic preachers] were knocked on the head except two ... I believe this is a righteous judgement of God upon these barbarous wretches, who have dipped their hands in so much innocent blood murdered many innocent people ... (Hodge, 2011, pp. 92-93)

Another source material concludes that Cromwell’s actions in Drogheda went beyond his normal behaviour:

‘Antonia Fraser, in her modern biography of Cromwell said this: (...) There were good military reasons for behaving as he did, but they were not the motives that drove him at the time, during the day and night of uncalculated butchery. The slaughter itself stood quite outside his normal record of careful mercy as a soldier.’ Cromwell, our Chief of Men, Antonia Fraser, Phoenix, 2002. (p. 93)

It appears clear that students learning from the two quoted Northern Irish textbooks will have a very different interpretation about the role of Cromwell: in the first case the reader will learn that although there are different interpretations, he should be probably considered a ‘defender of the Protestant faith’, while the other narrative represents him as a conqueror who wanted to revenge 1641, massacring Catholics.

Section 4.1 explained that Cromwell’s Irish campaign aiming to revenge 1641 and the massacres of the roundheads are the most frequently mentioned event of the joint Anglo-Irish history in English textbooks: from 27 textbooks dealing with the relevant period, 20 included it in detail, 2 partially, 4 very limitedly and only 1 textbook omitted

⁸² On the other hand, Beckett states that most of Drogheda’s defenders were royalist Englishmen (Beckett, 1981, p. 102)

this event. Given the significant number of textbooks dealing with this event, and the many aspects a potential portrayal could cover, I am convinced it makes sense and it is also feasible to evaluate the English textbook narrative of Cromwell in a more numerical way also in this chapter of qualitative analysis.

There are three types of usual frameworks for narrating this event: a) as part of a review of the figure of Cromwell, where his Irish campaign is part of the arguments to evaluate his deeds (8 out of 28 textbooks employ this storyline); b) as part of the narrative of the English Civil War in general (8 out of 28 textbooks); or c) as a relevant part of the relationship between England and Ireland in the 17th century (9 out of 28 textbooks, applied more frequently in books published during the 90s: only one of the books using this storyline has been published later). In addition, 5 textbooks explained Cromwell's actions as a background to future events (these textbooks relate to later time periods)⁸³.

Another relevant feature is what reasons are given for Cromwell's arrival in Ireland. The most frequent reasons are revenge of the 1641 Rebellion (14 out of 28 times)^{84 85} and the necessity to eliminate royalist resistance in Ireland (15 out of 28 times), however the latter also includes four cases when it is not specified who the Irish supported (the King), such as: 'Ireland in state of rebellion' (Snellgrove, 1992, p. 66), 'to put down rebellion' (Maltman & Dawson, 1992, p. 40), 'rebellion against the English' (Brooks-Tyerman, Shuter, & Smith, 2000, p. 11) and 'rebellion against English rule' (Murphy, Gosling, & Martin, 2010, p. 90). These can be considered biased simplifications which can support the overall narrative of the 'rebellious Irish'. There are also two textbooks which highlight that control of Ireland was needed to prevent foreign forces to land: 'threat of invasion by France and Spain' (Allison & Brown, 1990, p. 37) and 'first Cromwell had to be sure there were no attacks from outside, especially through England's two "back doors" – Ireland and Scotland' (Kelly R. , 1990, p. 102) and one textbook mentions the reason previously seen in many Irish textbooks: financial exploitation (Farr,

⁸³ Please note that multiple narratives are possible, thus these textbooks have been considered repeatedly in the count. The count of 28 textbooks includes 2 British textbooks specialised on Anglo-Irish history which have not been thus included in the quantitative analysis and excludes the textbook included in the quantitative analysis which did not mention Cromwell.

⁸⁴ *Idem*.

⁸⁵ One of the most interesting descriptions on his motivation: 'he wanted revenge for the massacres of 1641, and permanent peace for Ireland. For him, permanent peace meant expelling all priests and rebels, taking most of the land away from Roman Catholics, and trying to convert the Irish to Protestantism' (Culpin, 1992, p. 52).

2015, p. 132). Four textbooks however do not explain the reasons for Cromwell's Irish campaign.

The narrative of Cromwell's military campaign is more uniform: 22 of the 28 textbooks explain that it consisted of brutal slaughtering or massacre⁸⁶, 22 name Drogheda and 13 Wexford. 13 textbooks provide an estimation for the number of deaths in the sieges, which is usually 2000-3500 only considering Drogheda. Also, 13 textbooks illustrate Cromwell's motivation and brutality by his own words, which mostly (in 11 out of 13) come from his report to Parliament (previously quoted in this thesis from the Northern Irish textbook *History in Close-Up: The Age of Discovery*, featuring 'righteous judgement of God upon these barbarous wretches' (Hodge, 2011, pp. 92-93)) and two textbooks reproduce his words to the Irish Catholic clergy, probably even clearer in terms of his motivation and religious rage (also previously quoted in this thesis from the British A-level textbook *Stuart Britain and the Crisis of Monarchy 1603-1702*, including '...you Irish, unprovoked, put the English to the most unheard of and most barbarous massacre in 1641.. that ever the sun beheld. And at a time when Ireland was in perfect peace. You are part of Antichrist...' (Farr, 2015, p. 132)).

Finally, the overall tone of the evaluation of Cromwell's actions is also a significant feature of the textbooks: 22 out of 28 do it in a neutral manner, often including sources representing different points of view⁸⁷. One of the best examples for showing the different perspectives is *A Sense of History: The Making of the United Kingdom* (KS3) which explains at length both soft and hard judgements on Cromwell (Mason J. , 1992, pp. 84-87). Three textbooks are more apologetic and two in balance are more accusing. Among the apologetic portrayals we can find an A-level textbook (*The English*

⁸⁶ Two of the most relevant examples in two KS3 books (*A Sense of History: The Making of the United Kingdom* and *Past Historic: The Making of the United Kingdom 1500-1750*) explain his differentiated treatment towards the Irish and his religious motivation:

Cromwell did not think of the Irish as human beings with rights. He treated them differently from other enemies, for example the Scots. His feelings about punishing the Irish for the Ulster killings of 1641 caused him to view all Irish people in the same way and make no distinction between soldiers and civilians. He was out for revenge ... he wrote with horror about the things Catholics did to Protestants; but he showed no sense of horror at the actions of his own soldiers (Mason J. , 1992, p. 86)

Cromwell believed that it was God's will that he should kill the Irish. 'Blood and ruin shall befall them', he wrote. At first, any Catholic priest he caught was instantly killed. (Aylett, 1992, p. 56)

⁸⁷ Interestingly, a KS3 textbook (*Making Sense of History 1745-1901*) while showing an overall neutral tone, also includes the Shankill Road mural from Belfast quoted previously (which depicts Cromwellian soldiers executing a Catholic), when showcasing the different political messages of Belfast murals, describing what the different elements of the picture signify, however, without criticising at all the exaltation for ethnic or religious cleansing. (Clare J. D., Bates, Fisher, & Kennett, 2015 (2), p. 68)

Revolution 1625-1660), already quoted a few pages earlier regarding 1641, when it considered that Irish Catholics were responsible for ‘horrendous war crimes’ when at the same time it stated that Cromwell behaved aligned with the standards of the time (Daniels, 2015, p. 96).) and two KS3 books. Probably most dictators would agree with the wording regarding ‘no more trouble’ in *A place in time in Britain 1450-1700*: ‘he was not usually cruel, but he was determined there would be no more trouble’ (Kelly R. , 1990, p. 102). The second example paints a picture of the Canaan, showing a highly Anglo-centric view of the history:

During this time, England did really well. Trade was booming, and harvests were good. Cromwell won wars against Ireland, Scotland, France and Holland and made England a world power. (Clare J. D., 2004, p. 47)

The two textbooks which in balance describe Cromwell in a more accusing tone are for KS3 from 1992 and they refer to the long-term results of his conquest: increased animosity between Irish and English and Catholics and Protestants:

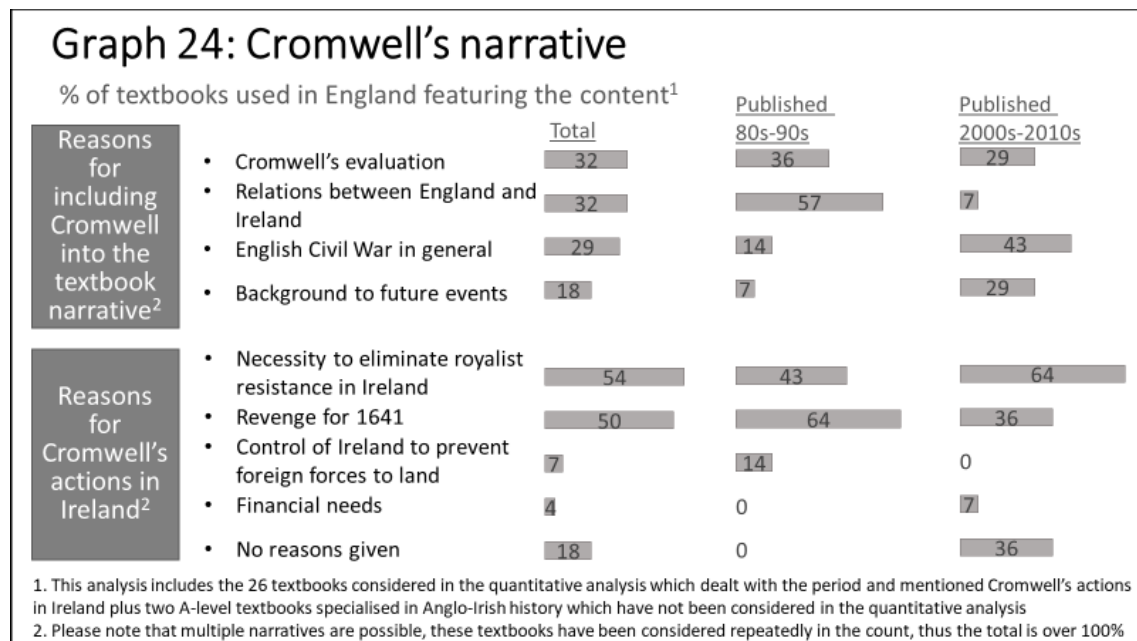
Cromwell had set out to destroy Irish resistance. Instead, he created deep hatred. To many Catholics, he is still known as ‘the curse of Ireland’. (Aylett, 1992, p. 56) (in *Past Historic: The Making of the United Kingdom 1500-1750*)

The roots of many problems lie in the past. Politicians sometimes think their solution solves a problem. Often, it creates a new one. This is partly because people do not take the same view of events. (p. 57)

But Cromwell's plans to convert the Irish to Protestantism failed. Ireland therefore now had Protestant, English-speaking landowners dominating Roman Catholic, Gaelic-speaking peasants. (Culpin, *Collins Living History: The Making of the United Kingdom 1500-1750*, 1992, p. 52)

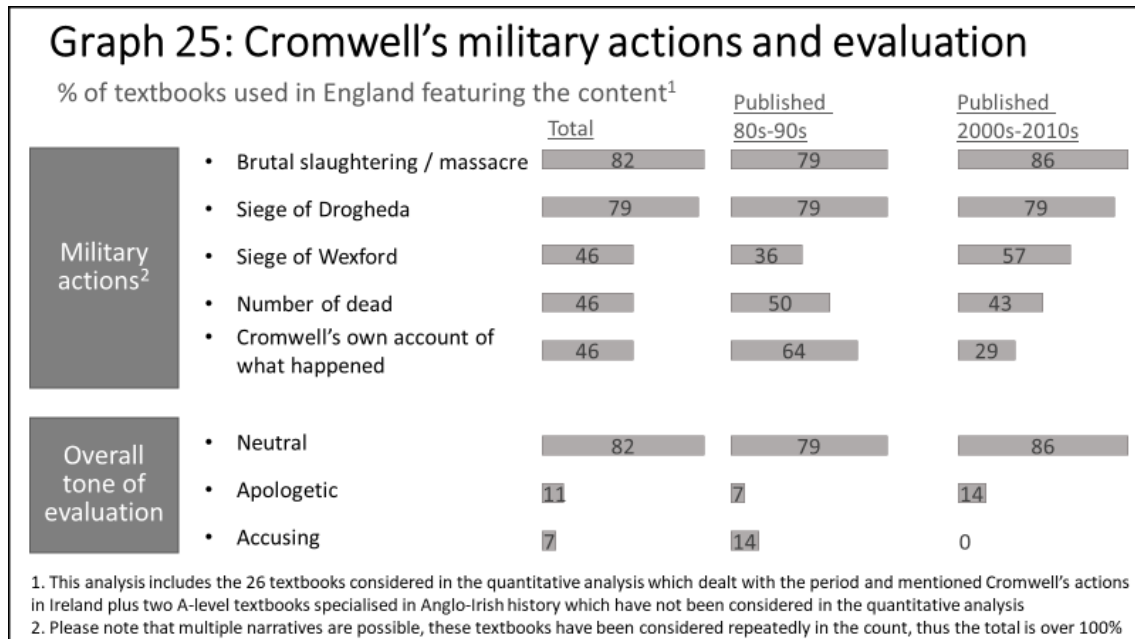
Although the sample size of 28 textbooks does not allow a detailed analysis by decade of publication, level of education, or publisher, we can reasonably divide it into two groups of 14 textbooks each: on the one hand, published in the 80s (2 textbooks) and 90s (12 textbooks) and, on the other hand, published in the 2000s (4 textbooks) and 2010s (10 textbooks). In terms of level of education, the 80s and 90s textbooks are nearly exclusively KS3 textbooks (only one is for A-level), while among the group of textbooks published in the 2000s and 2010s four are for A-level, one for GCSEs and nine for KS3. Therefore, the comparison between the two groups is not perfect, but reasonable. These two groups of 14 textbooks show a significant evolution in the textbook narrative between the 80s-90s and the 2000s-2010s, as shown in *Graph 24*. The share of textbooks that

include Cromwell into their narrative because they aim to evaluate Cromwell as a historical person remains similar: 36 vs 29%, nevertheless, the number of textbooks evaluating the events from the perspective of the relations between England and Ireland declined from 57% to 7% and at the same time, those analysing Cromwell from the perspective of the English Civil War in general increased from 14 to 43% and those telling the story of Cromwell as a background to future events also increased from 7 to 29%. This demonstrates a more inward-looking perspective in English textbooks, narrating Cromwell more as part of the English Civil War than as an explication of the troubled Anglo-Irish relations.



Graph 24 also shows the reasons the textbooks provide for Cromwell's actions in Ireland. While in the 80s and 90s the main reason (mentioned in 64% of the textbooks) was the revenge for 1641, and the second reason was the necessity to eliminate royalist resistance in Ireland (43%), in the 2000s and 2010s the order of the two main reasons swapped: revenge for 1641 is mentioned in only 36% of the textbooks and the necessity to eliminate royalist resistance in Ireland in 64%. This change seems to be aligned with a previously mentioned point about the textbooks rather telling the story of the English Civil War than focusing on the relations between England and Ireland. It is more disturbing that 36% of the textbooks in the 2000s and 2010s did not provide any reason for Cromwell's intervention in Ireland.

Graph 25 looks into the narrative of the military actions of the Cromwellian conquest and the overall evaluation of his figure. The brutal slaughtering / massacre perpetrated by the Cromwellian forces is included in around 80% of the textbooks across the period, the same proportion also mentions the siege of Drogheda and again around 80% employs an overall neutral tone of evaluation of Cromwell's figure.



The main differences we can observe between the 80s-90s and the 2000s-2010s is the significant reduction in the number of textbooks including Cromwell's own account of what happened, from 64% of textbooks to 29%. Considering how outspoken Cromwell was about his motivation and actions, it is a regrettable development, which could lead to fewer students understanding the severity of what he did, and might consider that others tell a biased narrative when they complain about Cromwell's actions. Aligned with this, the only two English textbooks employing an accusing overall tone of evaluation against Cromwell were published in the 80s and 90s (14% of those published in those years).

In a summary, Cromwell's Irish campaign is the most frequently treated event of Anglo-Irish history in English textbooks, usually reflected in a balanced manner, however some examples of bias can be found where Cromwell's positive evaluations are over-emphasised or where the position of Irishmen is narrated as a rebellion against England, when they supported the English King. We have also found that English textbooks tend to omit the economic reasons behind the Cromwellian conquest, only one of 28 books refer to them. We can also note that in the 2000s and 2010s only about half as many

textbooks included Cromwell's own account of what happened compared to the 80s and 90s, which can be perceived as an increasingly apologetic evaluation of his character.

The Cromwellian Settlement and Plantation

As mentioned in *Section 5.2*, Irish textbooks narrate all events of Anglo-Irish history in the second half of the 16th and the first half of the 17th century as part of an overarching process of Plantations. In this narrative, the main emphasis is on the plantations themselves, the different rebellions and wars that preceded the different waves of plantations are narrated as the immediate causes of the Plantations, much less an event worth to explain on their own. Therefore, usually more space is dedicated to the description of how the different waves of plantations worked, than to the events preceding them. In case of the Cromwellian Plantation, a similar treatment can be observed. For instance, *The Past Today* dedicates about five times more space to the mechanism of the plantation than to all other preceding events since 1640 (Lucey, 2002, pp. 173-176). This textbook explains the debt owed by parliament to both the soldiers and the adventurers; the retaliation against 'thousands of prisoners of war, priests, widows, orphans and beggars' who have been sent to the West Indies for indentured labour; the over 30,000 soldiers who were allowed to leave to fight in other armies on the European Continent; the aims Cromwell wanted to achieve; how the confiscation worked and who lost all and who part of their landholdings; that Catholics had to go to 'hell or Connacht' (and even there, away from the coast and accessible waterways); the mapping of the land in the Down Survey; the fact that many soldiers sold the land they received; how Catholic land ownership reduced from ~60% to ~15%; that many Catholics became outlaws attacking the settlers; however that most Catholic tenants and labourers remained and thus a mixed population persisted; and finally that Catholics could not live in towns thus trade was concentrated in hands of Protestants. The storyline is supported by a map of the extension of the plantation and by a graph showing the transfer of land ownership from Catholics to Protestants during the 17th century (from 90% Catholic – starting before the Ulster plantations – to around 16%). The wording also pays attention to the fact that landowners had to 'prove' their past loyalty to parliament during the English Civil War.

A similar level of detail, arguments and supporting map and graph can be found in *New Complete History* (Hayes C. , 2009, pp. 120-121) (although the indentured labour and the emigration to continental armies are not mentioned), in *Discovering History*

(McCaughey, c2009, pp. 210-212) (however the map shows the accumulated impact of the different waves of plantations) and in a bit shorter version in *Uncovering History* (Delap & McCormack, 2011, p. 182) (without map and graph and without differentiating the treatment of the previous landowners by their behaviour during the English Civil War).

The Northern Irish KS3 textbook *History in Close-Up: The Age of Discovery* includes 3 pages about the Cromwellian Settlement (Hodge, 2011, pp. 95-97), explaining its characteristics with similar detail as the above quoted *The Past Today*, also supporting the findings with a map of the plantation and with another map showing the percentage of land owned by Catholics in 1641, 1660 and 1703 (this book states that the overall percentage declined to less than 10%). Although the textbook does not explain that many Catholics were transported to the Caribbean for indentured labour, it narrates Cromwell's lack of tolerance towards Catholicism:

This is what Cromwell wrote about the policy towards Catholics: 'I meddle not with any man's conscience, but if by liberty of conscience you mean a liberty to exercise the Mass, I judge it best to use plain dealing, and let you know, where the Parliament of England have power, that will not be allowed.' Oliver Cromwell, 1650. (p. 97)

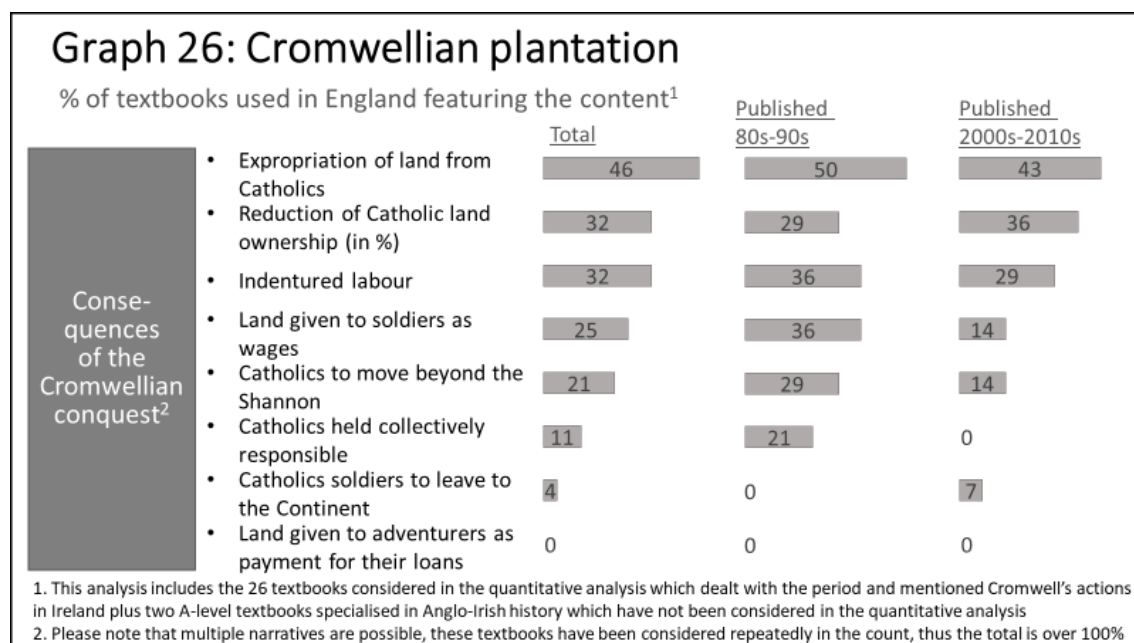
The economic reasons of the plantation are explained through a chart that illustrates how the land had to be taken from Catholics:

As well as taking revenge against the Irish Catholics for the rebellion they began in 1641, Cromwell knew he had an economic reason for having to conquer Ireland. This bar sets out the economic reasoning: - The Civil War involved many soldiers - Officers in the New Model Army had not been paid - The government in London had taken out lots of loans - The government had run out of money - Cromwell decided to pay the soldiers who had fought the Irish campaign with grants of land - The land was seized from the Catholic rebels after their defeat. (p. 95)

Similarly to the bias found in the narrative of Cromwell's Irish campaign, *History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1500-1900* shows a very different treatment of the Cromwellian plantation: it simply omits any reference to it. In this textbook, the plantation of Ulster is the last plantation taught, and the content of the Cromwellian settlement, with the expropriation of lands from Catholics and their settlement in Connaught, the effective expulsion of Catholic soldiers, the indentured labour of Catholic priests, and the economic motivation behind the plantation and the resulting land ownership structure is not part of

the syllabus. Therefore, this textbook shows a highly biased narrative of the events of 1641-1660, which focuses on the 1641 rebellion and the massacre of Protestants, a display of different interpretations of Cromwell – although clearly favouring his portrayal as the ‘defender of the Protestant faith’ – and omits the resulting discrimination Catholics suffered.

Among the 28 textbooks used in England which have been analysed⁸⁸, less than half explain the characteristics of the Cromwellian settlement: 13 (or 46%) refer to the expropriation of land from Catholics, but only 7 (25%) explain that land was given to soldiers as wages and none of the 28 textbooks mention that also adventurers received land as payment for their loans. Similarly, only 6 books (21%) explain that Catholics had to move beyond River Shannon to Connaught if they wanted to keep any land. Nine of the 28 books (32%) explain how Catholic land ownership has been affected as a result in Ireland in this period. However, only 3 books (11%) tell about Catholics being collectively held responsible for 1641. Catholics being sent to the Caribbean as indentured labour is included in 9 textbooks (32%), nevertheless, the fate of Catholic soldiers (about 30,000) who has left to the European continent is only featured in one textbook (4%). These results are visible in the first column of *Graph 26*.



⁸⁸ The 28 textbooks include 2 British textbooks specialised on Anglo-Irish history which have not been thus included in the quantitative analysis and excludes the textbook included in the quantitative analysis which did not mention Cromwell's Irish actions.

When comparing the textbooks published in the 80s and 90s with those published in the first two decades of the 21st century, we can observe that in general contents become less specific: in average a textbook of the 80s and 90s explaining Cromwell's Irish campaign mentioned 2 different consequences of the Cromwellian conquest while in the following two decades this figure reduced to 1.4. The difference is clearest regarding the payment of soldiers' wages in land, that Catholics had to move beyond the river Shannon and that they were held collectively responsible for the 1641 Rebellion.

Also in the narrative of the consequences of Cromwell's conquest we can find a few incorrect comments, e.g. 'Cromwell had strong religious views, but also encouraged religious toleration at a time when most people believed in imposing their religion on others' (Maltman & Dawson, 1992, p. 40) – we have seen earlier than this toleration did not extend to Catholics. Another confirmation of this can be found in the KS3 book *Collins Living History: The Making of the United Kingdom 1500-1750*:

As we have seen... Cromwell was tolerant towards different Protestant views, but Source 23 makes clear his attitude to Roman Catholics. Source 23. In 1650 Oliver Cromwell was asked by an Irish Roman Catholic that people should be allowed to worship according to their own beliefs (their conscience). This was his reply. 'I meddle not with any man's conscience, but if by liberty of conscience you mean a liberty to exercise the Mass [the Roman Catholic service] I judge it best to use plain dealing and to let you know ... that will not be allowed of.' (Culpin, 1992, p. 52)

Thus, the Cromwellian settlement is treated in most detail in Irish textbooks, Northern Irish textbooks either cover it in similar way or not at all. Less than half of English textbooks mention the land expropriations and even less any other consequence of the Cromwellian conquest, and the storytelling of the Cromwellian plantation became much less detailed in English textbooks of the last two decades.

5.4 Williamite Wars

Key conclusions:

- Irish textbooks frequently omit any mention to the Glorious Revolution, the Williamite Wars and the Battle of the Boyne: only one of the four books feature the topic as an introduction to the Penal Laws. Given the huge influence of these events on Irish history, this can be considered a significant omission.
- Northern Irish textbooks provide the most detailed and in general most balanced view of these events, although there are visible differences between the two relevant KS3 textbooks (one of them focuses more on the question whether William hated Catholics while the other includes a detailed storyline of the events).
- English textbooks treat the Glorious Revolution in detail, however its Ireland-related events are explained much less thoroughly. Apart from the outcome of the Battle of the Boyne, the second most frequently mentioned Anglo-Irish event in English textbooks (27 inclusions), other aspects are often missing: the outcome of the peace treaty and its lack of observation is only included in 5 textbooks.
- About a half or a third of English textbooks provide a narrative with certain bias: only half mentions that William arrived in England with a large navy and effectively invaded it, over a third stresses that James wanted to convert England into a Catholic country, the same proportion emphasizes the bloodless character of the revolution (forgetting about its Irish battles), and a third projects William III as the only rightful king, therefore positioning Ireland as rebellious.
- The level of detail by which the events are narrated in English textbooks became much more superficial in textbooks published in the last two decades.

The GCSE textbook dedicated to the recent history of Northern Ireland, *The struggle for peace in Northern Ireland*, contains an insightful reference to the subject of this chapter:

The Battle of the Boyne. In 1688 two rivals fought to be crowned king of England – James (a Catholic) and William (a Protestant). Protestant William defeated Catholic James at the Battle of the Boyne, and became William III. (Dawson & Walsh, 2004, p. 8)

In this quote, it is clear that the Williamite wars were not an Irish insurgency against English rule or a Catholic plot, but a fight for the throne of England (and Scotland and Ireland)⁸⁹. In this sense, the Williamite Wars repeated one of the characteristics of the Cromwellian Conquest: two different forces fought for power in England, after one of them seemed weaker, they sought help from Ireland and thus Ireland took part in the hostilities, but on both occasions, she chose the wrong side. In a self-explanatory way, the resulting national narrative (or foundational myth) in England became that legality stood on both occasions with the winning side and therefore the other side ‘rebelled’: the royalists in 1649 and the Jacobites in 1689. Thus, this narrative also enhanced the view that Ireland was ‘rebellious’. Burston also criticises the traditional ‘Whig’ history interpretation regarding the glorification of elements of the past which contributed to the present constitutional order:

In his famous study of this subject, Professor Butterfield defined the Whig interpretation as ‘the tendency in many historians to write on the side of Protestants and Whigs, to praise revolutions providing they were successful, to emphasize certain principles of progress in the past and to produce a story which is the ratification if not the glorification of the present’ (H. Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History*, Bell, p.v. 1931). If we leave aside the particular present which the Whigs desired to praise, namely a constitutional present to which successful revolution had contributed, we can note the general idea of ‘ratifying if not glorifying’ a present... there is a tendency to praise and to emphasize factors in the past which have contributed to the present, at the expense of others which did not... (Burston, 1972 (2), pp. 62-63)

There are a number of aspects an unbiased narrative of the Williamite Wars in relation to Ireland should explain: that James II took effective steps to allow religious tolerance of Catholics but this went too far to most English and Irish Protestants who feared being ruled by Catholics (Beckett, 1981, pp. 140-141); that therefore they invited William to invade England (Beckett, 1981, pp. 140-141) (Wikipedia re. William III,

⁸⁹ The text however includes a factual incorection, the two rivals have not fought for being crowned: James was already king in 1688 but he fled and instead William was already crowned in 1689, a year before the Battle of the Boyne took place. It also might have been useful to add that the actual fights took place in Ireland, even if the main target was the English throne. A more detailed narrative on page 31 even calls the opposite camp rebels: ‘Protestant nobles rebelled against James’ (Dawson & Walsh, 2004, p. 31)

2022); that William arrived with a very large navy⁹⁰; that the closing of the gates of Londonderry by the apprentice boys happened when James was still in England as rightful king (Beckett, 1981, p. 142); that after losing support James fled from England to France (Wikipedia re. William III, 2022); that William's coronation wasn't straight forward as many thought that people could not decide who should be their king (the 'divine right of kings', among the people who believed this was also the archbishop of Canterbury who should have crowned William) (Wikipedia re. William III, 2022); that William proclaimed religious toleration for other Protestant faiths, but not Roman Catholics (Wikipedia re. William III, 2022); that James arrived in Ireland where a large army remained on his side (Beckett, 1981, p. 142); that the battles of this war were fought on Irish soil (Beckett, 1981, pp. 141-148) – thus it was not a bloodless 'glorious' revolution –; that after losing the decisive battle James left Ireland (Beckett, 1981, p. 146); that the pope supported William III (as he was against the French king Louis XIV who supported James); and that the final peace treaty (of Limerick) provided favourable terms to James' supporters (including religious toleration), however, those terms had not been observed (Beckett, 1981, pp. 148-151) creating a system of discrimination against Catholics (about this see the following *Section 5.5 Penal Laws*).

Among the analysed four Irish Junior Certificate textbooks, only one (*Discovering History*) mentions the Williamite Wars and the Battle of the Boyne, as a background to the Penal Laws, however, it only dedicates a few paragraphs to this event and the author does not explain why William had been invited to the throne of England. Nor is the term 'Glorious Revolution' used, as it would refer to the events on English soil which the book does not cover. The book represents both William III and James II a bit ironic tone explaining that William III had asthma and had to be carried over the shoulder of a soldier when he attempted to cross the Boyne and that James II watched the battle from two miles away together with significant cavalry forces and 'fled to Dublin even before the battle was over' (McCaughey, c2009, p. 244). The text then concentrates on the consequences of the battle's outcome to the fortunes of the Catholics in Ireland, without explaining the content of the Treaty of Limerick:

⁹⁰ 'William's fleet was vastly larger than the Spanish Armada 100 years earlier: approximately consisting of 463 ships with 40,000 men on board', 'William is the last person to successfully invade England by force of arms.' (Wikipedia re. William III, 2022)

In 1689 Prince William of Orange, a Protestant, was invited to become King of England in place of the Catholic King James II. The conflict that arose between these two men ended at the battle of the Boyne in 1690.

This battle for the throne of England was to have a great impact on the Catholic Irish. William's forces defeated James' troops and soon afterwards James fled Ireland, leaving the throne of Britain and Ireland to the Protestant William. After this battle, Protestants in Ireland wanted to make sure that their position was never again threatened. (p. 244).

Among the three other Irish Junior Certificate textbooks, only another one (*Uncovering History*) mentions William III, however, without explaining at all the conflict between James and William: 'at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, when the Protestant William of Orange became king, England was a strongly Protestant country' (Delap & McCormack, 2011, p. 215).

Maybe it is due to the thematization of the teaching of history that the highly relevant content of the Williamite Wars is missing from three out of four textbooks and that the concept of Glorious Revolution – so overwhelmingly narrated in English textbooks – is not mentioned at all: Irish textbooks in the second year of the Junior Certificate explain the changes how Europeans saw the world (the explorations), religious changes (reformation), changes in land ownership (plantations), political changes (revolutions) and social changes (industrial and social revolution, which also provides the context to teaching the Great Famine). In this storyline, among the political changes, where the American and French revolutions occupy the main role, only the 1798 Irish Revolution/Rebellion is included as an event with relevant Irish connections. Considering that the events in England played a key influence on Ireland throughout the period (as the English parliament had the right to legislate for Ireland and any legislative initiative of the Irish parliament required the approval of the Privy Council sitting in London due to Poyning's Law (*Beckett*, 1981, pp. 155, 164, 169)), it would have been desirable to teach Irish students about the Glorious Revolution and its impact on Ireland, especially as the resulting political settlement established a constitutional monarchy with parliamentary democracy, which had also been the political system in Ireland until its independence. As *Beckett* concludes, the outcome of the Battle of the Boyne impacted Ireland immensely:

But for the historian of Ireland the Boyne marks the climax of a civil conflict that had grown steadily more explicit and more intense as the century progressed. The campaign was not over, but the result was no longer in doubt: and the result meant that in future the

protestant minority would rule Ireland. The power of the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry, which had survived the Elizabethan conquest and had not been wholly extinguished even by the Cromwellian settlement, was now to be finally overthrown; and until the impact of the French Revolution gave form and vigour to popular national feeling the 'protestant ascendancy' was to rule unchallenged. (Beckett, 1981, p. 146)

As we have seen through earlier examples, Northern Irish textbooks frequently provide the most detailed description of potentially controversial events of the joint Anglo-Irish history. The treatment of the Williamite Wars shows no difference. *History in Close-Up, The Age of Discovery* dedicates 16 pages to the Glorious Revolution and the following events: from explaining the relationships between the powers in Europe in 1688 (when William of Orange led a Grand Alliance against France of Louis XIV); the change of attitude of the English parliament after James II's son (and thus a Catholic heir) was born; the invite to William of Orange (James's son-in-law); William's landing in England (although without explaining the size of his army nor calling it an invasion) and his motivation to 'add England's forces to the Grand Alliance to help the struggle against Louis XIV' (Hodge, 2011, p. 102); to James' flight to France. In continuation, the related events which took place in Ireland are explained: the appointment of Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell, as Lord Lieutenant and his moves to choose Catholics to key positions in the army and government; the subsequent transfer of troops to Londonderry/Derry and Enniskillen and the decision of the apprentice boys in December 1688 not to let them in. However, the text narrates the sending of troops to Londonderry/Derry as a political move, to control a Protestant city: 'Tyrconnell was anxious that all major towns in Ireland should be occupied by armies loyal to King James. So in 1688 Tyrconnell sent troops to Derry and Enniskillen, because they were the only two places which did not fully support James' (p. 103). This narrative is somewhat debatable, as according to Beckett, 'the whole regiment quartered in and about Londonderry' had been sent to England earlier, 'an action that was to be of decisive importance in the rapidly-approaching conflict' (Beckett, 1981, p. 141). Thus, rather than the sending of new troops to Londonderry in 1688, it seems that the political move was to send them away previously to England: 'Tyrconnell's withdrawal of the troops had weakened his hold on the north: when, early in December, Londonderry shut its gates against a new garrison, the example of resistance was soon followed' (Beckett, 1981, p. 142).

History in Close-Up, The Age of Discovery reproduces two different accounts of the closing of the gates of Londonderry, an event so important in the Protestant foundational myth of Northern Ireland: a Protestant view explaining their fears that 1641 could repeat itself and a Jacobite supporter's words considering that this sign of support for the Prince of Orange was against the rightful king (James). The authors also ask schoolchildren to identify the differences in the two different accounts and evaluate if any of the two seems more biased. A following quote from a letter of Tyrconnell illustrates his point of view that the people of Londonderry were in a state of rebellion and the textbook makes clear that the question was not whether Tyrconnell was a rebel but whether the people of Londonderry were: 'to some people in the City of Derry this [the action of the apprentice boys] was seen as treason against their lawful king, James. For others, this action was vital for their security' (Hodge, 2011, p. 106). In order to evaluate the events, we should also consider the more detailed timeline (not fully reproduced in the textbook): William of Orange landed in England on 5 November 1688; James II did not flee from England until 23 December 1688 (thus on 7 December 1688 when the apprentice boys closed the gates of Londonderry he was undoubtedly the rightful king); the English Parliament declared on 13 February 1689 that James II have left the throne vacant; and proclaimed William III and Mary II as King and Queen the day after; James landed in Ireland (from France) in March 1689; William III (and Mary II) had been crowned King and Queen of England on 11 April 1689 and of Scotland on 11 May 1689 (Wikipedia re. William III, 2022) (Farr, 2015, p. 200).

After the closing of the gates of Londonderry in December 1688, the textbook continues the story with James' arrival in Ireland; Londonderry's siege (explained in great detail, illustrating the hardship faced by the inhabitants through a pricelist for different food types, including 'a rat', 'a mouse' and 'a dog's head' (Hodge, 2011, p. 107)); the ending of the siege after 105 days; the victory of Enniskillen Protestants against another Jacobite force; the landing of William's navy in August 1689 and the subsequent capture of Ulster by William's army; the Battle of the Boyne on 12 July 1690 (by the contemporary calendar 1 July); the Pope saying 'special prayers of thanksgiving ... in Rome when news reached him that William had defeated James, because James was supported by the French' (p. 108); the Williamite Wars being referred to in Ireland as War of the Three Kings because of Louis XIV's involvement; the myth that the war can be considered of Catholics vs. Protestants when William's forces were multi-national and

many were Catholics; the failed siege of Limerick by William in 1690; the loss of the battle of Aughrim by the Jacobites in July 1691; and the final surrender of Limerick and the signing of the Treaty of Limerick in October 1691. The terms of the peace treaty are also explained in detail, both the civil and military clauses.

History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1500-1900 dedicates ten pages to King William, although most of the pages focus on the diverging interpretations (e.g. ‘what did King William really think of Catholics’ (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008, p. 40)) and not on the factual events of the Glorious Revolution and the Williamite Wars. The few facts schoolchildren from this book can learn concentrate on James II being allied with Louis XIV and William with others (including the Pope) in the Grand Alliance; the English parliament inviting William and Mary to become joint rulers of England; James fleeing to Ireland; William winning there in the Battle of the Boyne and the Penal Laws approved after William’s victory. There is nothing included about other important aspects, like the reasons for inviting William, the fact that he came with a sizeable army, the siege of Londonderry, the Treaty of Limerick etc. Overall, the representation tries to be balanced, also including many proof points, however, the opening narrative is explained from William’s perspective, imagining that he is telling his story:

Meet my wife. I married Mary, the daughter of the Catholic king of England James II, and we became joint rulers of England in 1689, when I was invited to take over the English throne by PARLIAMENT. This event was known as the Glorious Revolution. I accepted the English throne because I needed money and support to fight the war with France. (p. 40)

Meet the father-in-law, James II. James II was in alliance with Louis XIV of France, because they were both Catholics, and this threatened the Dutch Republic. When I took the crown of England from James in 1689, he fled to Ireland for support among the Catholics, and I had to take an army over there to defeat him at the BATTLE OF THE BOYNE in 1690. I spent twelve weeks in Ireland before going off to Europe to fight Louis XIV. (p. 41)

Therefore, we do not hear at all the Jacobite point of view, which considers that James II was and remained the rightful king. The question this textbook mainly deals with is whether William hated Catholics or not and presents different arguments, including the fact that he supported the Penal Laws, however also explaining that he dealt fairly with the defeated Jacobites and that his need for more money from England meant that he aligned with the English parliament which wanted to eliminate Catholic influence (thus,

maybe the correct question could have been why the parliaments of England and Ireland hated Catholics)⁹¹. On the other hand, the book teaches students that they need to be aware of partisan interpretations:

The wall mural was someone's recent idea, over 300 years after William died, of what he might have looked like. In history this is called an INTERPRETATION or someone's version of an event. But does it tell us what King William did, or what he thought about his Catholic subjects? Today William is seen as a Protestant king who was against the Pope and did not like Catholics. In this chapter we will aim to uncover the truth about William and the Catholics, and why interpretations like this survive about a man who spent 12 weeks of his life in Ireland. (p. 42)

The textbook also tells a very interesting story about a painting in Stormont showing William's arrival in Ireland – which also includes the Pope in a prominent position giving his blessing to William. The most intriguing part is that this painting has been purchased by the Unionist government of Northern Ireland in the 1930s and that they removed it from its prominent location in Stormont after discovering that it does not support the narrative about William against the Catholics. Therefore, the textbook rightly warns schoolchildren from intents of sectarian interpretations:

To some Unionists living in the 1930s, this painting did not fit in with their ideas about William and the Pope. The painting was vandalised in 1933 by two visiting Glasgow councillors, one of whom threw red paint over it, while the other slashed the figure of the Pope. (p. 45)

In the quantitative analysis we have seen that the impact of the Glorious Revolution on Ireland and the following Williamite Wars are the second most frequently included event of the Anglo-Irish history in textbooks used in England: from 30 textbooks analysed, 27 mentioned it in some way, of which 23 in a certain level of detail.

However, given the many relevant aspects of the Glorious Revolution and the Williamite Wars which has to be considered in order to provide a balanced narrative of the Anglo-Irish history, it makes sense to analyse in more depth which of these aspects have been explained in textbooks used in England.

⁹¹ Beckett also explains that it was the Irish Parliament solely composed of Protestant members which effectively pushed for a vengeance against Catholics (Beckett, 1981, pp. 149, 151).

The most frequently included aspect is the Battle of the Boyne and its outcome: 27 textbooks mention this among the 29 textbooks considered for this analysis (93%)⁹². However, some of the textbooks seem to miss the fact that it was a battle between the armies of two men who wanted to be king of England and they position the event as a religious confrontation, forgetting to explain that many Catholics fought in William's army and also many Protestants in James': in *Stuart Britain and the Crisis of Monarchy 1603-1702* (A-level): 'the Battle of the Boyne was fought between the Jacobite-Catholic Irish and the Protestant William...' (Farr, 2015, p. 213) or in *Renaissance, Revolution and Reformation. Britain 1485-1750* (KS3): 'the English finally defeated the Irish army in 1691' (Wilkes A. , 2003 (2), p. 122). In this context it might not sound surprising, that only one textbook (4%, *Collins Living History: The Making of the United Kingdom 1500-1750*, KS3) adds the relevant information that the Pope supported William as both were against the French King Louis XIV: 'the Pope had quarrelled with the French and in fact supported William' (Culpin, 1992, p. 52). We have already seen with the example of the Northern Irish textbook *History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1500-1900* (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008, p. 45) that the Pope's support for a supposedly Protestant force in a supposedly religious conflict does not fit into the apparently favoured sectarian narrative, hence it would be highly beneficial if more textbooks explained this aspect of the conflict, in order to contest stereotypes.

The fact that James II fled to France in December 1688 is explained in 21 textbooks (72%) and his previous steps towards religious tolerance of Catholics – as the reason why he was forced to flee - in 18 textbooks (67%). Many textbooks detail his actions in favour of Catholics and add that his toleration of Catholics was against the law approved by Parliament, thus implying a moral disapproval of his deeds, even if they would be seen positively with our current moral standards. For instance, in *Living through History: the Making of the United Kingdom, Foundation Edition* (KS3): 'James II now allowed Catholics to join the army. This was against the law' (Reynoldson & Taylor, 1998, p. 70). *Foundation History: The Making of the United Kingdom* (KS3) also narrates

⁹² The 29 English textbooks considered in this analysis are composed of the 27 which were subject to the quantitative analysis and included the Williamite Wars in its narrative plus the 2 A-level textbooks specialised in Anglo-Irish history. Please also note that the number of textbooks subject to the analysis varied lightly for each question, because of textbooks whose focus was outside of the given time period but which mentioned some of the detailed events for background knowledge. Thus, the denominator for the analysis ranged between 27 and 30.

the same events, however, the following sentences clarify that his measures of toleration also benefitted Protestants:

James II let Catholics become officers in the army. This was against the law. Parliament refused to change the law. So James ended Parliament and ignored the law. This was good for Catholics. Some of the laws he made without Parliament were good for other groups too. He said everybody could worship God in their own way. This was good for Protestants. But they still didn't support him. (Kennedy, 1994, p. 48)

A long list of changes that empowered Catholics is also included in *Island story: Britain from the Tudors to Queen Anne* (KS3) as a complaint, however, some of the examples seem certainly less threatening today: '... more and more Catholics were admitted to the universities ... monks could be seen in the streets for the first time for many years ... James changed the law in order to free the Catholics from religious restrictions' (Larkin, 1984, p. 50), and one can assume that already in 1984 the text could be considered outdated by effectively complaining about religious toleration. *Making Sense of History 1509-1745* (KS3) seems to be more aligned with our moral judgement when narrating the events in a kind of cartoon where someone in Parliament defending James II's ideas appears to support religious toleration: 'should a law be made that all black men to be imprisoned, it would be unreasonable, and we have as little reason to quarrel with other men for being of different religious opinions' (Clare, Fisher, & Kennett, 2014, p. 90).

Of these 18 textbooks explaining religious toleration, 10 (37% of analysed textbooks) position James II's measures as if he wanted Catholics to rule England: in *A place in time Britain 1450-1700* (KS3): '...he started to make England into a Catholic country' (Kelly R. , 1990, p. 105), in *Discovering History: The Making of the United Kingdom* (KS3): 'to many, it looked as though James was plotting a Catholic take-over' (Hepplewhite & Tonge, 1992, p. 44), in *Island story. Britain from the Tudors to Queen Anne* (KS3): 'as king from 1685 to 1688 he was determined to make England a Roman Catholic country' (Larkin, 1984, p. 50) or in *Folens History: The making of the UK* (KS3): 'James believed he had a mission to restore the Catholic faith in England. He was prepared to fight a civil war to achieve it' (Allison & Brown, 1990, p. 44). The portrayal of the A-level textbook *Stuart Britain and the Crisis of Monarchy 1603-1702* also sees James' religious agenda as the main driving force, however one could argue that its narrative of blaming James II for 'destroying the balance of forces in Ireland' is outdated,

as the balance of forces before his reign were based on the expropriation of Catholics and the Cromwellian settlement⁹³. Therefore, it was more a subjugation (which needs to be ended) than a balanced situation that one should aim to preserve:

His ultimate aim was to improve the position of Catholics and give them power. Everything else can be seen as subservient or a means to achieve his religious goals. (Farr, 2015, p. 192)

James' policy of promoting Catholicisation destroyed the balance of forces in Ireland and made the situation even more fragile than was the norm. (p. 193)

A less biased view of James II's intentions is shown in *Discovering the making of the UK* (KS3), allowing for both interpretations of seeking a Catholic takeover or simply believing in religious toleration:

Opinions about James are divided. Some people think he was like Charles I, or even Mary Tudor. He wanted the Catholics to take over England. Given the chance he would have persecuted Protestants and got rid of Parliament. Others think he did in fact believe in religious toleration, but failed to make this clear and made some silly mistakes. (Shephard & Lomas, 1995, p. 70)

A Sense of History: The Making of the United Kingdom (KS3) explains James' intentions of promoting Catholicism, however it also clarifies that this was against the public opinion which did not want to allow religious toleration:

James believed that if the laws against Catholics were abolished, so that they could worship freely and hold government jobs, thousands of people would want to become Catholics again of their own free will. He did not understand that people still saw Catholics as enemies and that they feared the restoration of the Pope's authority. (Mason J. , 1991, p. 110)

16 textbooks (55%) include that James II landed in Ireland (in March 1689), some of them with a very Anglo-centric tone (in *A place in time Britain 1450-1700*, KS3): 'James II tried to get back his throne by attacking England's back door, Ireland' (Kelly R. , 1990, p. 106) or (in *Investigating History. Britain 1500-1750. Foundation Edition*, KS3) 'James tried to invade Ireland in 1689' (Clare J. D., 2004, p. 54), both of which fails to recognise that James did not really attack Ireland and that most people in Ireland had

⁹³ This logic is similar to what we will see in the Hungarian narrative of the nationalities during the dual monarchy: they were 'destroying the delicate balance' by demands for a confederation.

been supporting James throughout the crisis. Some other KS3 textbooks (*Key stages in History: The making of the United Kingdom* and *Living through History: the Making of the United Kingdom, Foundation Edition*) attribute the initiative to the Irish and James only provided ‘support’, which is also an incorrect representation of the events.

In Ireland, Catholics enjoyed freedom of worship under James II. They were also allowed their own parliament. They knew what the 1688 Revolution would mean for them so they, too, rose in revolt. In 1689 James landed in Ireland to help them, assisted by French troops. (Snellgrove, 1992, p. 87)

From France, James II went to Ireland. There he helped the Irish Catholics. (Reynoldson & Taylor, 1998, p. 74)

In reality, the interests of the majority of the Irish and of James II coincided and they acted together. Only 9 of the analysed textbooks (32%) recognise that the Irish continued to support James when the English Parliament proclaimed William and Mary.

The proclamation of William III and Mary II as King and Queen of England (in February 1689, crowned in April) is included in 18 textbooks (67%), although only 3 (11%) explain that before this the English Parliament declared the throne vacant (also in February 1689). The declaration of the throne as vacant should be a highly relevant part of the narrative as it represents the turning point in the legality of James II as king and as it can be argued that the declaration of Parliament was not legal (as the ‘constitution’ of England did not foresee such power for Parliament). In *Discovering History: The Making of the United Kingdom* (KS3): ‘but William had no right to be king. Parliament got round this by declaring that James deserved to lose the crown because he had ignored the laws of England’ (Hepplewhite & Tonge, 1992, p. 45). The fact that many people considered that due to the ‘divine right’ kings cannot be deposed – among them the Archbishop of Canterbury – and therefore William’s and Mary’s coronation ceremony was not performed by said archbishop, is not mentioned in any of the analysed textbooks used in England.

One of the most controversial aspects of the Glorious Revolution, the fact that William arrived with a large navy to England, therefore effectively invading her, is explained in about half of the analysed textbooks (14 or 52%). This is a lower number than the 18 textbooks (67%) which include the fact that William has been invited to take

over the throne. However, of the 14 mentions (that William arrived with a large fleet), only five provide an estimate for the size of the invading army, of which four are KS3 textbooks: 12,000 (Mason J. , 1992, p. 109), 15,000 (Aylett, 1992, p. 52) and 40,000⁹⁴. The fifth example is an A-level textbook (*Stuart Britain and the Crisis of the Monarchy 1603-1702*) which apart from establishing the initial number in 15,000 (plus others which arrived later) also clarifies that despite the invite from leading politicians, historians still consider William's arrival an invasion:

Although William of Orange was invited to England, historians refer to this event as an 'invasion'. William himself saw it as an invasion at the request of the Political Nation. He sent 463 ships and 15,000 men to England, which were followed by more Dutch and German troops in order to establish a visible presence in London. (Farr, 2015, p. 198)

A sixth textbook demonstrates the size of the enterprise by the number of ships: 300 (Larkin, 1984, p. 51). Of the 14 textbooks, 4 also include a painting of William's sizeable fleet, thus making clear to students it was not a friendly excursion.

The KS3 textbook *Early Modern Britain 1509-1760* discusses if the event was an invasion or a liberation: 'some historians claim it was an invasion, others claim it was a liberation, but all agree the events of 1688 changed England forever' (Peal, 2016, p. 63).

These examples stand in contrast with more obscure narratives that try to omit the role of a large army that forced the change of the monarch and thus try to emphasize the 'bloodless' character of the 'Glorious Revolution'. E.g. in *Collins History Key Stage 3, Book 1: 1066-1750*: 'in 1688 James II fled England and was replaced by William and Mary' (Sparey, Berry, Jackson, & Pearson, 2010, p. 178).

The myth of a 'bloodless revolution' is included in 10 textbooks (38%), for instance in *A place in time Britain 1450-1700* (KS3): 'it was a revolution without any fighting' (Kelly R. , 1990, p. 105), *Early Modern Britain 1509-1760* (KS3): 'it was "Glorious" because not a single drop of blood was shed in the process' (Peal, 2016, p. 63) or in *Renaissance, Revolution and Reformation. Britain 1485-1750* (KS3): 'there hadn't

⁹⁴ In *Making Sense of History 1509-1745*: 'on 5 November 1688, William landed at Torbay with a fleet of 463 ships and an army of 40,000 - an invasion twice the size of the Armada of 1588' (Clare, Fisher, & Kennett, 2014, p. 91) and in *Early Modern Britain 1509-1760*: 'in the autumn of 1688, William of Orange began assembling an enormous invasion force of 463 ships and 40 000 troops in Holland. On 5 November they landed off the coast of Devon (Peal, 2016, p. 62).

been actually any fighting but a revolution had taken place. Protestants called it the 'Glorious Revolution' (Wilkes A. , 2003 (2), p. 116). *A Sense of History: The Making of the United Kingdom* (KS3) praises the impact the 'Glorious Revolution' had on the four countries of the United Kingdom, however also believes that there were no battles or bloodshed, therefore omitting bloodshed in Ireland:

There was no battle and no bloodshed ... These extraordinary events became known as the 'Glorious Revolution' and they probably had more effect on the government of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland than all the years of the Civil War and Republic. (Mason J. , 1992, p. 109)

On the other hand, *Collins Living History: The Making of the United Kingdom 1500-1750* (KS3) contradicts the theory of the bloodless revolution by explaining that the battles effectively took place in Ireland. This is the only textbook that highlights this incorrectness in the myth of the 'Glorious Revolution':

The extraordinary events of 1688 and 1689 have been called the 'Bloodless Revolution' or the 'Glorious Revolution'. Are these good names for what happened? The take over of the throne by William and Mary was bloodless in England, Wales and Scotland, but not, as we shall see, in Ireland. (Culpin, 1992, p. 48)

The story of Londonderry is told in 10 textbooks (34%), all them explain the siege, some of them very visually (thus highlighting the suffering of Protestants at hands of James II's army), while only three (11%) mention the closing of the city gates by the apprentice boys back in December 1688 (thus when James was still the rightful king).

The final peace treaty, of Limerick, which included favourable terms to Catholics, is included only in five textbooks (17%)⁹⁵, and also five textbooks (17%) mention that the terms of treaty had not been respected⁹⁶. However, 20 textbooks (67%) explain the existence of the resulting Penal Laws (to be analysed in the next section)⁹⁷.

⁹⁵ For instance, in *Island Story: Britain from the Tudors to Queen Anne* (KS3): 'the Irish held out in Limerick until William III promised them a fair peace. By the Treaty of Limerick of 1691 they were given some freedom of worship and the right to keep their lands' (Larkin, 1984, p. 65)

⁹⁶ E.g. in *Key stages in History: The making of the United Kingdom* (KS3): 'the treaty was not kept' (Snellgrove, 1992, p. 88)

⁹⁷ The difference with the number included in the quantitative analysis (17) comes from three textbooks that are dedicated to the Anglo-Irish history and which therefore have not been considered in the quantitative analysis.

Among the textbooks dealing with the Glorious Revolution the majority, 16 (59%), provide a neutral narrative about who should be considered the rightful king, 9 (33%) see William, none James and 2 textbooks (7%) believe that both kings had valid claims to the throne. As I believe that this latter interpretation is probably the most correct one, it makes sense to reproduce their views, in order to compare them with other narratives:

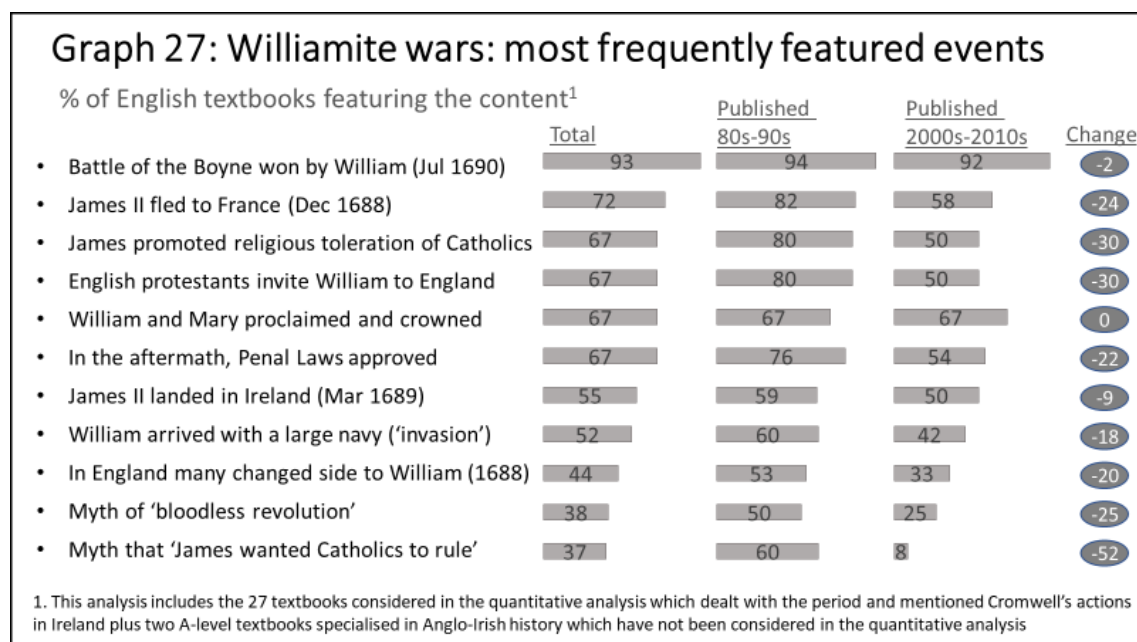
This declaration [the Declaration of Rights] was very much a compromise document that was left deliberately ambiguous in terms of the constitutional implications of James' removal. There was no statement that James had been deposed or that he had broken a contract. Similarly, William and Mary were not referred to as 'rightful' or 'lawful heirs'. This meant that those who wished to regard William and Mary as de facto monarchs or monarchs by conquest could recognise them as rulers without denying that James was in law still king. (Farr, 2015, p. 200) (in *Stuart Britain and the Crisis of Monarchy 1603-1702*, A-level)

Source A. That Ireland is a distinct realm. How can the Irish at all be truly deemed rebels to the Prince of Orange, by rising for King James the second against the said Prince, created king by the people of England? Was not James the second acknowledged the lawful king of the three kingdoms and as such did he not reign four years? What should then oblige the people of Ireland to disown him, their lawful sovereign, for the rest of his life? But you'll say that England, the principal kingdom of the monarchy, ought to be followed by Ireland in owning or disowning the kings of that monarchy. We answer thus; the behaviour herein of the people of England is no rule to Ireland, a distinct realm, a different nation, having different laws and a Parliament of her own. (A Jacobite narrative of the war in Ireland). (Maltman & Dawson, 1992, p. 55) (in *Key stage 3 Oxford history study units: The making of the United Kingdom*)

Among the more one-sided narratives (in favour of William) we can find those that refer to what happened in Ireland as a rebellion: (in *Discovering History: The Making of the United Kingdom*, KS3) '1689: Rebellion in Ireland led by King James II' (Hepplewhite & Tonge, 1992, p. 48), (in *Making Sense of History 1509-1745*, KS3) 'the Jacobite Rebellion of 1689 was finally defeated by William of Orange of the Battle of the Boyne (1690)' (Clare, Fisher, & Kennett, 2014, p. 117) or (in *Early Modern Britain 1509-1760*, KS3) 'James II ... launched a rebellion from Ireland' (Peal, 2016, p. 63).

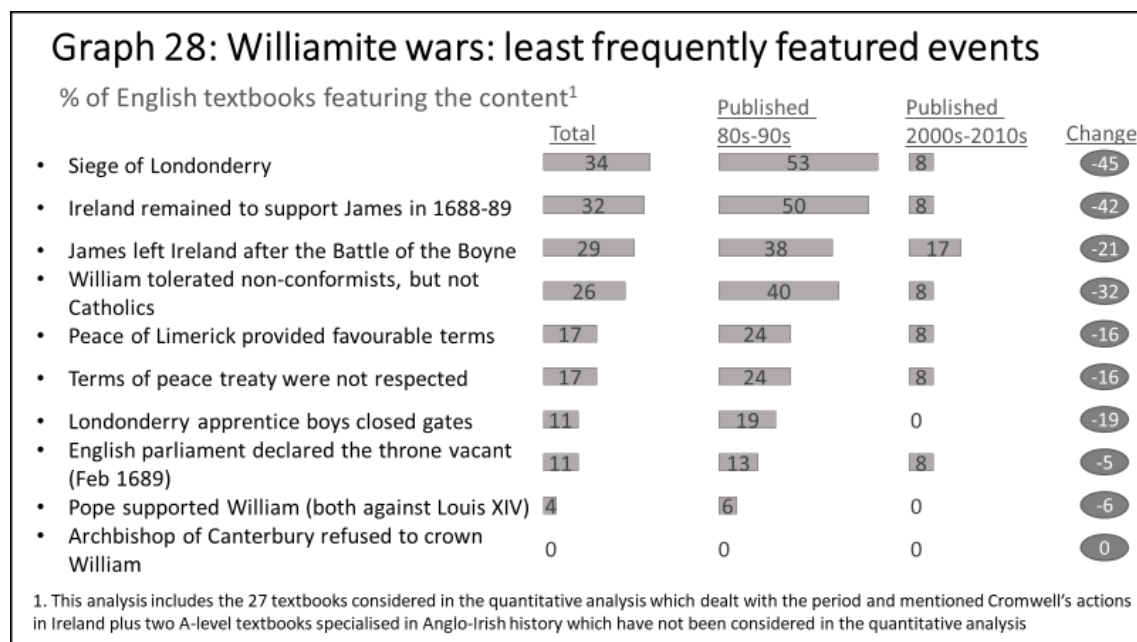
Similarly to the analysis of the Cromwellian Conquest, the available sample size allows us also in this case to identify two separate groups of English textbooks: those published in the 80s (2) and 90s (15) against those published in the 2000s (4) and 2010s (8) and to evaluate if and how the narrative of the Williamite Wars changed over time. Graphs 27 and 28 show 21 different features that have been analysed and its evaluation between the last two decades of the 20th century and the first two decades of the 21st century. What we can observe first, is a general reduction in the level of detailed included in the narrative of the Williamite Wars: across the 21 features the average ratio in inclusion was 49% in the 80s and 90s and it became 28% in the 2000s and 2010s.

Graph 27 includes the most frequently mentioned features, amongst which we can observe a similar level of reduction across most points, with the exception of the outcome of the Battle of the Boyne (94 vs 92%), the proclamation of William and Mary (67% in both periods) and the landing of James II in Ireland in March 1689 (59% vs 50%). The largest reduction was in the inclusion of the myth that ‘James wanted Catholics to rule’: while 60% of textbooks explained this in the 80s and 90s, only 8% in the following two decades.



Graph 28 includes the least frequently mentioned events of the Williamite Wars. Among them, the largest change happened in the storytelling to the siege of Londonderry (despite of what Beckett explains, that it was crucial for the outcome of the war (1981, p. 143)). Similarly, the fact that Ireland remained to support James in 1688-89 was still

included in half of the textbooks in the 80s and 90s and it became only 8% in the 2000s and 2010s.



In terms of the narrative of who was the rightful king (not shown in *Graphs 27* and 28), the share of textbooks only depicting William III as the rightful king increased from 27% in the 80s and 90s to 42% in the 2000s and 2010s, while at the same time the proportion of those which were unspecific about the correctness of both claims to the throne decreased from 67% to 50%.

In a summary, Northern Irish textbooks are once again the most detailed and less biased about the narrative of a relevant event of the joint Anglo-Irish history, however, we can see significant differences by publisher. Irish textbooks frequently omit any mention of this highly relevant event of Anglo-Irish history and English textbooks often portray the events from an exclusively English perspective, forgetting about the impacts on Ireland and positioning the Irish as rebellious. Moreover, the level of detail by which the events are narrated in English textbooks became much more superficial in textbooks published in the 21st century.

5.5 Penal Laws

Key conclusions:

- **Half of textbooks used in England dealing with the relevant period do not mention the Penal Laws and those which do on average only include 5 different types of prohibitions Catholics faced in Ireland. The most frequently mentioned limitations are related to exercising specific professions (official jobs, soldiers, members of parliament, lawyers, schoolteachers) or to vote in elections. The economically most damaging restrictions, related to landholding, both in terms of buying land or the rules related to Catholic inheritance, are explained in 5 textbooks, or 25% of those that mention the Penal Laws.**
- **British textbooks sometimes try to smoothen the representation of the Penal Laws by insisting that either they had not been consequently enforced or that they had been ‘quickly’ (after nearly a century) repealed. The anti-Catholic riots in London that followed the first repeal law are only mentioned in one of the textbooks.**
- **The two analysed Northern Irish KS3 textbook series represent different views of the Penal Laws: one illustrates its narrative with a few examples and insists that the impact was similar for both Catholics and Presbyterians, while the other series provides a more detailed account, highlighting the differences in the prohibitions between the two communities.**
- **Irish Junior Certificate textbooks are less specific about the Penal Laws than it might be expected: the number of restrictions mentioned ranges from 2 to 11 and the impact in land ownership is focused on the conclusion of the Plantations. However, three out of four books explain that both Catholics and Presbyterians have been impacted.**

One of the most surprising aspects of British rule in Ireland is the imposition of the so-called Penal Laws. These were laws that during the 18th century discriminated against Catholics and to a much lesser extent against Non-Conformist (non-Anglican) Protestants (e.g. Presbyterians) (Beckett, 1981, pp. 151-152, 157-161). How much is

written about the content of these laws could have a deep impact on a student's understanding of Irish history.

As we have seen in *Chapter 4*, the coverage of the Penal Laws is quite limited in textbooks used in England: only six explain in a bit of detail what they consisted of, six partially and five in a very limited manner, while 18 of the 37 books (51%) dealing with the relevant period do not mention at all this form of serious discrimination in political and property rights and religious freedom.

A more detailed analysis of the Penal Laws also shows that students only learn a decaffeinated version of their history: even the six books treating the question in a more detailed form are quite short in their description, however, considering that these books are for Key Stage 3, they could be considered to be a reasonable depth of information. The first example is the most thorough, explaining 12 different types of restrictions Catholics faced. The following examples include between 6 and 10 different prohibitions. Interestingly, the first four examples are from KS3 textbooks from 1992, where – as we have seen earlier – under a title similar to ‘Making of the United Kingdom’, a specific chapter has been dedicated to ‘How united was the UK’. From the two remaining examples, the first one, from 2003, is a textbook published by Folens Publishers UK, a company headquartered in Ireland:

- *Oxford History Study Units: The making of the United Kingdom (KS3):*

The Penal Laws. After Catholics supported James II at the Battle of the Boyne, special laws were passed to prevent another Catholic revival. They were known as the Penal Laws.

Source O. - No Catholic may buy land. – On his death a Catholic's land is to be split into equal shares among his sons, but if one of the sons, even the youngest becomes a Protestant, he will get all the land. – No Catholic may vote in an election. – No Catholic may be a teacher, lawyer, policeman, soldier, sailor or gamekeeper. – No Catholic may own a horse worth more than £5. – Catholic priests, if caught, are to be branded on the cheek with a large P. (A summary of the Penal Laws)

Source P. Under the Penal Laws no Catholic could own a horse worth more than £5, and if a Protestant saw him with one he was allowed by law to stop him on the road, pay him £5 for it and leave him to walk. At Mullingar [a town in the middle of Ireland], on the Dublin road, a Catholic gentleman's carriage and pair [two horses] was stopped one day by a Protestant who held £10 in his hand. The Catholic got out of his carriage, with a pistol in each hand, and shot both horses dead. (David Thompson, Woodbrook

(this book is an account of a Catholic family which had lost its lands)) (Maltman & Dawson, 1992, p. 64)

- *Discovering History: The Making of the United Kingdom (KS3):*

Their situation was made worse by a series of anti-Catholic laws. Catholics were not allowed to vote or to have jobs in government. It was forbidden to hold Catholic services or open Catholic schools. Catholics were not allowed to own land, to wear a sword (the mark of a gentleman), or to speak the Gaelic language. (Hepplewhite & Tonge, 1992, p. 58)

- *Past Historic: The Making of the United Kingdom 1500-1750 (KS3):*

In the years after the Battle of the Boyne, the English Parliament passed a number of laws against Catholics. These pictures show how they affected Catholics' lives. Catholics could not... ..have Catholic schools ... hold government jobs ... be an M.P. or vote in elections ... be a lawyer or a soldier, wear a sword (the mark of a gentleman), or own a horse worth more than £5. (Aylett, 1992, p. 57)

- *Collins Living History: The Making of the United Kingdom 1500-1750 (KS3):*

The Protestant victory. After William's victory the Protestants in Ireland made sure their control was complete. Roman Catholics were banned from Parliament, the law, university and the navy. They could not vote, run a school, or own a horse worth more than £5. Roman Catholic bishops were banished and could be hanged, drawn and quartered if they returned. Only a few registered priests were allowed. Roman Catholics found it difficult to inherit land... (Culpin, 1992, pp. 52-53)

- *Renaissance, Revolution and Reformation. Britain 1485-1750 (KS3):*

English Protestants – although making up only 25% of the population – owned 97% of the land ...

Irish Catholics CANNOT: Be lawyers, teachers or soldiers, Own horses worth over £5, Hold a government job, Wear a sword, Be a Member of Parliament or vote in elections, By Order of the English Parliament (Wilkes A. , 2003 (2), p. 122)

- *Making Sense of History 1509-1745 (KS3):*

Catholics were hit by the penal laws – they could not own a horse worth more than £5, marry a Protestant, teach, vote or hold public office. Catholic priests were forced to leave Ireland. (Clare, Fisher, & Kennett, 2014, p. 117)

The three English A-level textbooks which focus on the shared Anglo-Irish history of the long 19th century (and therefore which have not been included in the qualitative analysis) naturally explain the existence of Penal Laws. *Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923* includes 10 different types of restrictions (Adelman & Byrne, 2016, pp. 14-15), *Paper 3: Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923* mentions 9 types of prohibitions (Kidson, 2016, pp. 64-65) and *Britain 1815-1895 and Ireland 1798-1922* (which therefore starts the analysed period after most of the Penal Laws have been eliminated) explains 3 limitations Catholics faced (Murphy, Walsh-Atkins, & Whiskerd, 2008, p. 180).

A transversal analysis of the 17 textbooks that mentioned the Penal Laws in the quantitative analysis plus of these 3 more specialised A-level textbooks shows that among the 20 textbooks the most frequently mentioned restrictions are the access to official jobs (11 mentions) and the lack of right to vote in elections (also 11). The prohibition of becoming an MP is included in 10 textbooks and of a soldier, also in 10. In a clear sign that the restrictions to work in specific professions is the most frequently explained content of the Penal Laws, the ban on becoming a lawyer is included in 7 textbooks and for schoolteachers also in 7. Prohibition of Catholic schools is featured in 6 books, also the limitation not to own horses worth of more than £5. Although during the 18th century the economy was still mostly based on land ownership and therefore probably – in economic terms – the most impactful limitation was the prohibition for Catholics to buy land⁹⁸, it is only included in 5 textbooks (or 25% of the 20 textbooks in scope of this particular analysis). A related rule, that Catholics had to divide land on death, but if one son became Protestant he got all land is mentioned in 5 books. The limitations on marrying a Protestant is included in 4 books, the ban on Catholic services / mass in 3, that only a few registered priests were allowed in 3, the ban on going to university in 2. Protestants' right to buy off any horse from a Catholic for £5 is mentioned in one textbook, the same number which explains the limits on speaking Gaelic, banishment of bishops or death penalty for Catholic proselytism.

⁹⁸ 'Under pressure from English merchants and manufacturers the British parliament had so restricted Irish trade that initiative and enterprise were discouraged; and agriculture, always the major element in the Irish economy, was almost the only remaining source of income. In these circumstances, the landlords had a virtual monopoly of means of livelihood; and much depended on the use they made of it.' (Beckett, 1981, p. 168)

None of these 20 textbooks however include the prohibitions that Catholics could not become legal guardians of children under age and could not travel abroad for educational purposes (Beckett, 1981, pp. 158-159).

In terms of temporary evolution, comparing textbooks published in the 80s-90s with those published in the 2000s-2010s, shows a relatively stable picture: the number of prohibitions included in textbooks even slightly increased from an average of 5 to 5.7.

As the above numbers imply, textbooks with partial coverage of the Penal Laws are even less specific about the types of discrimination suffered by Irish Catholics. For example, two A-level books mention only two or three types of prohibitions, KS3 textbooks include 4 to 5 types of prohibitions:

- *A place in time Britain 1450-1700* (KS3):

Irish Catholics could not – be lawyers, soldiers or MPs, - send their children to Catholic schools, - use church buildings – Protestants took them. (Kelly R. , 1990, p. 107)

- *Key stages in History: The making of the United Kingdom* (KS3):

During the eighteenth century, Catholics continued to be barred from official jobs and from being MPs, lawyers and army officers. In some cases they were even stopped from being schoolteachers and craftsmen. In England, such restrictions affected only a small part of the population. But in Ireland they affected the great majority. The results of such unfairness are still with us today. (Snellgrove, 1992, p. 88)

- *Foundation History: The Making of the United Kingdom* (KS3):

Laws against Catholics. The Protestant settlers brought in more laws against Irish Catholics. The laws would help to get rid of any Irish people who might lead a rebellion. Some Catholics went to France. Other Catholics became very poor. Some Catholics became Protestants. The Protestants ended up owning nearly all the land.

Laws against Irish Catholics. A Catholic could not: 1. Vote or to be an MP. 2. Go to university. 3. Be a teacher. 4. Be a soldier. (Kennedy, 1994, p. 53)

- *Living through History: The Making of the United Kingdom* (KS3, Extended edition):

In the following years, Catholics were treated very harshly. They were forbidden to go to Mass, attend Catholic schools, vote or hold government jobs. The Protestant English were in control. Ireland was a conquered land. (Kelly, Rees, & Shuter, 1998 (2), p. 75)

- *Stuart Britain and the Crisis of the Monarchy 1603-1702 (A-level):*

Despite the promise of concessions in the Treaty of Limerick of 1691, after William's victory, toleration for Catholics was not on the agenda. Instead, the Irish and English parliaments, through a variety of measures, established a penal code that restricted opportunities for Catholics in both Ireland and England. (Farr, 2015, pp. 213-214)

All MPs in the Irish Parliament had to take an oath denying key Catholic beliefs and that the Pope had any power to depose a monarch. The Irish Parliament passed various anti-Catholic laws that stipulated that no Catholic could run a school, no Catholic could keep weapons and (in the Marriage Act of 1697) that any Protestant who married a Catholic would be regarded as a Catholic. (p. 228)

- *Britain 1815-1867 (A-level):*

Subsequent legislation, the Penal Laws, discriminated against Catholics ... although this was applied with varying degrees of severity ... Primogeniture was abolished for Catholics, so many holdings they kept were badly fragmented. Persecution became so intense that Catholics were banned from owning horses worth more than £5. (Catterall, 1994 (1), p. 60)

The last example is also remarkable in the sense that it explains that 'this was applied with varying degrees of severity'. English historiography sometimes highlights this affirmation as a kind of excuse for having approved such legislation. Even the dedicated A-level textbook *Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923* writes that 'Catholics did, in practice, possess religious toleration, but the penal code impeded their right to a Catholic education and forced a number of their clergy to emigrate' (Adelman & Byrne, 2016, p. 15). Well, we will see that the economic impact of the Penal Laws was certainly more severe than the lack of Catholic education...

Another sometimes used argument is that these laws were 'quickly' repealed. The beforementioned *Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923* states that 'however, over the course of the eighteenth century almost all penal laws were gradually repealed at different times, for example, the ban on intermarriage was repealed in 1778' (Adelman & Byrne, 2016, p. 15). As the different prohibitions were removed in 1778, 1782, 1792 and 1793 (and the 'final' one, to be able to become a member of parliament, in 1829) (Beckett, 1981, pp. 214, 230, 248-251), one can unfortunately confirm that most of these

rules of discrimination existed for nearly a century! Another prominent example, the 382 pages of *The Oxford illustrated history of Ireland* (not a textbook itself) do not describe the actual content of the Penal Laws (the word ‘penal’ is not even mentioned), however, the following text can be found, from which some of the actual limitations can be deducted, however the emphasis is on the ineffectiveness of the limitations, both because they were not enforced or repealed:

Thus, despite the letter of the law, Catholic religious communities existed in surprising numbers during the first half of the eighteenth century, and masses were being said without interference from an early stage; there is evidence of decent urban churches being built by the 1720s. Priests were being trained in Irish seminaries by the 1750s; by the 1790s Catholics could buy and sell land, and educational restrictions have been repealed. The right to marry Protestants, practise at the bar, and vote followed in 1792-3. (Foster, 1989, p. 165)

The real motivations behind the repeal of the Penal Laws might have been more pragmatic than an enlightened British government wishing to end discrimination and they seem to be related to its desire to win support among the Irish Catholics against America and France and to counterbalance the growing power of the Irish Protestant independence movement (Beckett, 1981, pp. 206-214). In words of the A-level textbook *Paper 3: Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923*:

The intention of the Act [of 1778] was to encourage positive feeling towards the British government during a time when that government felt threatened. It was also hoped that by granting more rights to Irish Catholics they would support Britain in the war against France and America – and even enlist in the army. In this sense, the motivation for the passage of the first Relief Act was less a principled determination to improve the conditions of Irish Catholics, and more about securing Ireland for the empire and expanding the size of the British army during a time of war. (Kidson, 2016, p. 67)

Catholic Relief, 1782 (...) Just like the first Act, it was motivated by British security and sought to retain the support of Irish Catholics - this time to gain support in Ireland and to therefore isolate the newly created Irish Volunteers, who were calling for enhanced legislative powers for the Dublin parliament. (p. 68)

The pattern that seems to emerge when considering the timing of Britain's attempts to restore Catholic rights is very stark: relief is offered only when there is a perception of wider threat. Although the passage of the two Acts already could suggest that further reforms were more acceptable, given that Irish Catholics had not represented any significant danger in the wake of reform, in actual fact the strength of anti-

Catholicism remained very high. For example, two years after the 1778 Catholic Relief Act was passed, the violent anti-Catholic Gordon riots took place in London which saw 700 people killed. Given this level of antipathy among the general British population, it is perhaps more reasonable to suggest that their elected representatives were more compelled to introduce relief legislation for other motives. (p. 68)

The last sentences relating to the Gordon riots are the only example among the analysed textbooks that mention this extraordinary level of violent hatred against Catholics in Britain at the end of the 18th century.

The five textbooks which explain the Penal Laws in a very limited manner either do not specifically mention any of the prohibitions or only name a couple of them:

- *Unity and Conflict (KS3):*

William treated the Catholics harshly. New laws were passed limiting their freedom (Buxton, 1993, p. 44)

- *Britain in the Modern World (GCSE):*

1697-1727 Protestants made laws to ensure that Catholics were kept out of political power in Ireland. (Cloake, 1994, p. 34)

- *Collins Key Stage 3 History, Book 2: 1750-1918 (KS3):*

The English parliament passed penal laws against the Catholics in Ireland: for example, no Catholics could be lawyers. (Murphy, Gosling, & Martin, 2010, p. 90)

- *Living through History: The Making of the United Kingdom (KS3, Foundation edition):*

The English stopped the Catholics from voting or having jobs in the government. Ireland was under the control of English Protestants. It was a conquered land. (Reynoldson & Taylor, 1998, p. 75)

- *A Sense of History: The making of the United Kingdom (KS3):*

After 1690 the Protestants stopped Catholics from sitting in the Irish Parliament and passed laws to prevent them holding any form of office or military post. They also passed laws to take away the freedom of Catholics to worship... (Mason J. , 1992, p. 125)

However, the main concern remains that 51% of all analysed textbooks used in England does not include any content about the approval and application of the Penal

Laws in 18th century Ireland. The omission of the existence of this legislation or of its depth, is quite astonishing when considering that these were imposed in Europe for people whose only ‘sin’ was to profess a different version of Christianity and when in parallel the English king complained to the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire for more rights for its Protestant citizens in Hungary and Silesia (Beckett, 1981, p. 157). As *Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923* explains, the impact of the Penal Laws was severe in making Irish Catholics ‘second-class citizens’:

The downfall of the Catholic cause in Ireland was followed in the eighteenth century by the establishment of the ‘Protestant Ascendancy’. This was based on the Anglican Church of Ireland members’ land ownership and political and religious domination, which lasted until well into the nineteenth century. The Catholic majority became second-class citizens. Ireland was governed directly from England, and the powers of the Irish parliament were severely limited. (Adelman & Byrne, 2016, p. 5)

We have also seen in *Chapter 4* that only 10 textbooks used in England - 31% of those dealing with the period - explain the result of the Penal Laws and of the Plantations in terms of land ownership: only about 5% of the land in Ireland belonged to Catholics by the end of the 18th century. The 3 A-level textbooks specialised in Anglo-Irish history (not belonging to the scope of *Chapter 4*) also include this important fact. This impact of the Penal Laws is an important aspect of the analysis, as Beckett explains: ‘the essential purpose of the penal laws ... was not to destroy Roman Catholicism, but to make sure that its adherents were kept in a position of social, economic and political inferiority’ (Beckett, 1981, p. 159).

The figures presented by the textbooks diverge slightly (although the overwhelming conclusion remains the same) and 4 of the 13 books (the 10 identified in *Chapter 4* plus the 3 specialised in Anglo-Irish history) only visualise the changes in land ownership until the early 18th century (therefore until the time the Penal Laws had been approved): *A place in time Britain 1450-1700* (KS3) mentions that the ‘percentage of land owned by Irish Catholics’ was 1640: 59%, 1658: 22%, 1714: 7%’ (Kelly R. , 1990, p. 107) and *A Sense of History: The Making of the United Kingdom* (KS3) includes a graph which shows the following numbers for ‘changes in the amount of land owned by Catholics and Protestants, 1641-1703’: 1641: Protestants 41%, Catholics 59%. 1688: Protestants 78%, Catholics 22%. 1703: Protestants: 86%, Catholics 14% (Mason J. , 1992,

p. 124). Also referring to the same time period, but without explaining the evolution over time, *Making Sense of History 1509-1745* (KS3) confirms that ‘by 1703, Irish Catholics owned less than 15 per cent of the land in Ireland’ (Clare, Fisher, & Kennett, 2014, p. 117). Also *Stuart Britain and the Crisis of Monarchy 1603-1702* (A-level) explains that ‘by 1702, while making up only 20 per cent of the population, the Protestants in Ireland owned 86 per cent of the land’ (Farr, 2015, p. 228).

Three textbooks show the temporary evolution of Catholic land ownership up to the mid- or late 18th century: *Past Historic: The Making of the United Kingdom 1500-1750* (KS3) features a graph showing ‘land ownership’, with the approximate values of 10% Protestant in 1603, 80% around 1680 and c.93% in 1750 (Aylett, 1992, p. 56). *Collins Living History: The Making of the United Kingdom 1500-1750* (KS3) explains that ‘Roman Catholics found it difficult to inherit land and the amount they had fell to 14% by 1703, 5% by 1776’ (Culpin, 1992, p. 53) and *Britain 1851-1867* (A-level) dedicates a paragraph to the evolution:

In 1610, Catholics held two-thirds of the land; by 1690, Protestants held almost 80% of the land as a result of the conquests of Cromwell in the 1640s and the defeat of James II in 1690. Subsequent legislation, the Penal Laws, discriminated against Catholics and ... their share of the land had fallen to 7% by 1750. (Catterall, 1994 (1), p. 60)

Five textbooks do not explain the temporary evolution, however explain the resulting situation by the end of the 18th century: *Renaissance, Revolution and Reformation. Britain 1485-1750* (KS3) summarises the impact as ‘English Protestants - although making up only 25% of the population - owned 97% of the land’ (Wilkes A. , 2003 (2), p. 122), *Collins History Key Stage 3 Book 2: 1750-1918* in a similar way concludes that ‘by the end of the seventeenth century, only five per cent of Irish land was owned by Catholics. Credit: www.irelandstory.com’ (Murphy, Gosling, & Martin, 2010, p. 90), also *Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923* (A-level, specialised in Anglo-Irish history) explains that ‘by the mid-eighteenth century, Catholics owned only about five per cent of the land, at a time when they formed about 75 per cent of the population’ (Adelman & Byrne, 2016, p. 15) and *Britain 1815-1895 and Ireland 1798-1922* sentences that ‘they [Protestants] owned 95% of the land’ (Murphy, Walsh-Atkins, & Whiskerd, 2008, p. 180). Among the English A-level textbooks specialised in Anglo-Irish history a particularly good summary can be found in *Paper 3: Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923*, which explains the economic relevance of the Penal Laws:

This ensured that Protestants retained the majority of land holdings, approximately 95 percent, and many Catholics consequently became tenant upon the land that 150 years before had been their own. By controlling landownership in particular, the Penal Laws were singly important in promoting a widening gulf between the religions in Ireland because land was the main source of power and prosperity. By handing that over to one community, it ensured the opportunity for exploitation and long-term resentment amongst the haves and have-nots. (Kidson, 2016, p. 66)

Finally one textbook only refers to the impact in unquantified terms: *Foundation History: The Making of the United Kingdom* (KS3) concludes that ‘the Protestants ended up owning nearly all the land’ (Kennedy, 1994, p. 53).

Another relevant economic impact of the Penal Laws was the formation of very small Catholic landholdings, which in the 19th century contributed to potato monoculture, in end-effect resulting in the tragic Great Famine of the 1840s – this has not directly been mentioned in any of the English textbooks.

Northern Irish textbooks naturally explain the Penal Laws; however, the contents are sometimes misleading. Let us compare 2 different KS3 textbooks from Northern Ireland:

History for NI Key Stage 3, Ireland 1500-1900 (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008):

In 1691, the Penal Laws were passed in Ireland against two groups of people who did not attend the new Protestant Church - the Catholics and Presbyterians. These laws prevented them from certain jobs, having the vote and owning land. These laws eventually helped to create a new ruling group in Ireland known as the Protestant Ascendancy. (p. 11)

These laws prevented Catholics from practising their religion and from having a say in who ran the country. (p. 43)

Source 2. During the period of the Penal Laws in Ireland, the ruling class became Protestant. They were the only people who could sit in parliament, but they were only 10 per cent of the 5 million population in Ireland at that time ... Modern history textbook: The Protestant Ascendancy’ (p. 46)

History in close-up: The age of discovery (Hodge, 2011, p. 116):

The Penal Laws. This is the name given to a series of laws passed after 1691, mainly by the Irish Parliament. These laws had two main purposes:

(a) To exclude all those who remained Catholic from:

(i) the right to carry arms (weapons)

(ii) all professions except the medical

(iii) political power at local and national level

(iv) the possession of landed property except in a short-term leasehold basis

(v) all education except that which endeavoured to convert them to Protestantism

(vi) owning a horse worth more than £ 5

(b) By means of these laws, to encourage Irish Catholics, especially the landowning class, to convert to the Protestant religion.

Some Catholics did change their religion to avoid penalties, though most remained Catholic. Similar laws were applied in England, but as Catholics were in a minority there, these laws had only limited effect.

After 1728 Catholics were not allowed to vote at elections. If a son became a Protestant, he automatically became the owner of his Catholic father's estate, even if his father was still alive.

Catholics were not the only religious group to suffer. Presbyterians discovered that they were also to be denied many rights. Their ministers could preach freely but could not perform marriage ceremonies. In 1704 Presbyterians were also banned from town councils and from holding other official positions.

The first text includes five different types of discrimination, some of them formulated more vaguely. The second text includes eight types of prohibitions. Someone reading the second text will have a deeper understanding of what happened, what impact it caused and that the impact was different for Catholics and for Non-Conformists, especially in terms of land ownership⁹⁹. Claiming – as the first text does – that both Catholics and Presbyterians were equal victims, in the current environment of Northern Ireland, where the population mostly consists of Catholics and Presbyterian (and not Anglicans), can lead to the perception that Catholics were not worse off and therefore their narrative of being discriminated against after William III's victory is a false victimhood. One could even conclude that the first example must have been written for a different public compared to the second example which caters for both Catholic and

⁹⁹ In Beckett's words: 'An act of 1704, which remained in force until 1778, forbade Roman Catholics, who formed the great bulk of tenantry, to hold a lease of more than thirty-one years...' (Beckett, 1981, p. 173) It is unlikely that the protestants ever formed more than about half the total population of the province [of Ulster] ... Thus the mummbling effect of the penal laws was less widely felt in Ulster than elsewhere, and there was some continuity of feeling between landlord and tenant.' (p. 179)

Presbyterian sensitivities. In a sign that the difference between the two narratives is based on different editorial concepts (Hodder vs. Colourpoint), the textbook which follows the second example in its series, *History in Close-Up: Union and Partition*, also includes a very similar text in its summary of the situation in the late-18th century Ireland (although without mentioning the detailed list of prohibitions, only highlighting two specific limitations) (Rees, Hodge, Johnston, & Turner Johnston, 2012, p. 51), while the follow-up textbook of the first example, *History for NI Key Stage 3: A Study after 1900*, reproduces a significantly shorter summary (although mentioning 4 types of restrictions). However, at least this second textbook from Hodder does not repeat the conviction that the Penal Laws impacted Catholics and Presbyterians in a similar way:

1700s-1800s: While William of Orange was fighting in Europe he passed the Penal Laws to keep Catholics in Ireland under control. These laws restricted movements of Catholics and prevented them from buying a gun, owning property, buying land or becoming an MP. These laws lasted until well into the nineteenth century. (Dean, Kelly, & Taggart, 2009, p. 66)

Regarding the evolution of the land ownership, the first example (*History for NI Key Stage 3, Ireland 1500-1900*) does not include in its main text any reference, only a separate source material, which therefore could be open to interpretations: ‘Source 2 ... They [Protestants] also controlled 95 per cent of the land. Modern history textbook: The Protestant Ascendancy’ (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008, p. 46).

The second example (*History in close-up: The age of discovery*) includes a graph ‘showing lands owned by Catholics in 1641, 1660 and 1703’ and its main text states that ‘the amount of land owned by Catholics in Ireland declined from about 60% to less than 10% after the Cromwellian settlement’ (Hodge, 2011, p. 96), however, we cannot see any reference to the worsening during the Penal Laws era.

Irish junior certificate textbooks are relatively unspecific when describing the Penal Laws. The number of restrictions explained varies between two and eleven, only one of the textbooks includes a mention relative to the change of land ownership as a consequence (other textbooks only narrate the transfer of land due to the Plantations), however, 3 out of 4 textbooks clarify that also Presbyterians were impacted, even if to a different extent.

Discovering History details eleven different types of restrictions for Catholics within its chapter dealing with the causes of the 1798 revolution (although some of them is questionable, e.g. there was no total prohibition for priests to stay in Ireland; the limitation related to obtaining education to become a priest at home or abroad and also the number of priests was limited) and the author also explains the impact in terms of land ownership. The narrative regarding Presbyterians highlights that they also faced restrictions, although not all that Catholics had to endure:

During the beginning of the 1700s the Penal Laws were introduced to protect the Protestants in power – Anglicans ... These Penal Laws stated that: 1. No Catholic could build or attend schools or churches. 2. No Catholic priests, bishops or religious orders were allowed to stay in Ireland. 3. No Catholic could buy land from a Protestant and any Catholic land that was inherited had to be ‘subdivided’ among all the sons, making the size of the farms too small to be viable. However, if one of the sons converted to Anglicanism they could inherit the whole farm. This meant that by the last quarter of the eighteenth century Catholic land-ownership had fallen to around 5%. 4. No Catholic was allowed to become a solicitor, barrister or judge. 5. All Catholics had to pay a tithe (10% of their earnings) to the Anglican Church.

These laws, alongside a ban on Catholics living in towns, meant that the Catholic population in Ireland became even poorer. As each farm was subdivided among sons, the plots of land became smaller and so families were forced to rely on subsistence farming (to grow enough food only to feed your family to survive). Most Catholics by the middle of the 1700s were poor, agrarian (rural farmers dependent on agriculture to survive), persecuted and uneducated.

... The Presbyterians, or Dissenters as they were called (as they ‘dissented’ against the Anglican Church), were not Anglican and so were forced to pay tithes to the Church of Ireland and were barred from being elected to Parliament and holding positions of power. This sectarian persecution began to annoy many Presbyterians. (McCaughey, c2009, pp. 244-245)

The Past Today includes seven different types of restrictions Catholics faced in its chapter about the Plantations and its chapter about the 1798 Revolution also explains that Presbyterians were also impacted – without clarifying which measures applied to them (only stating that the prohibition to become a member of parliament applied to both):

Protestants ensured their control of wealth and power of the country by introducing the penal laws. These laws forbade Catholics to: - Keep weapons - Send their

children to schools on the Continent or run schools in Ireland - Buy land - Hold government position - Sit in parliament - Vote. (Lucey, 2002, p. 176)

The Protestants Ascendancy used the penal laws to maintain its power. These were laws that discriminated against Catholics and Presbyterians. Catholics, who formed 75 per cent of the population, lived all over Ireland, but Presbyterians, who formed 10 per cent, lived mainly in Ulster. After 1770, some of the penal laws were abolished (repealed). But Catholics and Presbyterians were still not allowed to sit in parliament, and they also had to pay tithes (one-tenth of their crops) to support the Anglican clergy. (p. 201)

This textbook only shows the changes in land ownership as a result of the Plantations, from 1600 (about 90% Catholic) through 1641 (about 60% Catholic) to 1703 (about 20% Catholic) (Lucey, 2002, p. 175), but not the result of the Penal Laws at the end of the 18th century.

Uncovering History also explains the Penal Laws in its introduction of the 1798 Revolution, putting the emphasis on the reasons the British government decided to implement them. The text highlights that Presbyterians were also impacted, however, it only refers to a few specific restrictions:

Britain kept a tight hold on Ireland because of the many rebellions against British rule that had occurred in the past. The government in London believed that the Irish Catholics could never be trusted to be loyal. The decision was made to introduce a series of harsh laws that would ensure the Catholics would be weak and unable to rebel again in the future. These laws were called the Penal Laws.

The word 'penal' means 'to punish by law'. Think about a penalty kick in sport. It is a rule designed to punish a team or player for breaking the laws of the game. At the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, when the Protestant William of Orange became king, England was a strongly Protestant country. The government wanted all of the people who lived in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales to be Protestants, and to be members of the official State Church, the Church of England (or Church of Ireland) ... This meant that all non-members of the Church of England or Ireland were disloyal to the king. This included, for example, all Catholics and Presbyterians. These people were to be punished for their refusal to conform and join the official Church, and the Penal Laws were designed to punish these potential traitors.

The Penal Laws in Ireland. In Ireland, over 80 per cent of the population was either Catholic or Presbyterian. The Laws affected life in a number of serious ways. – Catholic schools were banned. – No Catholic or Presbyterian was allowed to stand for

Parliament. – Catholic and Presbyterians had to pay a tithe, or ten per cent of their yearly income, to the Church of Ireland. Imagine being forced by law to pay money to a Church of which you were not a member. Would you be happy? Would you want change? (Delap & McCormack, 2011, pp. 215-216)

Therefore, the main complaint of this textbook is about the payment of the tithe, which however in my opinion had a much more limited impact than other rules, for instance about land ownership. There is no supporting data about the evolution of land ownership either during the validity of the Penal Laws, the last mention can be found on page 182 when the Plantations are explained: ‘from the 1660s on, Catholics owned less than ten per cent of the land in Ireland’.

New Complete History treats the Penal Laws in its section of religious changes and includes five different types of restrictions, explaining that these are ‘just a few’ of all that existed:

In the eighteenth century, Penal Laws were passed that discriminated severely against Catholics in Ireland. (...) The Penal Laws. Here are just a few of the Penal Laws that discriminated against Irish Catholics three hundred years ago: - Catholics could not buy land. - Catholics could not become teachers. - Children could not attend Catholic schools. - Only Protestants could adopt Catholic orphans. - Priests could not say mass. (Hayes C. , 2009, p. 108)

This section does not mention the change in land ownership, which is treated on page 121 for the period 1600-1660 only (concentrated on the Plantations), showing in a graph how Catholics owned around 90% of land in 1600 which became around 30% by 1660. Therefore, students would only know from a comment in the introduction of its narrative of the 1798 revolution that ‘the Protestant Ascendancy owned most of the land’ (p. 142). There is no mention either of the fact that Penal Laws impacted Presbyterians in any way. This lack of precision could be caused by the organisation of the content of the textbook in large blocks, which represent the Reformation, the Plantations and then the Revolution of 1798: there is no section about the ‘Glorious’ Revolution, the Williamite Wars and its aftermath. This narrative, by representing the Penal Laws as an ‘effect of the Reformation in Ireland’, and by omitting references to the Williamite Wars, might cause the perception as if the Reformation inevitably caused religious discrimination of Catholics via the Penal Laws – which is not true, over 150 years and several waves of Irish resistance had to happen before they were employed.

In a summary, the main deficiency of English textbooks regarding the Penal Laws is omission (in 51% of analysed textbooks) and even those which explain this legislation tend to be much briefer than ideal, mostly focusing on limitations of specific professions. In Northern Ireland we have seen two different types of representations, one of which equates the effects of the Penal Laws for Catholics and Presbyterians. Irish textbooks are also less specific than would be ideal, however 3 out of 4 explain some of the limitations Presbyterians faced. As we have seen, the memory of the Penal Laws remained in Irish national consciousness, and they are not featured in detail in English textbooks. Hence, it would be important that English textbooks ‘recognise’ the extent of suffering caused by this legislation to Irish Catholics governed by England and later Great Britain, which – together with other events such as the Great Famine – could help to explain part of the Irish motivations behind more violent political activism in the 20th century.

5.6 Late 18th century independence movements, Union and Catholic Emancipation

Key conclusions:

- **The Protestant-led late 18th century independence movement of the Patriots, Irish Volunteers and of Grattan's Parliament are only treated in the desired depth in three specialised A-level textbooks, one from Northern Ireland and two from England. Other English textbooks that refer to this movement either do not explain who (Protestants) were behind the initiative or falsely give the perception that Catholics were 'to blame'. As very few study History at A-level (8%, see Section 3.2) and the vast majority of topics do not relate to Ireland (only 2 out of 128, see Section 4.3), only a minuscule share of the population of the United Kingdom leaving school would have heard that the idea of Irish nationalism has been initiated by Protestants. Irish textbooks also mostly remain silent about Grattan and the Volunteers, as if they were part of past to be ashamed of.**
- **The economic reasons for the Patriot movement, in form of trade restrictions, are included even more seldom in textbooks: only two English A-level textbooks explain them at length. This omission stands in contrast with the treatment of the American Revolution, which was based on similar economic grievances against Britain and it could help to foster a perception in the reader that the Irish acted based predominantly on more irrational ideals such as nationalism.**
- **The 1798 uprising is one of the favourite topics of Irish textbooks, representing it in detail, and in general with fairness. However, one of the textbooks seems to position it as a fight against the Protestant Ascendancy, when many Protestants were in its favour and Catholics also fought on both sides. English textbooks only seldom narrate the torture methods used by the government or the use of paramilitaries to foster sectarian conflict, while Irish textbooks feature these contents frequently. In some English textbooks it remains unclear that the people behind the United Irishmen were mostly Protestants and that both Catholics and Protestants were on both sides of the conflict.**

- **Union of 1801:** the same bias can be found in most English and Irish textbooks: both omit that many Catholics were in favour and that the lack of Catholic Emancipation at the time made Catholics and Protestants switch sides later. Only a few A-level textbooks from England and Northern Ireland tell the whole story. The argument for the Union frequently shows an imperial perspective, denying agency to the Irish and highlighting their ‘betrayal’ when England was at war with France or stressing that the Union was needed in order to change the executive as the previous system proved Dublin incapable to deal with the rebellion. This is an incorrect narrative, considering that also the previous Dublin executive was appointed by London.
- **Catholic Emancipation (right to become a Member of Parliament):** only one Irish textbook explains it, most English textbooks do not, and those which do, tend to be very brief, attributing agency in its achievement to the British Parliament without recognising the role of the mass political movement in Ireland, led by O’Connell.
- **Catholic Emancipation:** some English and Northern Irish A-level textbooks often show significant bias: omission or euphemistic representation of the Protestant opposition surrounding the achievement of Catholic Emancipation (or blaming Catholics for this by-product of their campaign); one-sided portrayal of the Catholic Association as a propaganda machine ‘agitating’ the peaceful population; and focus on the impacts of Catholic Emancipation on British politics (as a proof that Parliament did not represent the will of the people by approving this legislation).
- **O’Connell’s role** is evaluated by some English and Northern Irish textbooks in a rather negative way, describing him as an elitist politician (as he did not object the increase of property qualification thresholds), claiming that his main heritage is religious division in Ireland and that the improvements of this era were mostly driven by benevolent British politicians. On the other hand, other textbooks from the same geography provide a different tone.
- **Repeal movement:** no Irish textbook analyses it, which is a significant failure considering its heritage as a mass political movement. Also some bias in English textbooks: direct connection between the nationalism of the Catholic-led repeal

movement and the pre-1798 Protestant-led Irish nationalism – when these were very different groups of people. In addition, more attention is paid to the impact of the Maynooth Grant in British party politics than to the actual repeal movement.

This section focuses on a relatively long period, from the early 18th century until the start of the Great Famine (1845), with the exception of the introduction of the Penal Laws which already have been analysed in the previous section. The most relevant events of the Anglo-Irish history in this period are the late 18th century Protestant-led movement, mainly in Ulster, to achieve similar rights to those of the USA (including the formation of Patriots, Irish Volunteers and Grattan's parliament) (Beckett, 1981, pp. 187-230); the failed cross-community uprising of 1798 (pp. 247-267); the Union of 1801 (pp. 268-283); and the fight for 'Catholic Emancipation' (the repeal of the different Penal Laws culminating in 1793 in the right to vote and finally in 1829 in the possibility to become a member of parliament) (pp. 285-308). However, there are many more events of somewhat lesser entity: the 1719 Declaratory Act which established the Irish Parliament's subordination to the British Parliament) (p. 164); the existence of trade restrictions between Ireland and Britain (pp. 131, 155-157, 164-169); the funding of the Maynooth Catholic Seminar by the British government (p. 329); the 1803 Emmet-rebellion (p. 285); the Tithe War of the 1830s (pp. 309-312, 318-319); the gradual reforms of the late 1830s (pp. 314-323); and O'Connell's repeal movement (pp. 306-309, 323-327).

The pragmatic reason for treating this long period in one section is that they are not the most frequently mentioned events in textbooks: Irish textbooks undoubtedly focus on the 1798 Revolution and English textbooks prominently explain the 1801 Union (71% of inclusion), followed by Catholic Emancipation (44%), the 1798 Rebellion (40%) and the late 18th century independence movements (only 31%, none of them in detail). Apart from the portrayal of the 1798 Revolution in Irish textbooks – and longer storylines of dedicated A-level textbooks – the few events included in the analysed textbooks are often explained in half-sentences.

The more substantial argument for treating the period as one is that probably the most remarkable characteristic of this nearly 150 years is the gradual change, absent from cataclysmic events such as the Williamite Wars or the Great Famine. The first of the gradual changes consisted in the relatively freshly established Protestant Ascendancy

(themselves mostly immigrating from England) nurturing an Irish national consciousness during the 18th century, looking at the English of England as foreigners who rule ‘their land’ (given the 1494 Poyning’s Law and the 1719 Declaratory Act) (Beckett, 1981, pp. 156-157, 164-166)¹⁰⁰, complaining of Irish trade restrictions imposed by the British Parliament (pp. 131, 155-156, 168-169) and leading to a Protestant-led independence movement (pp. 192-229). This Patriot movement was also influenced by the enlightenment, mirroring ideals of the French Revolution, when religious differences became less relevant, which led to the abolition of most of the Penal Laws (pp. 214, 230, 248-251) and the uprising of 1798 where both Catholics and Protestants fought on both sides (e.g. Catholic militias and Protestant yeomanry fought for the government) (pp. 252-253, 257-261, 265-267, 270-279). Many Catholics indeed supported the Crown, including the Catholic Church, both during 1798 (p. 266) and the 1800 Act of Union (p. 274).

The next gradual change was that Catholics became frustrated by the lack of Emancipation at the time of the Union and the protest movements of the first half of the 19th century (both for Emancipation and later for Repeal) were already led by Catholics (pp. 285-288, 294-305). At the same time, Protestants – many of whom were initially against the Union – became their main supporters (p. 287). There are not many textbooks which explain these gradual changes, among the analysed textbooks only two narratives can be considered adequate (and even then, with some potential bias), the A-level textbooks *Ireland under the Union 1800-1900 for CCEA A2 level* (Northern Ireland) (Rees R. D., 2018) and *Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923* (England) (Adelman & Byrne, 2016). Also in this case, the most detailed and in my opinion unbiased bibliographical references can be obtained in the highly itemised descriptions of *Beckett* (1981). Its thoroughness and relevance often provide textbook authors with key sentences they can quote (however, sometimes questioning their correctness).

Even other specialised A-level textbooks provide a confused picture about these change processes: *Paper 3: Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923* (Kidson, 2016) could make many students believe that the ‘nationalists’ of the Grattan era were the same people as those during the repeal movement, when over 50 years and different religious backgrounds divide them. *Britain 1815-1895 and Ireland 1798-1922* (Murphy, Walsh-

¹⁰⁰ Maybe the most relevant of Beckett’s narratives is the following: ‘Swift had taught the Irish protestants that they were “the people of Ireland”, with all the rights of a distinct nation. (...) Protestant nationalism had been born; and however arrogant, ill-founded, or inconsistent might be the principles by which it was inspired, it had a significant contribution to make to the history of Ireland.’ (p. 166)

Atkins, & Whiskerd, 2008) blames the Catholic versus Protestant antagonism for the 1798 uprising. This simplification, as if ‘nationalism’ – characterised by an opposition to rule from London – was a constant ideology carried forward by the same group of people (described as mostly Catholic Irishmen by the mid-19th century) is one of the most significant biases found in textbooks, not just in England, but also in Ireland and also in some Northern Irish examples. In England and Northern Ireland, it is a sort of blame for permanent trouble-making (to achieve independence against the benevolent Great Britain); while in Ireland, it is the pride of revolutionary tradition that it seems should not be shared with those who were against it later in the 20th century. In continuation – in over 50 pages - I will analyse in detail the narrative found in the different textbooks throughout this period of change.

The 1719 Declaratory Act

This legislation declared that the Irish Parliament is subordinate to the British Parliament, thus the British Parliament can legislate over Ireland and the British House of Lords is the last judiciary instance instead of the Irish House of Lords (Beckett, 1981, p. 164). Among all analysed textbooks only two specialised British A-level textbooks refer to this Act. In *Paper 3: Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923*:

... an Act of Parliament declaring all Irish parliamentary decisions to be subject to the approval of the British parliament. The result was effectively British control of Irish legislation. A fact that was formalised in 1720 by the Declaratory Act which gave Britain direct legislative powers. (Kidson, 2016, p. 39)

Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923 focuses on the resulting situation:

In a number of ways Ireland’s status was akin to that of a colony... By Poyning’s Law of 1494 and the later Declaratory Act of 1719, Ireland was subject to the laws of the Westminster Parliament. Its own parliament could only pass laws ultimately approved by the British government. Thus, the Irish parliament lacked any real legislative initiative, and, since the lord-lieutenant was the nominee of the British government, the Irish legislature had no control over its own executive. (Adelman & Byrne, 2016, p. 16)

Among the Irish textbooks, only *Uncovering History* explains the resulting situation, however without mentioning the legislative basis: ‘in the late eighteenth century ... although Ireland had a parliament, it had very little power as all of its decisions had to

be approved by the king and the British Parliament in Westminster' (Delap & McCormack, 2011, p. 215). However, this affirmation actually is incorrect, as by the late eighteenth century Grattan's initiative ensured that the Irish Parliament had some effective power, the description rather refers to the period before 1782.

Trade restrictions

Trade restrictions in Ireland – established by the English Parliament - existed already in the 17th century, probably the most relevant was the prohibition to export wool anywhere except England, approved in 1699 (Beckett, 1981, pp. 155-156, 168-169). Free trade has been allowed in 1779, as one of the first measures to contain the Patriot movement which was established among Protestant Irishmen (which will be analysed in detail in the next point).

The importance of these trade restrictions is highlighted in the few textbooks that explain their existence. In England, these are only A-level textbooks, 5 in total. Among them, the non-specialised English A-level textbook *Britain: losing and gaining an empire, 1763-1914* analyses the establishment of free trade and one of the examples are the trade restrictions in Ireland, clarifying why they existed, what products they impacted, the movement to eliminate them and finally the government's consultation with Adam Smith which led to their repeal:

Britain's trade policy had triggered revolution in the Americas, but it also caused the government problems closer home. Restrictions on the trade of Britain's first colony, Ireland, were nothing new. The mainly agricultural commodities produced by Ireland were similar to those of England, and English landowners had used their influence in parliament from the 17th century to create tariffs and prohibitions to reduce Irish competition. (...)

Growth did not prevent trade policy from becoming a major political issue, however. Ireland's wealth was concentrated in a relatively small number of mainly Anglo-Irish Protestant landowners. The Irish Catholic peasants who worked the land remained poor, and the growing middle classes were frustrated by the restrictions on Irish trade. Influenced by calls for 'no taxation without representation' from across the Atlantic, Irish demands for free trade escalated. (...)

In 1779, the government consulted Adam Smith on how to respond to Irish demands for free trade. Smith was sympathetic, pointing out that to protect 'a very slender

interest of our own manufacturers' the Irish were unable to export glass or silk anywhere, raw wool anywhere except Britain and woollen cloth anywhere except a few designated British ports. Smith called these restrictions 'unjust and oppressive', and recommended that Ireland should be allowed to trade freely. The government removed the trade restrictions on Ireland in 1779. (Christie & Christie, 2016, p. 17)

A much shorter description can be found in *Britain 1815-1867* (A-level), focusing on the end-effect of this legislation on the Irish economy:

Ireland's trading and manufacturing were retarded by the Navigation Acts, which treated Ireland as a colony until the 1770s. Any industry that rivalled one based in Britain was stifled, with the result that Ireland's economy became more dependent than ever on agriculture. (Catterall, 1994 (1), p. 61)

The specialised A-level textbook *Paper 3: Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923* dedicate ample space to the trade restrictions, describing in 3 dense pages their approval in 1651 and 1699, the embargo from 1778 that applied to Irish beef exports to the US and France due to the American War of Independence and the movement to repeal the restrictions:

Since Ireland became a colony of Britain, its economic position was placed as a secondary concern below the economic interests of Britain itself. Various Acts of Parliament such as the Navigation Act 1651 and Wool Act 1699 deliberately subordinated Irish financial opportunities to the benefit of England. Such was the impact of this policy that by the late 18th century Ireland was not financially stable and was particularly reliant upon British support. (Kidson, 2016, p. 79)

Wool Act. An Act of Parliament passed in 1699 which limited the amount of wool Ireland could produce, thereby giving British wool merchants better trade opportunities. (p. 79)

The economic frailty of Ireland was brought to the forefront of Irish minds during the American War of Independence. The development of this conflict disrupted trade routes and consequently had a damaging effect upon the Irish economy, which had traditionally relied upon exportation of textiles and beef to the USA and Britain in order to support itself. As the country's trade opportunities declined, attention became focused upon the reasons of such decline, and within the Irish parliament the attention was levelled at the preferential trade agreements that British merchants had at Ireland's expense. (...) The prominent figures pushing for the lifting of trade restrictions were Henry Grattan, Hussey Burgh and Henry Ford. These three were Protestant landowners and prominent members of the Irish parliament, who had loosely bound themselves into

a patriot group that desired greater controls for the Irish legislature – of which economic freedom was a particularly important step. (...) The demand for an improvement to the existing trade restrictions was not confined to Irish politicians and, during the discussions taking place in Dublin, within the wider city a general boycott of British goods was started. This was a public agreement between citizens and it was policed by the Irish Volunteers, who would publish transgressors' names in local newspapers. In addition to the public pressure being brought to bear, the Volunteers also contributed in a more direct manner that used intimidation to achieve the ends they sought. (p. 79)

On 4 November 1779, after the king had made a polite but non-committal reply to the Irish parliament's resolution, the Irish Volunteers paraded in full military regalia outside the parliament house with signs demanding 'a short money bill' and, more threateningly, pulling cannons adorned with the slogan 'free trade or this'. This was an especially effective method given the circumstances of the late 1770s: Britain was at war with both America and France, and Ireland was vulnerable to attack as Irish troops were serving abroad and the country had limited defences. (p. 80)

Considering the above narrative on the importance of trade restrictions in the process of forming the Patriot movement, it is surprising that in *Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923* the issue appears in most detail in a very different context, in Chapter 7, in relation to *The Ulster problem*, when discussing the industrialisation of Ulster:

The following year [1699], as a result of pressure from the English woollen merchants who feared competition due to lower costs of Irish production, the English parliament (after the 1707 Act of Union with Scotland this would become the British parliament) passed an act prohibiting the export of Irish woollen goods. (Adelman & Byrne, 2016, p. 133)

The next paragraph is dedicated to arguments which disapprove a supposed theory by Irish nationalist historians about the motivation behind these limitations, explaining that the domestic market for woollen products remained healthy in Ireland. Although one can agree with the overall conclusion that the motivation behind the trade restrictions on wool was to eliminate 'unwanted' competition of Irish producers in Britain and elsewhere, it should also be undeniable that economies of scale exist and a producer limited to a small local market was naturally restrained in its possibilities of achieving

competitiveness¹⁰¹. The authors focus on contradicting the unnamed ‘Irish nationalist historians’, seemingly unconscious that their own argument is contradicting itself:

However, the argument once put forward by Irish nationalist historians that this was a conspiracy to favour the linen industry and, as such, the origin of the eventual collapse of the [woollen] industry has long been disproved. It was the export market that was the target. The domestic Irish market for woollen goods was, and remained, unaffected throughout the eighteenth century, and from time to time efforts were even made to encourage it. (...) Consequently, the industry continued to grow, supported by the home market. Given the rapid development of the British woollen industry and subsequently the impact of the industrial revolution, it is doubtful whether the Irish woollen industry could have competed effectively with the British manufacturers anyway. Indeed, so competitive did the British woollen cloth industry become that its exports began to dominate the Irish market. (p. 133)

It is remarkable that the argumentation that the British industry naturally overtook everyone else and that trade restrictions imposed on others did not play any role, is a returning feature of the debate on the impact of empire. In another context, regarding India, highly valuable arguments have been brought up against these theories by Tharoor regarding the cotton and steel industries (Tharoor, 2016).

The abolition of these restrictions is mentioned in an earlier chapter of the textbook *The making of the Act of Union 1800*, when the impact of the American War of Independence is explained, however in this narrative it is not clear what the content of the restrictions was:

The British prime minister, Lord North, recognised the power wielded by the Volunteer and Patriot alliance in favour of reform. His government yielded to the economic demands of the Irish opposition, so that in 1779-80 most of the restrictions on Irish commerce were abolished and ‘free trade for Ireland’ was introduced. (Adelman & Byrne, 2016, p. 18)

The third specialised A-level textbook, *Britain 1815-1895 and Ireland 1798-1922* in its introduction to the 1798 uprising lists a number of points that describe the 18th century Ireland, among them: ‘a growing sense of anger against the trade restrictions,

¹⁰¹ In words of Beckett: ‘The woollen manufacture still had an outlet in the home market and in a considerable smuggling trade; but it had been disastrously weakened by the act of 1699. (...) The duties on British goods entering Ireland were low; and Irish manufacturers regularly found themselves undersold in their own home market by British competitors.’ (pp. 168-169)

which seemed to benefit English manufacturers' (Murphy, Walsh-Atkins, & Whiskerd, 2008, p. 180). Here we have to note that in this narrative these regulations only 'seemed' to help English manufacturers, not that they in fact did; an euphemism frequently applied in many British textbooks when referring to Irish grievances.

Among the Northern Irish textbooks, *History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1500-1900* (KS3) in its narrative of the Patriot movement explains the improvement of the trade situation in a paragraph, and none of the other Northern Irish textbooks refers to the Irish trade restrictions:

In October 1779, the Irish parliament got its own say by being able to pass a law which allowed free trade between Ireland and Britain. Before this law was passed, there was a charge on Irish goods going to Britain which made Irish goods expensive in Britain. Free trade was better for the Irish as it meant that people in Britain would be happier to buy Irish goods. (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008, p. 61)

In case of the Irish Junior Certificate textbooks, solely *Discovering History* mentions this aspect of 18th-century Anglo-Irish history, when explaining in its introduction to the 1798 uprising how Presbyterians reacted to the trade restrictions:

They became very angry when the British Parliament passed the Navigation Acts which placed limits on Irish exports of goods such as cattle, wool and linen. These export limits were intended to protect British industries from cheaper Irish exports. (McCaughey, c2009, p. 245)

Therefore, we can conclude that – despite being one of the main factors behind the Patriot movement – the Irish trade restrictions are explained in depth only in two textbooks: most prominently in one of the A-level textbooks specialised in Anglo-Irish history and used in England and in another English A-level textbook as an example of free trade. In addition, a very few other A-level textbooks from England, one KS3 book from Northern Ireland and a Junior Certificate book from Ireland mention much more limitedly this content, often forgetting to position it as a key feature of the Irish grievances at the end of the 18th century. This lack of inclusion in the narrative is remarkable considering that nearly all textbooks explain the motives of the American Revolution, which was based on similar economic grievances against Britain. The omission of the economic reasons behind the late 18th-century Irish independence movement could help

to foster a perception in the reader of the analysed textbooks that the Irish acted predominantly based on more irrational ideals such as nationalism¹⁰².

Patriot movement and Grattan's Parliament

Probably the development of an Irish Protestant nationalism is one of the least-taught features of the shared Anglo-Irish history. In the same way as in the United States of America, once British settlers established themselves and achieved relative stability and wealth, they demanded a say in the way their territory was managed and started to identify themselves more with their territory where they lived than with their country of origin (England or Britain) (Beckett, 1981, pp. 156-157, 164-166, 203-207). It was this group of relatively privileged Protestant people who in Ireland defined themselves as the Irish nation and sought to achieve a degree of independence: also in Ireland a declaration of independence has been prepared already in 1780, but it has not been voted in its parliament (p. 219). Finally, a greater self-rule of the Irish Parliament has been acknowledged in 1782, which persisted until the Union of 1801 (pp. 219-229). This movement has been supported by a Protestant paramilitary organisation, the Irish Volunteers, originally established to meet the potential challenge from a French invasion during the American War of Independence (pp. 210-213). During this time most 'nationalists' were Protestants and many Catholics supported the British government (pp. 164-166, 207), and the situation only changed after 1801. A simplified narrative applied in textbooks – omitting these details – may help to paint a picture in which 'the Irish' frequently rebelled. As we can appreciate, this complex storyline is not the easiest to submit in textbooks which need to simplify the message, thus these books either prefer not to mention these events at all or paint a biased picture without explaining the change of political orientation of both sides.

First, as a basis for comparison, we should review the narrative of two A-level textbooks dedicated to the shared Anglo-Irish history of the long 19th century, both of which explain the relevant events thoroughly.

¹⁰² Stynen, Van Ginderachter and Núñez Seixas establish a difference between civic nationalism (good as it is rational and inclusive) and ethnic nationalism (not desired as it is irrational and exclusive) (2020, p. 2). In my example, even civic nationalism (late 18th-century Irishmen were not ethnic nationalists, their movement included all religions) is seen as irrational in comparison to the rationality of economic arguments.

Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923 describes in detail how Irish Protestants acquired an Irish consciousness, organised themselves and how Catholics remained loyal to the British government:

There was a growing feeling in the Protestant communities that, although they were divided by race and religion from the majority of Irish people, they were Irish by nationality and should put the interests of Ireland first. This conviction led in the 1750s to the emergence in the Irish House of Commons of the minority group of MPs known as the 'Patriots', whose most notable leader was Henry Grattan. (Adelman & Byrne, 2016, p. 17)

As Grattan said: 'the Irish Protestant can never be free, till the Irish Catholic has ceased to be a slave'. (p. 18)

Whereas the Catholics in Ireland remained loyal to the Crown during the American War of Independence (1775-1783), and thereby won some minor improvements in the penal code, the Protestants were more sympathetic to the Americans. They too saw themselves as suffering from subordination to the parliament in Westminster. The Ulster Presbyterians, in particular, had strong links with America through emigration, and the political ideas of the American rebels, exemplified by their slogan 'No Taxation without Representation', appealed to their own radical outlook. 'We are all Americans here', wrote one Patriot, 'except such as are attached to the Castle or are papists [Catholics]'. The influence of Grattan and the Patriots was boosted by the support of the Volunteer movement, which sprung up spontaneously in 1778 and numbered 30,000-40,000 members two years later. The Volunteers pledged to repeal any foreign invader, but they undoubtedly represented a military arm of Protestant nationalism. Their strong support for the political programme of the Patriots is shown by one of their marching songs: 'No laws shall ever bind but those we frame ourselves. The Britons now shall find us as free as they're themselves. Hibernia's Volunteers, boys, have worked on the glorious cause And will with mighty heart and head abolish Poyning's Laws.' (p. 18)

Paper 3: Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923, another A-level textbook, also explains in detail the growing nationalistic feeling of the Protestant population, the impact of the American revolution, the Catholics as counterbalance and the establishment of the Irish Volunteers, however, there are still some questionable parts like characterising the founders of the Volunteers as 'loyal-spirited Protestants in Belfast':

Despite continued opposition to granting Catholics the right to lease property for extended periods, towards the end of the 18th century there were small improvements for

the Catholics. In part, this was the result of Britain's growing awareness of Irish Protestant nationalism, which had begun to seek greater powers for the Irish parliament and for Britain to reduce their interference in Irish affairs. This nationalistic sentiment was stirred up by Henry Ford and the Earl of Charlemont towards the end of the 1760s. The British authorities developed a more sympathetic attitude towards Catholics as a counterbalance to the developing Protestant nationalist demands. (Kidson, 2016, p. 66)

Patriot. In 18th-century Ireland this was a term used to describe Protestant individuals in Ireland who became more aware of their Irishness and therefore sought to promote that country's interests rather than British ones. (p. 79)

The American revolution (1775-83), with its emphasis upon rising up against the government of George III, had a profound effect upon Irish politics. In most part this was because of the perceived shared experience that Irish nationalists felt they enjoyed with the Americans: subjugation under British power and the fact that a large number of Irish men and women had emigrated to the American colonies (...) In terms of the revolution's impact, two particular developments took place. The first was that it encouraged the growth of a more thoughtful and forceful nationalist perspective. Also, it saw the militarisation of the country (...) loyal-spirited Protestants in Belfast formed themselves into volunteer units of militia in 1778 so as to defend the island in the event of attack. (...) The existence of these units might be seen as a declaration of loyalty to Britain – defending its borders against possible attack. However, they are perhaps better seen as a demonstration of patriotic sentiment that in fact provided for an opportunity to begin challenging British authority. (pp. 12-13)

This military organisation [Irish Volunteers] had been established in 1778 to defend Ireland against possible invasion by French forces in support of the American war. It was organised by Protestants from the urban and rural middle class and gentry and was intended as a safeguard for the Irish nation. Originally able to raise 12,000 men, the Volunteers quickly became a useful tool for Protestant nationalists to seek further powers for their Irish parliament, and the movement became an effective means to threaten the British authorities. By May 1782, the Volunteers had 60,000 men and the British government was aware of the potential danger the organisation posed, especially with the American war going badly (...) Faced with the possibility of Protestant Irish nationalist aggression therefore, a second Catholic Relief Act was thought to be an effective way to strengthen Britain's position in Ireland by once again appealing to its majority population. (p. 68)

The Catholic Committee recognised the dominant position of Britain and therefore sought its support in confronting the Protestant-dominated Irish parliament. (p. 70)

Spearheading this campaign was Henry Grattan as the prominent member of the patriot group within the Irish parliament. On 19 April 1780, he made formal declaration of independence in the Irish House of Commons (...). It was also given more weight having the Volunteers in support as this organisation was well armed and the only real source of defence in Ireland given the continuation of the American war. Although the debate was adjourned by a vote of 136 to 97 with many supporters feeling that the time was not quite right to assert Irish rights in such a way, the question had been raised and under the existing circumstances the patriots were in position of relative strength. (p. 80)

On the other hand, the English A-level textbook *Britain 1815-1895 and Ireland 1798-1922*, shows a completely different narrative regarding the background of the 1798 Rebellion. There is no mention at all of the Patriots, the Irish Volunteers or Henry Grattan and his declaration of independence. The storyline starts with a description of social and economic discrimination as a result of the penal laws, and clearly positions those who suffered the restrictions as the ones who were behind the 1798 movement. In this incorrectly bended narrative, Catholics are the one who seem to have been behind the rebellion and students do not learn at all about Protestant nationalism in Ireland:

The concessions made by London over voting and land purchase were inadequate for many Irishmen. (...) Hatred of rule by aliens, with a strong flavour of Roman Catholic versus Protestant and the poor Irish against the rich English, led to open rebellion in 1798. (Murphy, Walsh-Atkins, & Whiskerd, 2008, p. 180)

There are very few other English textbooks which mention the movement preceding 1798 in Ireland. *Collins History Key Stage 3 Book 2: 1750-1918* includes a few sentences, without naming the Patriots, Grattan or attributing the initiative to Protestants nationalists at all. We do not even know who ‘the Irish’ can be considered, as there is no hint that Protestants considered themselves Irish. However, the text implies that in the 1790s it was a joint desire of both Catholics and Protestants to rise against British rule:

Towards the end of the 18th century, however, more Irishmen wanted increased political power. In the 18th century the Irish had their own parliament in Dublin. The Irish parliament had limited power over the Irish government, which mostly consisted of Englishmen appointed by the parliament in London. In the 1770s George III relaxed some penal laws. The English were fighting American rebels and feared a rebellion in Ireland. In 1789 the French Revolution took place, which resulted in the spreading of radical

ideas. These events caused more Irishmen – both Catholic and Protestant – to demand more political power in the 1790s. (Murphy, Gosling, & Martin, 2010, p. 91)

Britain: losing and gaining an empire, 1763-1914 (A-level) focuses on the free trade movement (already mentioned in the previous point of this thesis), and in this context mentions (without naming them) the Irish Volunteers. In this narrative, the political intentions are not very clear and the religious identity of the Volunteers is completely missing:

With Ireland stripped of regular troops to fight in America, societies of armed volunteers were formed to protect the country from a possible French invasion. These large groups of armed men were not controlled by the government and developed a political role, with the lack of free trade normally blamed for any economic difficulties. In 1778, the volunteers protested in Dublin with a cannon, on which was hung a sign reading ‘free trade of this!’ (Christie & Christie, 2016, p. 17)

Britain: 1815-1867 (A-level) also includes a short description of the situation of Ireland before the Act of Union, however, this also fails to mention the Patriots, the Irish Volunteers or Grattan and it is not clear either which group of the Irish society was behind the desire for improvements (as Catholics are named in the text, some reader could believe they were the ‘troublemakers’ also in this case):

‘...the American colonies’ rebellion in the 1770s led to Irish demands for better trading rights, and revolutionary France actively helped the Irish Rebellion of 1798 (...) Ireland had its own Parliament which was nominally independent; in practice, the country was still ruled indirectly by Britain through various forms of patronage, which were used to ensure the 300-strong assembly followed London’s bidding. Under this system Catholics were granted more freedoms, including the right to vote, but problems arose over finance. (Catterall, 1994 (1), p. 58)

Among the Northern Irish textbooks, a good level of detail can be found in the A-level textbook *Ireland under the Union 1800-1900*, with a narrative similar to the two English A-level textbooks specialised in Anglo-Irish history:

This led to the emergence of distinctive ‘patriot’ faction in the Irish parliament which fostered a growing spirit of independence among patriot supporters in the last quarter of the century. This marks the beginning of political nationalism in Ireland. After the Act of Union, this elitist Protestant nationalism gave way to a popular Catholic

version, but the core demand for Irish self-government remained constant. (...) Grattan insisted that Ireland was an independent nation under a joint Crown, though this nation, of course, was very narrowly defined. While it had a strong cultural and historical dimension, membership of this political nation was confined to that exclusive Protestant (Anglican) caste born in Ireland. (...) Grattan stressed the parallels between the Irish constitutional predicament and the American challenge to British authority. (...) This forced the Westminster government to dispatch its regular troops stationed in Ireland across the Atlantic to bolster the British military effort. With the Irish coastline now inadequately defended, the Protestant gentry quickly established volunteer corps throughout the island to meet the threat of a possible French invasion. Soon, there were 40,000 serving in this part-time military force... (Rees R. D., 2018, p. 7)

... the Volunteers quickly acquired a political significance, as the patriot faction recognised the potential of an alliance with the new body in pressing their demands. (...) in March 1782, Grattan wasted no time in moving a formal declaration of independence for the Irish parliament. (...) The Irish parliament was accorded increased powers, but this did not mean self-government as the Irish executive remained under Westminster control. (...) Yet, 'Grattan's Parliament', as the period from 1782 to 1800 became known, acquired a major symbolic importance. (p. 8)

Among the Northern Irish KS3 textbooks, only one, *History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1500-1900* includes a short mention of the Patriot movement by highlighting the high number of Americans of Irish descent and by placing another remark about legislation in Grattan's parliament. However, we do not learn about the existence of Irish Volunteers and the Protestant Nationalist ideals behind them:

There were close links between America and Ireland. In 1771, Benjamin Franklin visited Ireland and suggested co-operation between his Patriots in Ireland and the American colonists in their struggle against the British. Approximately half of the American colonials in 1776 were of Irish ancestry. It is estimated that 240,000 Protestants had emigrated from the north of Ireland to America and 100,000 Catholics from the rest of Ireland. Many in Ireland looked to America as an example of how to gain independence and break the British control of Ireland. (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008, p. 60)

The experience of free trade showed people in Ireland the benefits of the Irish parliament having a greater say in how things in Ireland were run. In 1782 the Irish parliament passed a constitution. This promised Ireland its own parliament and legal system. [Picture with title:] Henry Grattan addressing the Irish parliament. (p. 61)

Despite the statue of Henry Grattan still standing in Dublin in front of the building which used to be the Irish Parliament in the last decades of the 18th century, Junior Certificate Irish textbooks do not often name him. *Uncovering History* is the only textbook which mentions Grattan, even if it fails to describe the Patriot movement or the Irish Volunteers and the emphasis is placed on the fact that the Dublin Parliament only represented the 10% of the Irish population who were Anglican:

From the early 1780s one of the members of the Protestant Ascendancy, Henry Grattan, fought hard against English control of the Irish Parliament. It is because of this that the Irish Parliament on College Green in Dublin became known as ‘Grattan’s Parliament’. The fact remained, though, that Grattan’s Parliament, whether independent from London or not, only represented just over ten per cent of the population of Ireland who were members of the Church of Ireland. [Picture with title:] Grattan’s Parliament, College Green, Dublin. (Delap & McCormack, 2011, p. 216)

Only one of the textbooks, *The Past Today*, makes a short mention of the Irish Volunteers, without clarifying that they were Protestant and that many Catholics at this time supported the British government: ‘results of the American War of Independence: (...) (iv) In Ireland, a Volunteer movement grew up which won greater independence for the Irish parliament from the British government’ (Lucey, 2002, p. 190).

New Complete History does not name the Irish Volunteers, but explains that there was support in Belfast for the ideals of the American Revolution:

By winning their War of Independence, the Americans showed that, if Irish people rebelled, they too could overthrow British rule in their country. All this inspired some Irish people, especially in Belfast, where many Presbyterians had supported the Americans. (Hayes C. , 2009, p. 143)

The last analysed textbooks, *Discovering History*, does not refer to the Patriots, Grattan or the Irish Volunteers. This lack of reference in Irish textbooks to the Protestant-led nationalism does not feel easy to explain, as there should be not much ‘ideological gain’ from a current Irish Nationalist perspective from not recognising the particular role Protestants played in starting the tradition.

Therefore, it seems that in the United Kingdom one has to choose History during the more advanced A-level studies, and within the many topics the very few related to the joint Anglo-Irish history of the long 19th-century so that he or she can learn about the

Protestant-led Irish nationalism of the late 18th-century. We have already seen in *Section 3.2* that only 8% of the relevant age group studies History at A-level in both England and Northern Ireland and in *Section 4.3* that only 2 out of 128 A-level topics focus on the joint Anglo-Irish history. Thus, only a minuscule share of the population of the United Kingdom leaving school would have heard that the idea of Irish nationalism had been initiated by Protestants. The significance of this Patriot movement is hard to overestimate. As Rees puts it: ‘...the patriot tradition was not entirely extinguished. Later, it found its expression in the Young Ireland movement and in the careers of Butt and Parnell’ (Rees R. D., 2018, p. 167), thus being the inspiration for the Home Rule movement of the late 19th century.

United Irishmen, the 1798 Revolution/Rebellion and the 1801 Act of Union

In the quantitative analysis we have seen that among the textbooks used in England only 40% mentions the 1798 uprising, however 71% includes the 1801 Union. This is a relevant difference, as it was the failed 1798 uprising that led to the Act of Union. Textbooks which explain both events usually briefly mention the uprising and then as a closing remark explain the Act of Union as a direct consequence.

Among these textbooks the most detailed narrative of 1798 can be found in *Collins History Key Stage 3 Book 2: 1750-1918*, in its chapter *Union and conflict* (from the 32 pages of this chapter, 16 are dedicated to Ireland-related events from 1500 to 1922) which explains in two full pages the joint desire of many Protestants and Catholics to end the remaining Penal Laws and the dependence on England; how this movement originated strongly from Ulster, taking inspiration from the American and French Revolutions; how amidst the war with France starting 1792 Wolfe Tone ‘stopped being a reformer and became a revolutionary’ (Murphy, Gosling, & Martin, 2010, p. 92); the failed 1796 landing by the French and finally the 1798 rebellion:

In 1798 the British increased their clampdown on the whole of Ireland. This resulted in rebellion across Ireland. Some of the most serious fighting took place in Ulster. Tone appealed for French support but not enough was provided and the rebellion failed. (p. 93)

The tone of the storytelling is neutral and there is no blaming of any side for violence. The following paragraph narrates the Act of Union, in a similar manner, putting the emphasis on the decision of Pitt the Younger to establish the Union: ‘the British prime

minister, William Pitt the Younger, decided that Ireland needed to be ruled directly from London' (p. 93).

The second most detailed narrative among textbooks reviewed in the quantitative analysis is in *Modern Britain 1760-1900* (KS3), which in its section describing the British response to the French Revolution includes a few paragraphs about the 1791 foundation of United Irishmen based on American and French influence, the aim 'to liberate Ireland from British rule', the attempted French invasion of 1796 and the 1798 uprising 'led by Dublin lawyer Wolfe Tone'. There is no mention of the religious background of the revolutionaries, they are identified as 'Irishmen'. The reader can feel a certain level of empathy with the rebels, as:

The British Army put down the uprising with brutal force, killing 10000 suspected rebels. Wolfe Tone was captured and sentenced to death. While waiting for his execution in jail, Tone slit his own throat with a razor blade' (Peal, 2017, p. 36).

The next paragraph deals with the Union, aiming that it was mainly motivated by British security concerns against France:

The British feared that Ireland could be used as a 'backdoor to Britain' by a French invasion force. To gain more control of the country, Parliament passed the Act of Union in 1800. From January 1801, Ireland became part of a new country called the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. (p. 36).

Making Sense of History 1745-1901 (KS3) only includes a very short summary in the timeline of 'key events in Ireland's relationship with England': '1798: The United Irishmen rebel against English rule. Demanding a united Ireland free from English rule, they are defeated at the Battle of Vinegar Hill' (Clare J. D., Bates, Fisher, & Kennett, 2015 (2), p. 59). Given no other explanation, students could think that this is another rising by the unruly Irishmen, among many others shown on the summary timeline, in which case the political sympathies are identified as Catholic. The union with Britain is also shown in similarly brief manner: '1800: The Act of Union creates the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland' (p. 59).

We can find the specific chapter *Ireland 1800-50: John Bull's Other Island in Britain 1815-1867* (A-level), however in its very short narrative of 1798 the text does not introduce the aims of the United Irishmen, there are no mentions of religious backgrounds, the author focuses on the French threat and on the justification of the union by the inability of 'Dublin' to deal with the rebellion:

... revolutionary France actively helped the Irish Rebellion of 1798. General Hoche landed [sic] at Bantry Bay in 1796 and General Humbert arrived with 1,000 men in County Mayo, just after the uprising had been crushed ... When Dublin also failed to quell the activities of Wolfe Tone's Society of United Irishmen, which organised the 1798 rebellion, Pitt felt compelled to impose direct rule. (Catterall, 1994 (1), p. 58)

This argument, that the Union was needed because of the inefficiency of the Dublin government, seems highly debatable, given that the structure of government in Ireland did not change with the Act of Union, only the Irish Parliament had been merged into Westminster. Both before and after the Union, the Dublin administration was based on public servants appointed by the British government in London and therefore responsible to the Westminster Parliament.

On the other hand, the text also recognises that the passage of the legislation through the Irish parliament wasn't easy and corruption was needed to secure its approval: 'patronage was used again to push the Act of Union through the Irish Parliament, and in all, over £1.5 million was spent in this way' (pp. 58-59). It is interesting, on the other hand, that when mentioning the number of MPs Ireland sent to Westminster, 100, the text does not explain that proportionally to the population, this was an underrepresentation for Ireland: Ireland had around 5 million inhabitants at this time compared to 10.9m in Great Britain, which is a share of 31% of the total of the United Kingdom¹⁰³. The share of MPs was 100 out of a total of 658, only 15% (Wikipedia re. First Parliament of the United Kingdom, 2022). Thus, Ireland had about half as many MPs in Westminster as its population would have indicated¹⁰⁴. This aspect of the Act of Union is only partially explained in one of the textbooks analysed in this thesis, mentioning the number of MPs, for the four nations of the UK, but not their relative population (Collier & Marriott, 2002, p. 83). On the other hand, *Britain 1815-1867* also tells a short story of how Catholic Emancipation had not been approved in 1800 'to speed up the process' of the Union, when it was rather based on the clear objection of many pro-Union Protestants from Ireland (Beckett, 1981, p. 270).

¹⁰³ According to Wikipedia, Ireland had 4.75m inhabitants in 1791 and 5.57m in 1806 (Wikipedia re. Historical population of Ireland, 2023) and Great Britain 10.9m in 1801 (Wikipedia re. Census Act 1800, 2022)

¹⁰⁴ However, a representation proportional to the entire population is a more modern idea, and even Beckett finds the arrangement to be a reasonable balance between using wealth and population as the weighting factor, highlighting that Ireland's representation was double as large as Scotland's (Beckett, 1981, p. 288).

This arrangement [the Act of Union] took two years to achieve, but it had been slowed by the initial hostility of the Irish Parliament. In order to speed up the process, issues that London thought subsidiary were separated out. Thus, Catholic emancipation was promised but not passed. The urgent strategic problem had been settled and this was London's overriding aim. Direct rule implied firmer maintenance of order, properly financed, and while it was King George III who vetoed emancipation in 1801 (rather than Parliament) no English minister cared to take up the Catholic cause until almost 30 years later. (Catterall, 1994 (1), p. 59)

The last sentence however includes some affirmations that are not fully correct: finance remained mostly separate between the Irish and British parts of Great Britain (we will see its consequences during the Great Famine) and there were several attempts to introduce emancipation during the following 30 years, for instance in 1821 and 1825, and the House of Commons even approved the legislation which however failed in the Lords (Rees R. D., 2018, pp. 16-20). There is also a mention of how the lack of Catholic Emancipation in 1801 distanced the Catholic middle class from the government (Catterall, 1994 (1), p. 61).

Britain in the Modern World (GCSE) in its chapter dealing with the Irish Free State includes a chronological summary in which '1798: Wolfe Tone's rebellion was defeated by the British' can be read, without any further detail about his and his followers' religious belonging or ideology. This is a relevant miss, as the introduction of the chronology states that 'the division between Protestant and Catholic in Ireland goes back several centuries. Key events in Anglo-Irish relations are still celebrated in one community, and mourned in the other' (Cloake, 1994, p. 34). So, which community should celebrate Wolfe Tone's defeat? As other examples in the timeline emphasize that the usual side to rebel were Catholics, probably quite a few students would believe the same happened in 1798.

The A-level textbook *From Pitt to Peel 1783-1846* focuses on the period which is subject of this section. Although its introduction makes it clear that Ireland is considered part of Britain ('Britain was a strongly Protestant country. Its main Catholic population was in Ireland, but it was tightly controlled by a dominant Protestant ruling class' (Wells, 2015, p. 7)), it still frequently omits detailed contents related to Ireland. In its chapter describing the time of Pitt the Younger, from 1783 to 1806, from pages 8 to 35, the only mentions to Ireland are on the summary timeline '1798 May: rebellion in Ireland' (p. 8),

a short reference to Pitt's 1801 resignation and the Act of Union 'Pitt resigned in 1801 when he failed to gain royal support for Catholic Emancipation following, first, a rebellion in Ireland in 1798 and then the Act of Union in 1800' (p. 9) and finally a reference to the 1798 French intervention 'there was a danger of invasion, and French troops did land in Ireland to support a rising there in 1798 (the United Irish Rebellion)' (p. 28). One could argue that the way Ireland was governed during Grattan's Parliament, the 1798 revolution/rebellion, the reasons, approval process and outcome of the 1800 Act of Union and the lack of Catholic Emancipation in 1801 should be treated in detail in an A-level textbook specialised in the 64 years from 1783 to 1846.

The A-level textbooks used in England which are specialised in the Anglo-Irish history of the long 19th century naturally include a detailed narrative of the aims of the United Irishmen. *Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923* (A-level) is one of the few textbooks used in England which explain how the events of 1798 and 1801 led to the change of political position between Catholics and Protestants in terms of their support for closer links with Great Britain.

At the beginning of the narrative, United Irishmen are represented as a more radical extremist organisation, making clear their Protestant origins, however, also explaining how they attracted Catholic support and how some Protestants formed the Orange Order and the government-led yeomanry to incite terror. In the more detailed storytelling, however, it does not seem that the United Irishmen were the real extremists, despite their earlier labelling, rather that the government used successful tactics to incite violence:

As so often in history, however, the beginnings of reform whetted the appetite and encouraged the rise of more extreme political movements. In 1791, the Society of United Irishmen was founded by Wolfe Tone (see page 20) to bring about Irish independence (Adelman & Byrne, 2016, p. 5)

The 1790s therefore saw the emergence of a new, ultimately more militant, organisation, the Society of United Irishmen, led by a young Protestant lawyer, Wolfe Tone. The Society of United Irishmen was originally formed in 1791 as an organisation of radical clubs in Ulster. Its aim was to influence Irish opinion in favour of: – Catholic emancipation, - parliamentary reform. In the years that followed, the society transformed itself into a more secretive, extremist and quasi-military organisation. (...) 'To subvert the tyranny of our execrable government', he wrote, 'to break the connection with England, the never-failing source of all our political evils, and to assert the independence

of my country - these are my objects'. The notion of liberation from British rule was bound to have an appeal, not just to the middle-class radicals, but also to the Catholic peasantry, who had their own economic grievances against Protestant landlords and the Anglican Church. This led to fierce outbreaks of sectarian strife in the north. In response, a number of Ulster Protestants combined together in 1795 to form the loyalist Orange Order, based largely on the former Volunteers, to defend Protestantism and the British Crown. Some Catholics therefore turned to the Society of United Irishmen to defend them against this Protestant backlash. (p. 20)

Action had already been taken by the British to stamp out the radical opposition. ... a force of loyalist Protestant yeomanry had been set up to act on behalf of the government. Now, in 1797, a mainly yeomanry force under the command of General Lake moved against the United Irishmen in Belfast, determined to destroy their leadership and their support. 'Our aim', said one officer, 'was to excite terror and by that means obtain our end speedily'. To a large extent their brutal campaign of repression succeeded... It was in these circumstances that the United Irishmen, now largely leaderless and with their organisation in disarray, decided that their only hope was through a rebellion coupled with a French invasion. (p. 21)

The following paragraphs provide a detailed and factual account of the 1798 rebellion, how in the above described circumstances the actions were uncoordinated: 'the rebellion therefore consisted of a series of separate uprisings, based primarily on local grievances rather any overriding set of ideas or a concerted plan' (p. 21). The authorship of the rebellion is also debated in detail, attributing it to revolutionary ideology, but also clarifying that the bloodiest events took place in form of religious confrontation in the south-east (as we will see, interestingly the order of committing atrocities in Wexford is the opposite in Irish textbooks, Beckett also refers to the existence of contradicting accounts (Beckett, 1981, p. 263)). The results of the war in terms of deaths is estimated at 30,000:

At the same time, some members of the Ascendancy saw it as basically a Catholic rebellion against Protestantism. But Lord Cornwallis, the viceroy, denounced 'the folly of substituting Catholic instead of Jacobin [French revolutionary] as the foundation of the present rebellion'... In fact, it was only among a minority in Ulster that French revolutionary ideas were important, and the rebellion there, as in the west of Ireland, was a limited affair. The main area where the outbreak was bitter and protracted was in the south-east, especially in Wexford, and there it did take the form of a bloody religious war. Groups of Protestants were massacred by Catholic insurgents, and the yeomanry responded in kind, sometimes resorting to a 'scorched earth' policy against Catholic

property. (...) Although the rebellion lasted barely a month, it has been estimated that by the end of that summer the death toll on both sides amounted to about 30,000. It has been suggested that ‘The 1798 rising was probably the most concentrated episode of violence in Irish history’. (Adelman & Byrne, 2016, p. 21)

There is a certain level of distancing from the rebellion and especially its spiritual followers: ‘in the long run, the life and death of Wolfe Tone and the history of the Society of United Irishmen became part of the mythology of Irish republican nationalism’ (p. 22). Although this is true (and we will also see this in the treatment of 1798 in Irish textbooks), the text fails to explain that in this way the largely Catholic ‘Irish republican nationalism’ has been based on a non-confessional but Protestant-led organisation.

3 dense pages (pp. 23-25) describe the arguments used in the Irish Parliament both for and against the Union, thus implicitly also recognising that this debate took place within the Protestant community (as no Catholic could be MP yet). The authors show a clear preference for the Union: ‘the arguments of the opponents of the union were more emotional, and were based primarily on a vague feeling of Irish nationality’ (p. 24) and they stress that it was a very limited view of the Irish ‘nation’ as it excluded Catholics:

The arguments put forward by the opponents of the union possessed one fatal flaw: the ‘nation’ they claimed to speak for – like the Irish parliament itself – represented only a tiny minority of the Irish people. The Catholics still remained outside the political nation. (p. 25)

The arguments used by the supporters of the Union highlight that the privileged position of the Protestant Ascendancy is based on the military strength of Great Britain ‘if, by any fatality it fails, you are at the mercy of the old inhabitants of this island’ (p. 23).

The following paragraphs also explain the effective Catholic support for the Union: ‘leading members of the Roman Catholic clergy and laity came out in support of union, encouraged by the belief that Catholic emancipation would follow’ (p. 25), the use of corruption to get approval for the Act and the king’s refusal to accept the planned Catholic Emancipation ‘arguing that to do so would violate his coronation oath to protect the Church of England and the Protestant Succession’ (p. 26). When describing the Catholic reaction to the lack of emancipation, the emphasis is on their feeling of betrayal, not that they effectively have been betrayed: ‘when this did not take place, the Catholics felt betrayed’ (p. 6). The textbook also explains that the effective government of Ireland

remained separate from that of Great Britain, as finances remained separate and the position of the lord-lieutenants and chief secretaries remained unchanged ‘the Protestant Ascendancy continued to control Ireland and run its local politics as they had done before 1801’ (p. 28) and that the result had been the radical change in the support for the Union, both from Protestants and Catholics:

All this meant that Irish Protestantism – especially the Ulster Presbyterians, who now built up strong economic and religious links with England – came to be identified with loyalty to the Union. By contrast, the Catholics soon became increasingly anti-unionist and began to develop a strong sense of their own separate Irish religious and national identity. They felt betrayed when union was not followed by Catholic emancipation. (p. 28)

In addition, at the end of the textbook, the authors conclude that ‘the Act [of Union] was undoubtedly conceived in terms of English and Protestant interests, from the point of view of security and defence, property rights and religion’ (p. 191).

The other recent A-level textbook specialised in Anglo-Irish history, *Paper 3: Ireland and the Union c1774-1923*, shows a more unclear and sometimes biased picture in their representation of the views of the different religious communities, potentially enabling many students to believe that the authors of 1798, the opponents of the 1801 Union and the Irish nationalists of the mid-19th century were the same.

This textbook starts its narrative by explaining in detail how the French revolution led to the radicalisation of the ‘younger individuals who had increasingly grown disillusioned by the continued dominance of British influence over Irish affairs’ (Kidson, 2016, p. 14) and how they believed in equal rights for Catholics. This textbook also includes a source material from 1791 detailing Wolfe Tone’s convictions, a highly insightful quote as it illustrates that his complaint was mainly about having a government which does not follow the interests of Ireland, especially in economic terms¹⁰⁵:

... The misfortune of Ireland is, that we have no National Government ... it is a Government derived from another country, whose interest, so far from being the same with that of our people, directly crosses it at right angles: does any man think that our rulers here recommend themselves to their creators in England, by promoting the interest

¹⁰⁵ We have already seen the treatment of Irish trade restrictions in this textbook.

of Ireland, when it can in the most remote degree interfere with the commerce of Great Britain? (p. 14)

The narrative continues with the negativity of Britain to extend rights further after the start of the war with France in 1793, how that led to the attempted landing of 14,000 French soldiers in Bantry Bay, that in 1797 United Irishmen had over 200,000 members, however the execution of the 1798 uprising was poor, about 15,000 fighting on the side of the revolutionaries against an army of 20,000 British soldiers and that the French help was too small and too late. Despite the fair and objectively worded storytelling, the following paragraph dealing with the consequent 1801 Union shows a clear Anglo-centric conviction, echoing views that Ireland could not have any own interest, she had to show first of all loyalty to Great Britain and that her will had to be subordinated to the higher demands of the British Empire:

Armed conflict in Ireland, at a time when Britain was vulnerable, made it clear to the British government that the Irish parliament was not strong enough to be relied upon. Ireland was at their 'back door', and therefore, in the interests of strategic security, Britain needed the country to be properly administered. Following the rising it was evident to the prime minister, William Pitt, that the direct administration was necessary, and in 1801 an Act of Union was formally passed with the support of the Irish parliament, making Ireland a more integral part of the British state. (p. 15)

This argument is incorrect not just from the perspective of denying agency to people living in territories which can be assimilated to a 'colony', but also because the administration of Ireland already before 1801 was in direct hands of the Westminster government and the system of the appointment of the Irish executive and its reporting line did not change after 1801 (as explained in the previous textbook *Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923*). Nevertheless, interestingly, even *Paper 3: Ireland and the Union c1774-1923* recognises the imperialistic nature of the Act of Union: 'within the arguments surrounding the passage of the Act of Union there runs a clear theme of conservative, imperialist, thought' (Kidson, 2016, p. 40).

This textbook also explains Pitt's arguments in order to secure Protestant support for the Act of Union, that after the Union 'they would no longer be a minority in Ireland but a majority in the United Kingdom - itself a Protestant state' (p. 53), however, the author fails to include in its narrative the fact that Catholics supported the Union. The detailed explanation of the 'British reaction' leading to the Act of Union attaches a

leading role in the process of securing more rights for Catholics to the Catholic Committee, without explaining the ideals of the leading Protestant politicians (from Grattan to Wolfe Tone), nor Wolfe Tone being the paid secretary of the organisation (Beckett, 1981, pp. 247-248), emphasizing that the ‘others’ were the Catholics, not the Irishmen in general (‘...to avoid making Irish Catholics a potential ally for France’ (Kidson, 2016, p. 40)). Thus, despite the earlier analysed representation of the Irish Volunteers (recognising their Protestant character (pp. 12-13)), probably more students reading this book would believe that 1798 was the result of a Catholic movement and that loyal Protestants always supported the 1801 Union, than the opposite.

Britain 1815-1895 and Ireland 1798-1922 (specialised A-level) resorts to the stereotypical representation of Catholics vs. Protestants when telling the story of 1798, where the Society of United Irishmen is not even mentioned (nor the Patriots or Grattan). The massive scale of followers of the United Irishmen from both denominations is omitted and Wolfe Tone is presented as a kind of manipulator who ‘took advantage of the simmering hatred’ to invite the French to invade. There is not one indication that in this conflict many Irish Catholics and Protestants stood on the same side, both for and against the revolution. Are we made to believe that this was a rebellion of Catholic Irish against the Protestant English, with the help of a ‘lone wolf’ Protestant lawyer?

The majority of the Irish population viewed the English as alien colonisers there to exploit them. There were profound differences between the mass of the population and the ruling minority. The mass (about 6 million) tended to be Roman Catholic, illiterate, landless and usually extremely poor. The ruling minority was Protestant, wealthy and landed. (...) Hatred of rule by aliens, with a strong flavour of Roman Catholic versus Protestant and the poor Irish against the rich English, led to open rebellion in 1798. The leader of the revolt was Wolfe Tone (1763-98), a Protestant Irish lawyer inspired by the examples of both the American and the French Revolution. He took advantage of the simmering hatred between many Irish people and their English rulers to try to get the French invade Ireland as part of their war against England. (Murphy, Walsh-Atkins, & Whiskerd, 2008, p. 180)

The evaluation of the outcome presents two points of view, an English view of treason by ‘helping the French’ (which is already a biased view, did the Irish try to help the French, or was it the French who tried to help the Irish?) and a second view in which the Irish saw the English as ‘enemy’. I believe that an additional point of view should have been presented, of the Irish who sided with the British, either because they believed in the system of British government (e.g. part of the Protestants) or because they were

even more against the French revolution's anticlerical ideology than against Great Britain (which was the point of view of the Roman Catholic clergy) (Beckett, 1981, pp. 247, 274):

Many English people felt that the Irish had behaved treasonably in helping the French. They failed to realise that they, the English, were seen as an 'enemy' by the Irish people – in the same way as the English viewed the French as an enemy. In fact, many Irishmen saw the French as potential liberators, just as the Germans were to be seen in 1916. (Murphy, Walsh-Atkins, & Whiskerd, 2008, p. 181)

The authors position the Act of Union as a 'more positive and proactive' reaction to the revolt of 1798. The text explains that the approval of the Union in Ireland wasn't easy: 'Castlereagh, sometimes using corrupt methods, persuaded the Irish Parliament to vote itself out of existence' (p. 181). The text continues with the recognition that the lack of the promised Catholic Emancipation meant that the Union 'got off to a bad start', providing two hypotheses for this: either the king's refusal or that 'Pitt and Castlereagh never intended it to happen' (p. 181). The Irish reaction once again is seen as a feeling of betrayal. The text mentions that 'only 20% of all the MPs in London were Irish' (p. 181), an error of calculation (we have seen earlier that the correct number is 15%: 100 out of 658) and there is no context provided in terms of Ireland's importance within the Union in terms of population.

There are eleven English textbooks that do not mention 1798 nor the United Irishmen, but yes, the 1801 Union. The narrative of these textbooks usually is brief and factual, without entering into the reasons for the Union nor explaining the question of Catholic Emancipation. Among these books we can find *Colonisation and Conflict 1750-1990* (KS3): 'in 1801, the Irish Parliament had been abolished and Ireland was ruled from Westminster with the Irish Secretary having considerable power' (Collier & Marriott, 2002, p. 93) and 'in 1801, Britain closed the Irish Parliament, Ireland was to be ruled from London' (p. 227); *Industry, Revolution and Empire. Britain 1750-1900* (KS3): 'since 1801, Britain had ruled Ireland from London. The British Parliament made all the decisions relating to Ireland...' (Wilkes A. , 2004 (1), p. 70); *A history of Britain from 1867* (GCSE): 'control of Irish affairs from Westminster had been strengthened by the Act of Union of 1801. This abolished Ireland's separate parliament and allowed instead for Irish representation in the parliament at Westminster' (Martell, 1988, p. 8); or *Britain*

in peace and war 1900-1918 (GCSE): ‘by the Irish Act of Union of 1800, Ireland was represented in Parliament by 100 MPs and 28 peers’ (Culpin, 2016, p. 74).

Britain 1846-1951 (A-level) provides a description of similar depth when summarising ‘Britain overseas’ in its introduction, however ventures into a highly controversial evaluation about Catholicism making the country ‘more akin to a colony’ and also about the cause-impact relationship between being a colony and the backwardness of the economy (suggesting that backwardness makes a territory a colony), whilst in earlier pages of this thesis we have seen what type of economic and trade restrictions have been imposed on Ireland in order to defend English and British interests:

Britain’s most troublesome overseas possession was Ireland. An Act of Union that came into effect in 1801 had joined Ireland to Britain, and Ireland sent MPs to the British parliament, but its backward economy and the predominance of Catholicism among its people made it more akin to a colony. (Wells & Dicken, 2015, p. 7)

Twentieth-century British History, Book One 1900-14 (KS3) also includes a potentially controversial evaluation whether people of one religion can rule people of another fairly, in this case also completely missing the point that the initial support for Union came strongly from Catholics and the objection from Irish Protestants.

The Act of Union was passed in 1800. It said that Ireland had to be ruled from England. Many Irish people hated this. They wanted to rule themselves. For instance, most English people were Protestants. Most Irish people were Catholics. Could English Protestants rule Irish Catholics fairly? (Reynoldson, 1985 (1), p. 75)

Without blaming religion for the differences, *Challenge and Transformation Britain c. 1851-1964* (A-level) similarly highlights the tensions caused by the Union:

In 1800, an Act of Union had been pushed through Parliament at Westminster and brought to an end the Irish parliament in Dublin. In spite of the Union, or rather because of it, relationships between Britain and Ireland were constantly strained. (Fortune, 2016, p. 51)

British History 1815-1914 (GCSE), provides a more detailed description, highlighting the failure to approve Catholic Emancipation together with the Union and the impact this caused in many Irishmen:

In 1800 the Act of Union with Ireland had been passed: the separate Irish Parliament which then existed had been abolished, and instead Ireland had been given 28 seats in the Lords and 100 in the Commons at Westminster. William Pitt the Younger, then Prime Minister, had intended to accompany the Union by a grant of Catholic Emancipation, but

George III declined to agree. Thus the Union appeared to the vast majority of Irishmen to be imposed by England and marred from the start by a broken promise.’ (Hill & Wright, 1981, pp. 27-28)

Three textbooks only explain the Act of Union as the start of the period in which Ireland was part of the United Kingdom. In *Britain 1815-1851* (GCSE), when analysing the origin of emigration: ‘from 1801 the whole of Ireland was part of the United Kingdom’ (Rees R. A., 1990, p. 103). A similar sentence can be found in *Wars and Welfare: Britain in Transition 1906-1957* (A-level): ‘between the Act of Union in 1800 and the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921, the whole of Ireland was part of the United Kingdom’ (Thomas & Willis, 2016, p. XIV). The authors of *Twentieth Century Britain* (A-level) write that ‘between the Act of Union of 1800 and the Irish Treaty of 1921 the whole of Ireland was an integral part of the United Kingdom, although the colonisation of Ireland had begun long before 1800’ (Brown & Daniels, 1982, p. 24).

Finally, *Britain since 1945* (A-level) in its short introduction describes how the integration of Ireland had very different roots compared to Scotland and Wales, however not specifically mentioning the Act of Union: ‘by contrast with Scotland (entering the Union partly on its own terms) and Wales (acquiescing in semi-integration) Ireland was a country apart and ruled by aliens, but never fully conquered and integrated’ (Madgwick, Steeds, & Williams, 1982, p. 327).

All three Northern Irish KS3 textbooks provide a detailed description of the United Irishmen, their aims, the common Catholic-Protestant agenda, the leadership of Protestants, the 1798 uprising, the French support, its failure and the Act of Union as a consequence. Differences arise in some specific details: *History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1169-1500* puts an emphasis on the chronological representation of the events from the 1779 Irish legislation on Free Trade until the 1801 Act of Union. Specific differential contents are the British government’s ban in 1796 on taking an oath to secret organisations under the threat of death penalty (and that members of the Society of United Irishmen just did that), the activity of British spies leading to the arrest of the leaders of the 1798 uprising in Dublin (naming Lord Edward Fitzgerald) and an analysis of the reasons for the failure of the rebellion (mentioning ‘very harsh forms of torture’ used by the British government in interrogations, the activity of spies, the ‘lack of communication between the rebels in the South and the North’, insufficient foreign aid and division

between different fractions (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008, p. 63)). The text recognises the joint aims of both Catholics and Protestants and the narrative is supportive of their ideals:

Theobald Wolfe Tone, a Protestant, founded the Society of United Irishmen in Belfast. It was a group of both Protestants and Catholics. They hoped to bring together Irishmen of all backgrounds in order to achieve religious equality and to reform the way Ireland was governed. They took many ideas from the French revolution, believing that the only way to change things was to overthrow the old corrupt system by any means necessary. (p. 61)

The authors also explain the failed attempt to introduce Catholic Emancipation and how ‘this led to discontent’ (p. 63). However, there is a factual error in the narrative when it says that ‘they [Catholics] could not become MPs or vote’ (p. 63), when at the time of the events, in 1801, they could already vote (from 1793). The Act of Union is justified by the evidence that ‘their enemy France could use Ireland as a base from which to attack’ and therefore ‘the British government saw that Ireland needed to be controlled in a tighter way’ (p. 63). Among the detailed contents we could expect from the textbook, the main missing element is the explanation that the Catholic clergy was against 1798 and that it supported the Union, meanwhile there was a strong opposition to the Union in the (solely Protestant) Irish Parliament, and that as a result of the lack of Catholic Emancipation, loyalties switched.

History in close-up: The age of discovery (KS3) provides a somewhat shorter storytelling, however, it still includes the relevant points: the United Irishmen, their aims, covering both Catholics and Protestants, the failed French landing of 1796, the estimated 10,000 dead in the 1798 conflict and the Act of Union (‘in response to the rebellion, the British decided to abolish the Irish Parliament and rule Ireland directly from the British Parliament’ (Hodge, 2011, p. 122)). Finally, the narrative also explains how Catholics supported the Union and how their position changed (although with some simplification, by 1801 most Penal Laws have already been repealed, with the exception of becoming an MP):

Because the old Irish Parliament had been seen as corrupt and dominated by Protestants, the Catholic majority in Ireland initially supported the Union. However, when it became clear that the London Parliament was not going to end the Penal Laws, they quickly turned against it’ (p. 122).

This textbook is unique among the Northern Irish KS3 books in explaining how the British government fuelled division and violence before 1798:

The British decided to stir up sectarianism in order to divided the rebels. The Lord Chancellor wrote: 'I have arranged... to increase the animosity between the Orangemen and the United Irishmen, or liberty men as they call themselves. Upon that animosity depends the safety of three centre counties of the North.' The British conducted a series of raids against the United Irishmen in 1798, and open rebellion broke out in May. (p. 121).

History in Close-Up: Union and Partition (KS3) starts with a study unit on *Unionism and Nationalism* before explaining 1798 under the study unit *Irish Republicanism*. Although the text explains that unionism surfaced 'later in the nineteenth century' in order to preserve the economic prosperity brought by the Union, it does not specify that nationalism started much earlier. The authors describe that nationalism existed in many parts of Europe (naming the 'Austrian Empire') and they outline five 'key elements in nationalism...: geography..., race..., language..., culture..., religion...' (Rees, Hodge, Johnston, & Turner Johnston, 2012, p. 45). In continuation they evaluate that in Irish nationalism some of these 'were missing', although the affirmation that only very few people in Ireland spoke Irish is debatable for the analysed period at the end of the 18th century:

... although the Irish had their own language, only a very small number of people actually spoke Irish. Another problem was religion. (...) 'It has been hinted to us that it is our opinion that no-one but a Catholic can be an Irishman. We never said so, nor do we think so.' From *The Leader*, a Nationalist paper... (p. 46).

In this way, the portrayal of the United Irishmen in the following page becomes somewhat biased by the categorisation of Irish politics among the late-19th century lines between Unionist and Nationalist. However, the narrative of the foundation of the Society of United Irishmen clearly explains that it was an initiative led by Protestants, but they wanted equal rights for Catholics:

One of their new leaders was Wolfe Tone who was a Protestant lawyer from Dublin. Most of the other leaders of the United Irishmen were Belfast Presbyterians. Tone and the other Protestant leaders of the United Irishmen believed that they would only win if most of the people in the country supported them. In Ireland most of the people were Catholic. The aim of the United Irishmen was to use force to set up an independent Irish Republic. This established the republican tradition in Irish Nationalism. (p. 47)

This textbook explains the result of the rebellion a few pages earlier, including the 1801 Act of Union, nevertheless, students do not hear about the Catholic support for the Union nor the failure of Catholic Emancipation at this time.

Ireland under the Union 1800-1900 for CCEA A2 level only includes part of the analysed events in its scope, therefore the United Irishmen are only mentioned very briefly in the introduction of the chapter on *Revolutionary Nationalism 1800-1900*. The emphasis therefore is on the legacy it left in terms of aims and methods, describing it as 'constitutional separatism, and violence was only contemplated as a last, hopeless, resort when more conventional political avenues had been exhausted' (Rees R. A., 1990, p. 39). Thus, we do not hear about the United Irishmen's aims and composition, the support of the French in 1796 and 1798, or the position of the Catholic Church. It is somewhat surprising however that the evaluation puts more focus on the Defenders than on the United Irishmen:

Some of those engaged in the rebellion had been motivated by local grievances, and there was a powerful sectarian undercurrent at work, which particularly influenced followers of the Defenders, a Catholic secret society that had grown rapidly in the 1790s when it entered into an alliance with the United Irishmen' (p. 39).

There is detailed description of the debates regarding that Act of Union, including the Protestant opposition, and the text also recognises the initial Catholic support and how their position changed after:

Grattan and his patriot supporters fought against Pitt's union plans, though most of this Ascendency opposition to the Act of Union faded quickly once they recognised that they were heavily outnumbered by the Catholic majority. It would have been difficult to foresee this development in 1800, but then the rise of popular Catholic nationalism and the sharp decline of Presbyterian radicalism would have been equally hard to predict. Initial reaction to the Act of Union would have confirmed this. Both the Catholic hierarchy and most of the Catholic middle classes were in favour of the union, while the recently formed Orange Order was fiercely opposed to the measure. (p. 8).

Among the Irish Junior Certificate textbooks, all dedicate ample space to 1798. *New Complete History* occupies 10 pages with its narrative (Hayes C. , 2009, pp. 142-151), focused on the ideas of enlightenment; the American War of Independence and its Presbyterians supporters in Belfast; the French revolution's impact; Wolfe Tone's role

(‘... [he] was a very famous Irish revolutionary. He was an Anglican, but he hated what he called the ‘the absolute slavery’ that Irish Catholics had to endure’ (p. 144)); the foundation of the United Irishmen in Belfast; their aims (‘to unite Catholics and Protestants in order to bring liberty and equality to Ireland, to campaign peacefully to reduce English power in Ireland’ (p. 144)); the failed French landing in 1796; the government terror including torture through half-hanging and pitch capping; the role and fall of Lord Edward Fitzgerald; a detailed description of the rebellion’s events in Leinster and Wexford (also explaining that most members of pro-government militia were Catholics, and the rebels burnt ‘hundred unarmed Protestants in a barn at Scullabogue ... and murdered another hundred Protestants on Wexford Bridge (p. 147)); the rebellion in Ulster and Connacht (with French help); the reasons for the failure (spies, better government forces, lack of rebels’ discipline and inadequate French aid); and the legacy (estimated 40,000 deaths, republicanism and the Act of Union).

However, the text does not explain how the Union became a reality, who supported it at the time in Ireland (including Catholics) and who opposed it (mainly Protestants including Grattan) and the working of the Union is only briefly mentioned 40 pages later (p. 189). In addition, although it is unclear to which period the affirmation refers to (e.g. 1800 or the time of the Home Rule Crisis 1910-1914), the author sentences that ‘about one quarter of Irish people supported the Union with Britain. About three quarters of Irish people did not’ (p. 189), which is highly questionable for both cases. Thus, the emphasis is on the ideals of the United Irishmen, a government-induced uprising of 1798 and its battles.

Discovering History includes 12 pages about 1798, not counting the introduction (consisting of the narrative of 1690, the Penal Laws and the composition of the Irish population at the time) (McCaughey, c2009, pp. 246-257). The narrative is very similar to the previous textbook, adding however the role of the Catholic Committee in achieving the 1793 abolition of most Penal Laws; and the existence of paramilitary forces on both Catholic (militias – government organised - and Defenders) and Protestant sides (yeomanry – government organised –, Peep-o-Day Boys and the Orange Order). When describing the events in Wexford, the author emphasises that executions by the government and killings by Protestant mobs preceded the rebels’ actions. Although this textbook mentions the initial rejection of the Irish Parliament to its dissolution and the

role bribes played, the readers won't hear about the position Catholics took regarding the Union nor how it changed as Catholic Emancipation was not enacted in 1801.

The Past Today covers 1798 in a somewhat shorter extension: 7 pages (Lucey, 2002, pp. 201-207), missing some of the detail of the British government's terror tactics and of the actual battles of 1798, also failing to describe the religious background of the militias and yeomanry. Similarly to *New Complete History*, the reference to the Act of Union is very brief, without any hint about its supporters and opponents and the lack of approval of Catholic Emancipation.

Uncovering History presents the events of 1798 in ten pages (Delap & McCormack, 2011, pp. 218-227), in a very similar depth as *Discovering History*, however this textbook also misses to explain the process of the approval of the Act of Union, even if much later, on page 363 it stresses the economic damage that the removal of the parliament caused Dublin. The authors in several places correctly recognise the cross-denominational character of the United Irishmen, explain that many of its members were Protestant and that government-led paramilitaries consisted of both Catholics and Protestants, nevertheless, page 219 provides the perception as if the fight would not have been against the government but the Protestant Ascendancy in general – which is incorrect (as we have seen, both Catholics and Protestants could be found on both sides of the conflict):

At first the United Irishmen intended to achieve its aims through purely peaceful means. However, it quickly became clear that this route could achieve little. Just as few of the members of the First and Second Estate in France would be persuaded to give up their privilege in 1789, few members of the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland could be persuaded to give up their power and privilege. It was obvious to Wolfe Tone and his supporters that change could only be achieved by rebellion and revolution.

In case of all four Junior Certificate textbooks, the 1801 Act of Union is narrated very briefly, and no mention is made of the promised but failed attempt to introduce Catholic Emancipation at the same time, and the leading British politician behind the initiative, Pitt the Younger (the Prime Minister) is also completely missing.

As a summary, the events of 1798 are explained in most detail in Irish textbooks. They tell the story with a generally good level of objectivity (except the previous example

which implied that the ‘enemy’ was the Protestant Ascendancy), however they tend to be very brief about 1801, all of them omitting to mention Catholic support for the Union. Northern Irish textbooks also provide a detailed narrative, although with a lower level of detail. Some of the textbooks miss relevant contents, for instance the Catholic support for the Union or how the British government fuelled sectarian conflict which then led to the outbreak of the 1798 rebellion.

Among the English textbooks we can only find a reasonable depth about 1798 in the specialised A-level books and even among these textbooks sometimes the narrative does not specify that it was a cross-community uprising. This is a common failure of many English textbooks, it seems as if the authors of 1798 were the same Irish (Catholic) Nationalists as those of other movements in the 19th century. The Act of Union is mentioned briefly, except in the specialised A-level textbooks which treat it more thoroughly. However, one of these A-level textbooks also misses to explain the contemporary Catholic support for the Union. The argument for the Union frequently shows the imperial perspective, denying agency to the Irish and highlighting their ‘betrayal’ when England was at war with France or (incorrectly) stressing that the Union was needed to change the executive government as the previous system proved Dublin unable to deal with the rebellion.

The Emmet Rebellion of 1803

Emmet’s Rebellion is narrated in three out of four Irish Junior Certificate textbooks as one of the immediate consequences of the Act of Union. *The Past Today* describes it in the following brief manner:

The Rebellion of 1803: The influence of the United Irishmen continued through Robert Emmet, the younger brother of one of the United Irish leaders. He planned a rising a few years later, in 1803. But it was badly organised and amounted to only a few incidents in Dublin. It was easily put down, and Emmet was later arrested and executed. (Lucey, 2002, p. 207)

Discovering History also adds that Emmet was Protestant, used his inheritance to buy weapons and that he was a ‘romantic rebel’, closing the portrayal with the sentence: ‘no more rebellions took place in Ireland for almost 50 years’ (McCaughy, c2009, p. 255).

New Complete History only briefly mentions Emmet within the context of the republican tradition of Irish politics:

Wolfe Tone and the United Irishmen introduced the idea of republicanism into Irish politics. The republican ideal of a country ruled by its own people was kept alive in later rebellions led by Robert Emmet (1803), the Young Irelanders (1848), the Fenians (1867) and the Irish Republican Brotherhood (1916). (*Hayes C. , 2009, p. 149*)

Among the analysed Northern Irish KS3 textbooks only *History in Close-Up: Union and Partition* includes Emmet and 1803 in the storyline, although this book fails to mention that he was Protestant and the tone sounds a bit ironic, as if the main purpose of a rebellion would be to create martyrs:

The next try at revolution was in 1803 when a surviving United Irishman, Robert Emmet, led a rebellion in Dublin. It too turned out to be a disaster and Emmet was executed. Now the Irish Republicans had two new martyrs to follow - Tone and Emmet. (*Rees, Hodge, Johnston, & Turner Johnston, 2012, p. 47*)

The most detailed portrayal can be found in *Ireland Under the Union 1800-1900 for CCEA A2 level*, explaining through two pages the events of 1803. This textbook also describes how Protestants thought it was a Catholic rebellion, when the tone of other narratives is quite different¹⁰⁶. Nevertheless, the author emphasises that ‘failure itself became a triumph’:

Although Emmet and a number of associates were Protestant, the rebellion was viewed as a Catholic plot by the Dublin Protestant elite, whose fear of Catholic conspiracies had not subsided since 1798. This was in spite of the immediate condemnation of the rebellion by the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, John Troy. (...) A supporter of the Act of Union, Troy was consistently working to counter the spread of radical ideas, what he called ‘the French disease’. (*Rees R. D., 2018, p. 40*)

Emmet was viewed in positive light by violent nationalists who overlooked the futile and embarrassing nature of the 1803 rising. In fact, failure itself became a triumph, as the hopelessness of the entire venture was obscured by Emmet's youthful idealism and self-sacrifice. (p. 41)

One of the specialised A-level textbooks from England treat the Emmet Rebellion in similar depth. *Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923* provides the most thorough description of the actual events of the rebellion. For this textbook, the

¹⁰⁶ Beckett treats Emmet's rebellion as a side-note (Beckett, 1981, p. 285)

importance of the rebellion was the distancing from France and Emmet's Declaration of Independence, which served as a model for the 1916 declaration. We can also read a quote from Pádraic Pearse praising Emmet: 'it is the memory of a sacrifice Christ-like in its perfection. ... And his death was august' (Adelman & Byrne, 2016). *Paper 3: Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923* (A-level) mentions 1803 and Emmet only very briefly in its introduction to the Repeal Association, describing Emmet as a hero who died for his country (in the opinion of the younger generation) (Kidson, 2016, pp. 17, 20). Emmet and his 1803 rebellion are not included in other English textbooks.

Catholic Emancipation

The process of the repeal of the Penal Laws was a long process, starting already in the 1770s, and – as we have seen - in 1793 Catholics were allowed to vote (Beckett, 1981, pp. 214, 248-251). However, the last principal restriction, effectively banning Catholics from becoming Members of Parliament (and other important positions of the state) remained and its repeal had not been achieved together with the Act of Union. The consecution of this right was the main political aim of the Catholic community at the beginning of the 19th century, which only became fruitful in 1829, after a mass political movement had been established to support it (pp. 285-288, 294-305). The portrayal of this process in textbooks ranges from a line – mentioning that Catholics could vote – to a detailed narrative of the struggles of these nearly 30 years.

Among the Northern Irish textbooks, *Ireland under the Union 1800-1900 for CCEA A2 level* treats these events in the most itemised way: most of pages 15 to 25 are dedicated to this issue – it is worth to reproduce some of the storyline, so that we can later evaluate which contents are missing from other textbooks. The narrative starts with Grattan's attempts to secure emancipation between 1804 and 1813, however, it failed as the clergy wasn't ready to 'accept a royal veto on the appointment of Irish bishops' (Rees R. D., 2018, p. 15), followed by Daniel O'Connell taking leadership of the 'non-vetoists' in 1807. After Grattan's death, his role had been taken over by William Plunket, a liberal Protestant MP, and his proposal (including both veto and emancipation) in 1821 achieved a majority in the Commons but was defeated in the Lords. The story continues with the establishment of the Catholic Association in 1823 in order to secure unity of action and in 1824 'the Catholic Association was transformed into a huge popular movement by O'Connell's proposal to create a new category of associate member who would pay a

minimum subscription of one penny per month' (p. 17), which was considered the 'Catholic rent', also collected after the Sunday masses, with a significant involvement of the Church leading to a 'crusade-like quality' (p. 18). This in turn led to sectarian violence by the 'yeomanry, an almost exclusively Protestant force heavily infiltrated by the Orange Order' (p. 18). Although the author recognises that O'Connell was against any secret societies, there is also a level of critique against him:

In directing the agitation, O'Connell exploited the profound sense of injustice that had been felt by Catholics over a long period. He also attacked the union by claiming that it was responsible for many of these grievances. (...) Still, the role of the Catholic clergy was crucial to the development of nationalism in this period. (p. 19)

The next attempt at emancipation by liberal Protestant MPs (led by Plunkett) was in 1825, once again stopped in the House of Lords, and it already included the proposal to disenfranchise the so-called 40-shilling freeholders – this textbook also explains how O'Connell supported this initiative and how this has been exploited by his rivals, claiming that he 'abandoned' his supporters.

The following events in the long narrative are the government ban of both the Orange Order and the Catholic Association, which has been refunded and started a new strategy to propose candidates for the elections against the traditional landlords: 'this demonstration of Catholic electoral power shocked both the British government and the Protestant establishment in Ireland' (p. 20). The ongoing mobilisation of the pro-emancipation camp is once again presented with a somewhat critical voice, as if existing legal discrimination against a group of the society would not justify energetic (but still completely legal) action from such group after many decades of unsuccessful campaign¹⁰⁷:

O'Connell now appeared to be on a collision course with the Westminster government, as impressive popular demonstrations of support for emancipation increased the possibility of violent clashes with the authorities. While O'Connell was anxious to keep these demonstrations peaceful, both his aggressive rhetoric and the intimidatory nature of agitation could easily have sparked a knee-jerk response from an Irish administration that had a reputation for overreaction. (p. 21)

¹⁰⁷ Beckett shows a more appreciative tone towards O'Connell's aggressive language: '...the habitual violence of his language [of O'Connell] was deliberate. He believed that the Roman Catholics had for so long been accustomed to accepting an inferior status that they had lost confidence in their ability to assert their rights, and that it was his duty to set them an example by fearless defiance of the ascendancy.' (Beckett, 1981, p. 300)

Huge excitement was generated as the leader of Catholic nationalism launched a series of vicious verbal attacks on the government, while posing as the defender of Catholic rights. (p. 22)

After O'Connell's by-election victory, 'the task for the government now was to manage the implementation of Catholic emancipation without appearing to have capitulated to popular pressure in Ireland' (p. 22). This proved difficult – in the narrative of the author – as after O'Connell's successful election campaign Irish Protestants established a new organisation, the 'Brunswick Clubs'. Interestingly, while the portrayal of this group is fair, the author seems to be less critical with them than with O'Connell, even if this organisation did not abandon the use of force:

Irish Protestants had been alarmed by the manner of O'Connell's victory in the Clare by-election, and many insisted that a demonstration of force would be required to reassert their authority. The Brunswick Clubs were militant Protestant societies, pledged to resist emancipation by force, if necessary. (pp. 22-23)

The following approval of the legislation enabling Catholic Emancipation was combined with the increase of the property qualification threshold. The narrative makes clear that it was the government that needed this change, however also blames O'Connell for the 'sacrifice':

While Wellington now considered emancipation essential if his government was to prevent rebellion in Ireland, he appreciated that it needed to be presented in a manner that would ease the concerns of its opponents. He achieved this by disenfranchising the 40-shilling freeholders, the group that had played such a key role in O'Connell's electoral success. The government could argue, therefore, that it had checked the rise of O'Connellism by strengthening the position of the responsible, propertied classes in Ireland. Raising the franchise qualification to £10 freeholders drastically reduced the number of Catholic voters, but this sacrifice by O'Connell was largely ignored as his supporters celebrated victory. (p. 23)

In evaluating the victory, this textbook explains that 'the legislation also opened up access to senior government offices, the highest military ranks and the top echelons of the legal profession. Only the titles of Regent, Lord Chancellor and Lord Lieutenant were now beyond Catholic reach' (p. 24), that the number of people on the electoral census declined from 216,000 to 37,000, that it was a relevant aspect that the change had been achieved in Parliament (thus becoming the foundation of constitutional nationalism), even though the Catholic leaders 'were also aware that a direct confrontation with the

authorities in London had been necessary' (p. 24) and finally that it created a self-conscious and empowered Catholic population ready to assume a political role, supported by a 'culture of agitation' (p. 24). *Beckett* evaluates the way in which Catholic Emancipation was achieved in a very different manner, highlighting that it was an achievement of O'Connell and the Irish Catholics against Britain¹⁰⁸ and its impact in the parliamentary tradition is also seen quite differently, emphasizing that Irish politics during the Union always remained at the margin of parliamentary democracy as no minority in this conflict (either the Irish Catholics as a minority within the UK or the Irish protestants as a minority within Ireland) were ready to accept the majority vote as they thought the majority will abuse their power¹⁰⁹. In the text quoted from the textbook, the last word 'agitation' is also used frequently in other textbooks describing the process of political awakening in Ireland, with its negative connotations. One could ask how often the same word is used to describe other processes of separation from the British Empire e.g. regarding India, or the American or later the African colonies? Interestingly, the fathers of the US Constitution or Gandhi are not frequently presented as 'agitators', this privilege is kept for Irish Nationalists, even if they followed peaceful methods like O'Connell did.

History in Close-Up: Union and Partition (KS3) is significantly shorter in its narrative, although it still explains in a specific study unit of three pages the gradual repeal of the Penal Laws from 1778, King George III's refusal to Catholic Emancipation (although incorrectly stating that 'almost every MP in the London Parliament was in favour' (Rees, Hodge, Johnston, & Turner Johnston, 2012, p. 52)), the foundation of the Catholic Association, O'Connell's convictions against violence and his win in the 1828

¹⁰⁸ 'Had Emancipation been granted at any time before 1823 it would have appeared as a concession to reason and justice, and the credit would have gone to the parliamentary friends of the Roman Catholic cause. Their influence was, in fact, essential to the passage of the relief act of 1829: but their share of victory was completely overshadowed by that of O'Connell. To Irishmen it seemed, not unnaturally, that they had wrested their rights from an unwilling Britain, entirely by their own efforts; and the government itself, by its obvious alarm, did much to strengthen this view. (...) A concession so granted could hardly, in any case, have much conciliatory effect; the grudging and suspicious attitude of the government made it an occasion of fresh grievance.' (Beckett, 1981, p. 303)

¹⁰⁹ 'Though Roman Catholics had been admitted to parliament, Irish politics never acquired, during the period of the union, a parliamentary character. The basic condition for a parliamentary democracy is that the minority should be prepared to accept majority decisions; and this readiness arises from the confidence that the majority will not abuse its power. No such confidence existed between the bulk of the Irish people and the majority in the United Kingdom as a whole; the issues between them might be debated in parliament, but they could never be settled on a purely parliamentary basis. The whole situation was complicated by the fact that there was the same lack of confidence between the Irish protestants and the majority of their fellow-countrymen: in the long run, neither of the two main parties in Ireland was willing to have its fate decided by votes.' (Beckett, 1981, p. 305)

by-election leading to the Catholic Relief Act in 1829, gaining the title ‘The Liberator’. Thus, the main contents we miss are the increase of property qualification thresholds, earlier attempts during the early 19th century to achieve emancipation, the understanding that a Catholic mass political movement had been created to support Emancipation and the Irish Protestant opposition.

The last analysed Northern Irish textbook, *History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1500-1900* only dedicates a few lines to the same topic at the end of the chapter dealing with 1798, merely explaining what the question consisted of and that O’Connell achieved it in 1829, followed by a couple of pages about O’Connell which we will analyse in detail in the next section about the Repeal Movement (although we have to note the verb used: ‘granted’):

The campaign for the right for Catholics to vote was known as Catholic Emancipation, and it became an important issue in the 1800s. It was not until 1829 that it was granted, when a man called Daniel O’Connell led a campaign for Catholic emancipation through parliament. (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008, p. 63)

In the 1820s, O’Connell began to work for Catholic Emancipation with the support of the Catholic Church. In 1828 O’Connell was elected as the MP for Clare, and in 1829 Catholic Emancipation was granted. (p. 77)

Maybe surprisingly, Irish Junior Certificate textbooks seldom even mention the final achievement of 1829 which allowed Catholics to become MPs. *Discovering History* is the only one of the analysed Irish textbooks which includes this event, explaining it in a whole paragraph, as one of the consequences of the failed 1798 uprising:

In the early 1800s, a Catholic from Derrynane, County Kerry, called Daniel O’Connell campaigned for Catholic Emancipation (to allow Catholics to become MPs). He had seen the violence and bloodshed of failed rebellions and believed more peaceful methods were necessary. In 1823 he set up the Catholic Association to campaign for the right to sit in parliament and asked all Catholics to pay a penny each week to the Association. It was a huge success and by 1828 O’Connell had been elected to Westminster as an MP even though he was forbidden to sit because he was a Catholic. With growing support for Catholic Emancipation in Ireland, the British government decided to permit it as in April 1829 Catholic Emancipation was passed. O’Connell became known as The Liberator. (McCaughey, c2009, p. 256)

In this relatively short extension, naturally not every relevant aspect of the process can be explained, for instance the earlier attempts in 1821 and 1825, nor that in parallel property qualification thresholds for the census had been raised. The wording of the prohibition to sit in Parliament is also a bit misleading: the restriction consisted in that the oath each member of Parliament had to take was contrary to Catholic beliefs, thus no Catholic chose to effectively take the seat in Parliament. The actual change in legislation was that the text of the oath had been smoothened. The omission in other Irish textbooks is a serious fault, as Beckett highlights: ‘1829 proved a more important turning-point in the history of modern Ireland than 1800’ (Beckett, 1981, p. 304).

The quantitative analysis has shown that among textbooks used in England only 44% explain what Catholic Emancipation consisted of. Within these textbooks which mention Catholic Emancipation only about half of them explain that an actual campaign was required to achieve it and that O’Connell stood behind it. The KS3 textbook *Making Sense of History 1745-1901* covers the topic with a short sentence: ‘in the 1820s Daniel O’Connell launched a campaign which succeeded in winning Catholic Emancipation by 1829’ (Clare J. D., Bates, Fisher, & Kennett, 2015 (2), p. 70).

British History 1815-1914 (GCSE) provides a bit longer description of the events at the end of the Catholic Emancipation campaign, starting with the establishment of the Catholic Association and completed with the explanation of the increase of property qualifications to vote. The introduction recognises that ‘very large number of British people were deeply prejudiced against Roman Catholics, regarding their beliefs as superstitious nonsense, their worship as idolatrous, and many of their practices and societies sinister’ (Hill & Wright, 1981, p. 27), however the authors see the main consequence of the Catholics Emancipation campaign that ‘O’Connell’s movement had shown how to do it, as an organised group bringing pressure to bear on Parliament. It was an example not lost on British reformers’ (p. 29). Page 43 refers again to the change of the census, and how the Great Reform Act of 1832 left the rules unchanged for Ireland.

The A-level textbook *Liberalism and Conservatism, 1846-1905* emphasises the political colours of the British government which approved Catholic Emancipation, only mentioning ‘albeit under threat of revolt in Ireland’ (Paterson, 2001, p. 7), thus omitting the Irish Catholic leadership behind the whole process. A similar narrative is found in

Colonisation and Conflict 1750-1990 (KS3), focusing on Peel's actions and lacking any explanation of the campaign that took place in Ireland (Collier & Marriott, 2002, p. 93).

Similarly, the GCSE textbook *Britain 1815-1851* only makes a brief reference to the outcome, not explaining who was behind this initiative and positioning Parliament as the place where most of the confrontation happened (and not the Irish campaign which is not even mentioned): 'in 1829 the [Roman Catholics] were allowed to become MPs and hold important jobs in government – but not without fierce debates in Parliament' (Rees R. A., 1990, p. 83).

Two non-Ireland specific A-level textbooks explain Catholic Emancipation in detail. *Britain 1815-1867* provides a thorough description of the events leading to Catholic Emancipation, including the failure to approve it in 1801 due to the king; the Commons' support of earlier attempts; the difference between the popular Anti-Catholic mood ('the cry of "No Popery" was still a popular one' (Catterall, 1994 (1), p. 63)) and the sympathy of the Commons; the emergence of O'Connell, the Catholic Association, the 'Catholic Rent' and a significant political force ('Irish protest was no longer agrarian and local; it was now political and national' (p. 64)); Peel's opposition both as Irish Chief Secretary in 1817 and later as Home Secretary and his final reluctant support in order to prevent civil war (which costed him his seat as MP representing Oxford University (pp. 68-71)); the results of the 1828 by-election and how it lead to the approval of Catholic Emancipation in 1829. The authors also stress that the increase of property qualification thresholds was the only way the government could keep the election results under certain control, given that Catholics were usually poorer than Protestants (due to the centuries-long discrimination):

So as to curtail the political danger from Ireland, the Irish county voting qualification was raised from 40 shillings to £10. This cut the number of voters from 216,000 to 37,000 and left the electorate almost wholly Protestant. The number of MPs that were followers of O'Connell never reached the levels initially feared and by 1841, the group had only 18 members (O'Connell's followers in the House of Commons numbered 39 in 1832; 32 in 1835; and 31 in 1837). (pp. 64, 67).

The most relevant content missing from this detailed narrative is the emergence of violent Protestant opposition in Northern Ireland.

From Pitt to Peel 1783-1846 (A-level) explains the 1829 approval of Catholic Emancipation and the following increase in property qualification thresholds (Wells,

2015, pp. 52-53), however, the narrative is more focused on the unpopularity of the measure in England (due to which Peel had to resign from his Oxford University parliamentary seat) than on the explanation why the measure was just and required. When discussing parliamentary reforms on pages 92-116, the Catholic Emancipation is seen as a proof that ‘parliament was not representing the true anti-Catholic feelings of the nation’ (p. 104), in a clear sign of an Anglo-centric view, also forgetting to mention that the Great Reform Act of 1832 did not change the census in Ireland (however page 94 already recognised that in Ireland fewer people could vote and page 110 explains that Ireland ‘gained’ 5 additional seats).

The specialised A-level textbook *Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923* also includes a highly itemised and lengthy description of Catholic Emancipation through ten pages (Adelman & Byrne, 2016, pp. 34-43). The contents are very similar to the ones explained in the first textbook analysed in this section, *Ireland under the Union 1800-1900 for CCEA A2 level*, with the exception that Grattan’s earlier attempts are not mentioned and the role and character of the Protestant protest against the different proposals to introduce Emancipation are minimised: only the Brunswick Clubs are mentioned, but not their violent character, nor the earlier role played by the Orange Order or the yeomanry. The authors even blame Emancipation for the increase of Protestant radicalisation, something we must condemn: with this logic, if we recognise equal rights for ethnic minorities, ethnic whites should be allowed to feel upset?

Since the Emancipation Act was regarded by Irish Protestants as primarily a Catholic victory, sectarianism increased. This meant that in practice, despite O’Connell’s protestations to the contrary, the achievement of the 1829 Act marked another stage in the identification of Irish nationalism with Catholicism. (p. 42)

Setting the tone, the narrative of the entire chapter starts with a thorough description of anti-Catholic sentiment in Britain:

An upsurge of agrarian outrage and crime prompted Sir Arthur Wellesley (later to become the Duke of Wellington), the chief secretary in 1807, to insist that Ireland ‘must be considered to be the enemy’s country’ – a reference to the ongoing war with France in which Ireland was still considered suspect as to loyalty. It was in these circumstances that a new, outstanding leader of Catholic Ireland emerged in the 1820s in

the person of Daniel O'Connell, who was prepared to use popular power to challenge the will of the British state. (pp. 34-35)

In England there was still much popular prejudice against Roman Catholics, for political as well as religious reasons. ... It was argued that their loyalties were divided between allegiance to the Crown and support for the Pope in Rome. ... As regent and as king he [George IV] insisted that the government must not even discuss Catholic Emancipation. (p. 35)

Although O'Donnell is frequently labelled in a positive tone (as above: 'outstanding'), his final evaluation (despite being widely considered one of the greatest Irishmen of all times and one of the main streets of Dublin being named after him) shows little sympathy against him:

Daniel O'Connell undoubtedly had a great impact on the course of Irish history. However, his right to the title 'the Liberator' is very questionable. It rests entirely on his role in bringing about Catholic Emancipation in 1829. In reality, Emancipation was 'liberating' only for the minority of Roman Catholic men who could meet the property qualifications for election to parliament and had the leisure and means to support themselves as MPs. (...) But O'Connell was essentially an elite politician. He made no effort to resist or revise the significant increase in voting qualifications in Ireland introduced in 1829 and maintained by the 1832 Reform Act. (p. 60)

The above text diminishes the importance of Catholic Emancipation stating that it only covered the rich, however with this logic there was no parliamentary democracy in the UK at all. After Catholic Emancipation, Protestants had the same rules to become part of the electorate (although different rules applied in Ireland and England). Regarding the reduction of the electorate, O'Connell could have done little against it – as we have seen in many earlier narratives – as this was the political price that allowed the British Parliament to pass the legislation. Not surprisingly, when in 1884 the Third Reform Act extended voting rights further, using the same rules in the whole of the UK for the first time, the pro-'Home Rule' Irish Parliamentary Party won all seats in the south except for Trinity College Dublin (which used to be an only Protestant university) (Byrne & Adelman, 2016, pp. 114-118). As a comparison, Beckett highlights the importance of Emancipation to the entire Catholic population of Ireland and the role O'Connell played in it with unmistakeable clearness and he also explains how O'Connell campaigned for the re-establishment of voting qualifications:

At first sight, it might seem that the admission of Roman Catholics to parliament – a concession that, in the circumstances of the 1820s, could affect only a handful of landlords – would make little or no difference to mass of the people. But in the popular mind Emancipation had come to mean far more than this. The Irish peasant saw himself as the victim of injustice in almost all the relations of life... (Beckett, 1981, p. 300)

It was not until the 1820s that the genius of O'Connell transformed it [the Emancipation initiative] into a popular movement, and so gave, for the first time since the union, a national character to Irish politics. (p. 285)

But parliamentary reform, when it came in 1832, proved disappointing. O'Connell's demand for the restoration of the forty-shilling freehold franchise in the counties was ignored... (p. 308)

Paper 3: Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923 includes a similarly thorough explanation. However, already its introduction shows the Anglo-centric tone: '1829 – Catholic emancipation is granted' (Kidson, 2016, p. 8), as if a benevolent superior entity had given a present, and the text also repeatedly refers to the Irish initiative as 'nationalist agitation' (pp. 8, 11, 17). The nine pages of detailed narrative (pp. 71-78) reproduce the same events as in the previously seen examples. Also this textbook shows a level of criticism to O'Connell and the Catholic Association, portraying them as a shrewd propaganda machine, although even if later criticising O'Connell for accepting the disenfranchisement of the 40-shilling freeholders, the author sees Catholic Emancipation as a major step forward:

The advantage that O'Connell enjoyed was the well-organised machine of the Catholic Association, and once he had announced his candidacy it began canvassing the voters in Clare. Among the most active of these canvassers were O'Gorman Mahon and Thomas Steele, who even went so far as to be willing to duel with any landowner who objected to his tenants being approached. On the day of the election itself, the Association and its clerical supporters in particular even conveyed voters to the polling booths to ensure as many people as possible cast their votes for O'Connell. (p. 75)

Despite the reduction of Irish voters, the passage of the Roman Catholic Relief Act was a significant improvement for Catholic rights. It removed the majority of remaining Penal Laws and gave Catholics the opportunity to take greater control of their futures by taking decision-making out of Protestant hands and giving it to Catholic representatives if they were successfully elected. Certainly the franchise was significantly restricted but, with the opportunity to elect Catholic MPs, there was at least the chance to address that issue in parliament. (p. 78)

One the other hand, this textbook also includes a half-page ‘cartoon showing the Duke of Wellington [the Prime Minister] and Robert Peel [the Home Secretary] murdering John Bull [representative of England] while the pope and satan look on’, in a clear reference that Catholic Emancipation is contrary to the ‘Constitution of England’ (p. 77), without any contextualisation whether this idea is correct or not. However, the most relevant missing content of the textbook is the increased resistance from Irish Protestants, via the Orange Order and the Brunswick Clubs – surely there should have been enough space to mention them in nine pages!¹¹⁰

Britain 1815-1895 and Ireland 1798-1922 (A-level) also includes a description of the related events: the 1804 foundation of the Catholic Committee and in 1823 of the Catholic Association; its membership being cheap and thus becoming ‘probably the first truly national mass-membership pressure group in modern British history’ (Murphy, Walsh-Atkins, & Whiskerd, 2008, p. 182); the support from the Catholic Church; the successful by-election of 1828 when Daniel O’Connell stood for becoming an MP even if he technically could not become one; and the approval of the legislation allowing Catholics to become MP ‘frightened of a possible uprising in Ireland’ (p. 182). Daniel O’Connell is valued highly positively by the authors:

Emancipation made O’Connell into a national hero in Ireland. It also gave Ireland a leader, which it had not really possessed before. This enabled O’Connell to get the London Government to focus on further reforms... O’Connell was also anxious to increase the number of those entitled to vote. (p. 182)

On the other hand, the text also evaluates in a supporting way the opposition of Ulster Protestants to O’Connell’s agenda: ‘another product of his success was that he raised huge fears among the Protestant population of the North of Ireland, and they started to organise to defend their ideas and values’ (p. 182). In this sentence, it would have helped the unbiased narrative if the authors explained what they mean by the ‘ideas and values’ and what did Ulster Protestants do to ‘defend’ them. The text does not provide any further detail, however, knowing that what effectively happened was the violent involvement of the Orange Order, the yeomanry and of the so-called Brunswick Clubs (after the Orange Order was banned) in the resistance against Catholic Emancipation, the

¹¹⁰ Only in earlier side-comment on page 41, regarding the Maynooth Grant, do we hear about the 1780 Gordon Riots in London: ‘violent anti-Catholic protests following the proposal to reduce Catholic discrimination laws’, also recognising that ‘in Britain ... anti-Catholic sentiment was common in the country and this blended with broader, negative, racial attitudes towards the Irish generally’.

text reads highly euphemistic (see the previously explained Northern Irish textbook *Ireland under the union 1800-1900 for CCEA A2 level* for further details (Rees R. D., 2018, p. 22)). Because, it seems that their ‘ideas and values’ were that Catholics should not have equal rights to Protestants and their way to organise themselves was to create paramilitary organisations. No textbook from the 21st century should appear to support these ideals and means by describing them euphemistically.

It seems that the treatment of Catholic Emancipation finally achieved in 1829 shows a high level of divergence among the different textbooks: only one Irish textbook explains it, most English textbooks do not mention this content and those which do tend to be very brief, also attributing agency in the achievement to Parliament without recognising the role of the mass political movement in Ireland. Only English and Northern Irish A-level textbooks tend to be more itemised in their description, and in that case they often show significant bias: omission or euphemistic representation of the Protestant opposition surrounding the achievement of Catholic Emancipation (or blaming Catholics for this by-product of their campaign); one-sided portrayal of the Catholic Association as a propaganda machine ‘agitating’ the peaceful population and of O’Connell as an elitist politician (as he did not object to the increase of property qualification thresholds); and focus on the impacts of Catholic Emancipation on British politics (as a proof that Parliament did not represent the will of the people by approving this legislation).

Repeal movement

Some say that the movement to repeal the Union of 1801 started once the legislation had been approved, however, it only became a mass initiative in 1830 after the success of Catholic Emancipation (Beckett, 1981, pp. 306-309, 313-314). After a pause of 5 years in 1835-40 – in which O’Connell’s supporters stood behind the Whig government (pp. 314-318) – they reassumed militancy leading to a series of ‘monster-meetings’ in the ‘repeal year’ of 1843. The cancellation of the final meeting in Clontarf after the government ban meant the quiet death of the organisation (pp. 323-327). In its initial years the movement coincided with the ‘tithe war’, challenging the law that everyone had to pay tithes to the established Anglican Church and which ended by landlords being liable for this type of church tax instead of tenants (pp. 309-312, 318-

319). The period also saw other improvements, like the 1832 introduction of National Schools in Ireland to enhance literacy (however only in English and not in Gaelic) (pp. 312-313), the introduction of Poor Laws and Municipal Corporations during the Whig-Irish Alliance (pp. 319-323) and the Maynooth grant during the following Conservative government of Peel in order to increase funding of the Catholic seminary (p. 329).

The repeal movement and the surrounding events are only explained in detail in Northern Irish textbooks and in English A-level textbooks. Regrettably, none of the analysed Irish Junior Certificate textbooks include these contents, a shame considering that the repeal movement brought with it many incremental improvements in the situation of Ireland within the United Kingdom and it also laid many of the foundations of following nationalist programmes.

The Northern Irish KS3 level textbooks *History in Close-Up: Union and Partition* only includes a description of the aims of the Repeal Movement, its monster-meetings and the end of the campaign due to the cancellation of the Clontarf meeting, without explaining the above-mentioned additional events of the same period. The focus is placed on O'Connell's conviction that violence is not admissible and that he did not want full independence:

O'Connell believed in using peaceful methods. 'The principle of my political life ... is, that all [changes] in political institutions can be obtained by persevering in a perfectly peaceable and legal course, and cannot be obtained by forcible means, or if they could be got by forcible means, such means create more evils than they cure, and leave the country worse than they found it.' Daniel O'Connell, writing in *The Nation* newspaper, 18 November 1843. (...) O'Connell was not a republican – he did not believe in cutting all ties with Britain. 'I would not ... fling the British connection to the winds ...' From a speech by Daniel O'Connell in Parliament, 1834. (Rees, Hodge, Johnston, & Turner Johnston, 2012, p. 54)

History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1500-1900 dedicates two pages to O'Connell with an overall balanced view, also recognising his peaceful methods:

Daniel O'Connell (...) Methods: Hated violence – was committed to peaceful methods. Held huge rallies called 'monster meetings' as a peaceful means of expressing views and pressurising the government. The largest one took place in Tara, Co. Meath in 1843 when half a million people gathered. (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008, p. 76)

Although the main text is factual and correct, the interpretation of the selected source materials is directed towards a specific critical opinion about O'Connell. These source materials deal with the overall evaluation of O'Connell, based on his role in Catholic Emancipation and the Repeal Movement, and the authors in their following questions suggest that one needs to question if the title 'The Liberator' is justified. This is based on a quote where the only insight is that in 1829 there were social classes and that the peasantry did not benefit equally from his achievements. We have already seen a similar logic applied in one of the examples analysed in the previous point about Catholic Emancipation. Nevertheless, with this logic, we should not celebrate anyone in history until the 2nd half of the 20th century when welfare states appeared in the developed world. The authors also suggest that Source 2, which speaks positively about O'Connell, is not reliable as they bring up the support of France and the US as a potential bias - asking the pupil to go back to Chapter 5 of the textbook where the American and French revolutions are explained. Source 3 is treated with less depth, however question 4 suggests that the long-term impact of O'Connell was the nationalist movement. This opinion expressed in Source 3 is highly debatable: the nationalist movement did not start with O'Connell as in the late 18th century there were already other movements (Protestant led) where the methods were much closer to those applied later (including violence). We should consider Parnell (who – as we will see later – also followed peaceful methods) as O'Connell's main legacy. The Young Irelanders of 1848 inherited their methods from the United Irishmen (and not O'Connell) and they also left a legacy to the violent movements of the early 20th century on both Republican and Unionist sides:

Source 1: The Emancipation Act opened up nearly every public office to Catholics. The main beneficiaries were members of the Catholic MIDDLE CLASS. For the peasantry, the foot soldiers of the agitation, there was no material gain. Russell Rees.

Source 2: O'Connell's monster meetings demonstrated his splendid oratory, the popularity of the movement and his power to control it. Though hundreds of thousands gathered to hear him, and though he used the most inflammatory language, there was never ... any sign of disorder. All this was very damaging to the prestige of the government, not only at home but abroad; in France and in the United States there was a good deal of sympathy for the repeal cause, and O'Connell became a figure of international importance. J.C. Beckett.

Source 3: Daniel O'Connell's Repeal Party and the Young Irelanders laid the grounds for a nationalist movement. Brian Walker.

Get active 1: Sources 1-3 reflect the views of three historians on O’Connell and his achievements.

a) Study Source 1. According to Rees, who benefited from O’Connell’s achievements? Do you think this historian would agree that O’Connell deserves the title of ‘The Liberator’?

b) Study Source 2. What does Beckett say about O’Connell’s methods? Refer back to Chapter 5. Why do you think France and the US were sympathetic to the cause of Repeal?

c) According to all the sources, what were O’Connell’s main achievements?

d) What difference do you think O’Connell made? (Think about the impact he made, both short- and long-term.) (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008, p. 77)

For comparison, we should consider Beckett’s words on O’Connell: ‘...he remains a man of transcendent genius, which he devoted to the service of his native land; no other single person has left such an unmistakeable mark on the history of Ireland’ (Beckett, 1981, p. 347)

The A-level Northern Irish textbook *Ireland under the Union 1800-1900 for CCEA A2 level* – as usual – provides the most detailed description of the events from the start of the movement in 1830, across 13 pages. The author explains the starting situation clearly: ‘the prospect of repeal ... terrified Irish Protestants and was totally unacceptable to all shades of opinion in Great Britain’ (Rees R. D., 2018, p. 26). The support given to the Whig government is also seen as an important precedent: ‘the principle of a group of Irish MPs acting in unison to further Irish interests was now firmly established’ (p. 27), and the relevance of the ‘tithe wars’ (and O’Connell’s opposition to violence and secret societies) and its outcome are also explained. O’Connell’s 1834 motion of repeal in Westminster ‘was rejected by 523 votes to 38’ (p. 28) – so the narrative continues -, the Poor Relief system extended to Ireland in 1838 (although it was inadequate to deal with the Irish situation) and the 1840 Municipal Corporations Act (although keeping the higher property qualification thresholds in Ireland) allowed O’Connell to become Lord Mayor of Dublin. The textbook also explains the improvements under Thomas Drummond as Irish Under-Secretary between 1835 and 1840, including many Catholics being appointed to positions of responsibility in the public administration and the voluntary dissolution of the Orange Order (after a parliamentary report ‘highlighted the ... secret infiltration of both the yeomanry and the army’ (p. 31)), which ‘encouraged O’Connell to consider

abandoning his quest for repeal altogether, as it appeared that an enlightened administration might succeed in delivering justice for Ireland' (p. 31). From 1842 the movement received a boost by the poor harvest, the support of an important archbishop and the launch of the weekly newspaper *Nation*, whose leadership consisted of 'youthful, educated men from both Protestant and Catholic backgrounds, they formed the group that later became known as "Young Ireland" ' and which created 'a feeling of nationhood' (p. 32). According to the author, in the 1843 'repeal year', financed by the 'repeal rent', 'monster meetings' have been organised in a similar way as during the campaign for Catholic Emancipation:

O'Connell spoke at nearly forty of these great public gatherings, where crowds frequently exceeded 100,000 ... as the agitation gathered momentum ... the authorities were stunned when an estimated 500,000 supporters attended a rally in Cork. In terms of organisation and efficiency, and a means of expressing popular opinion, these gatherings were phenomenal by contemporary European standards.

Although this textbook frequently blames O'Connell for his 'intemperate language', it also clarifies that 'there is little doubt that O'Connell was determined to avoid violence ... O'Connell used a speech ... to clarify his position, when he insisted that "would rather live for Ireland than die for it" ' (p. 34). After the failure of the repeal movement, the book explains how Peel increased the Maynooth grant and proposed 'the establishment of three Queen's Colleges in Cork, Galway and Belfast' in 1845, which in turn led to a confrontation between O'Connell and the Church on one hand (both were against the initiative) and the Young Ireland movement on the other (which supported it), as they 'had been critical of the sectarian dimension within the repeal movement' (p. 37) and this ended in O'Connell expelling the Young Irelanders the following year 'without any real justification' (p. 38).

Overall, O'Connell's evaluation is also highly positive, however the author also highlights that it was achieved with the support of the Catholic Church which increased Protestant opposition:

Although the bid for repeal had failed, however, O'Connell had made a powerful and lasting contribution to Irish nationalism. He had politicised the masses, demonstrated the power of popular opinion, opened the door for electoral success, and built a positive relationship with the Whig party at Westminster. He had also made a powerful contribution to liberal thinking in the rest of the United Kingdom and beyond. (p. 36)

While he was keen to attract liberal Protestant support ..., there is little doubt that O'Connell's leadership of constitutional nationalism drew it closer to the Catholic Church. This relationship, together with the Liberator's rhetoric, intensified Protestant fears about the future of the union and contributed to the growing polarisation in Irish politics. (p. 36)

Making Sense of History 1745-1901 is the only analysed English KS3 textbook which refers to O'Connell when describing briefly the repeal movement as 'The Home Rule campaign - Part 1' (Clare J. D., Bates, Fisher, & Kennett, 2015 (2), p. 70), mentioning its aim for a separate Parliament in Dublin (however sharing the same monarch), the 'monster meetings' of peaceful character and the ban of the Clontarf meeting and O'Connell's arrest.

Britain 1815-1867 is the only analysed English GCSE textbook which deals with the Ireland-related events of this period and it does it in detail, describing the repeal movement in a neutral tone, citing that its main aim was 'to demand more concessions' and claims that O'Connell 'raised the political temperature in Ireland' (Catterall, 1994 (1), p. 66). The textbook also explains the main improvements due to the Whig-Irish alliance, including the end of the 'tithe war', and the later Ireland-related measures during Peel.

Among the analysed A-level textbooks not specialised in Ireland, *Liberalism and Conservatism, 1846-1905* includes a short mention of one of the relevant events: the Maynooth grant and how it increased division within the conservative party (Paterson, 2001, pp. 32-33), but the repeal movement is not explained, nor the Whig-Irish alliance. *Britain 1846-1951* applies the same treatment (Wells & Dicken, 2015, p. 11). *From Pitt to Peel 1783-1846* is the only non-specialised A-level English textbook which mentions the repeal movement, however, it is done from a clearly English perspective: 'in 1841 Peel faced agitations and meetings in Ireland ... the repeal movement was dealt with relatively easily' (Wells, 2015, p. 158) and the amount of space dedicated to this movement is less than the level of detail with which the Maynooth grant's impact within the Conservative party has been reproduced, including a poem from the *Punch*, criticising Peel for giving in to the repealers through the Maynooth Grant. The Devon Commission's proposal is also explained (regarding the situation of the Irish tenants) and how it had not been supported by Parliament.

Britain 1815-1895 and Ireland 1798-1922 (A-level, specialised) provides two paragraphs about the repeal movement, including the foundation of a Repeal Association in 1840 by O'Connell, its aim for a separate Irish parliament, the organisation of mass meetings with over 100,000 participants and the support of the Catholic Church. However, there is no mention of the fact that O'Connell wanted to use exclusively peaceful means. The textbook also explains the opposition of the British Government convinced 'that the Act of Union was of considerable benefit to Ireland. This huge misunderstanding, that Union had in some ways been a favour to Ireland, was to be a key reason for the growth of an "Irish problem" in the coming decades' (Murphy, Walsh-Atkins, & Whiskerd, 2008, p. 183). It is sign of objectivity to find such an affirmation in a British textbook, on the other hand, it is also true that the Union also provided many benefits to Ireland. The authors continue with explaining further reforms introduced by Peel's government 'to pacify the growing Irish Catholic middle class ... in areas such as landlord-tenant relations, Catholic education and the education of Roman Catholic priests' (p. 183).

Paper 3: Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923 (A-level, specialised) dedicates as much space (2 pages) to the 'tithe wars' as to the repeal movement. While recognising the peaceful method of boycott applied during the 'tithe wars', it also clarifies that police and yeomanry used violence against the protesters, which resulted in 14 farmers dead, in exchange 13 bailiffs and police officers died at hands of protesters in another occasion.

In explaining the origin of the repeal movement, page 17 connects the pre-Union (Protestant) nationalism with the post-Union repeal movement as the same initiative – which is incorrect. This makes the reader believe that it was the 'same old Catholic nationalists' who have been organising themselves against the order – the reality could not have been more different, as there was not much continuity between Grattan's Protestant Parliament and O'Connell's Catholic Repeal Association:

Having achieved greater independence prior to the union, nationalists did not forget what they had lost, and with the victory of the Tory party in 1841 under the premiership of Robert Peel, Irish nationalists sought to address the issue of repeal of the union – a desire which they had quietly wrestled since its creation. (Kidson, 2016, p. 17)

In continuation the author recognises that rejection of violence from O'Connell was one of the reasons he did not succeed, however, the narrative shows a level of

cynicism when evaluating the number of supporters: ‘in 1843 more than 40 such meetings took place and several were said, albeit from sympathetic observers, to have been attended between 100,000 and 500,000 people’ (p. 17), an unnecessary comment when considering that the same author on the next page confirms that an estimated 750,000 people attended another meeting. According to this textbook, another reason for the failure of the movement was that ‘British policy-makers believed very strongly in the union. To countenance its repeal was tantamount to agreeing the dismantling of the empire – an idea that was completely absurd in the 1840s...’ (p. 18), also citing Peel’s speech from 1843 in which he confirms that ‘civil war ... [is] preferable to the dismemberment of this empire’ (p. 19). In continuation the Young Irelanders are also introduced, with their newspaper *Nation* supporting the repeal movement, however also clarifying that their ‘concept of Irish nationality’ was wider, and ‘included all those who lived in the country regardless of religious faith’, nevertheless, they ‘demanded complete separation from Britain – first through political persuasion and then by physical force if necessary’ (p. 19). Among the different improvements introduced either during the Whig-Irish alliance or by Peel, only the Maynooth grant is mentioned – although quite extensively (pp. 41-43) -, explaining its origin, the Conservative popular opposition to it and its importance in terms of pacifying the relationship with Ireland and the hope of winning some popular Catholic support for the government.

Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923 (A-level, specialised) analyses the era of the repeal movement in a great level of detail: pages 43-49 explain the birth of the movement and the different reforms adopted before 1840, pages 49-53 are dedicated to the repeal campaign 1840-1843, pages 53-56 to Peel’s reforms and pages 56-63 to the split with Young Ireland and the final evaluation of O’Connell’s legacy. Therefore, all relevant reforms of both the Whig-Irish Alliance and of Peel’s Conservative government are explained thoroughly, although forgetting to mention that the ‘national schools’ only taught in English. From these periods, probably the only missing relevant content is the dissolution of the Orange Order after a condemning government report. The evaluation of other measures is fair, for instance, in case of the Municipal Corporations (Ireland) Act of 1840 the authors highlight that:

However, owing to the opposition of the House of Lords, the Irish Corporations Act was much narrower than its English counterpart because it: was based on a £10 household suffrage, rather than as in England and Wales where all ratepayers were eligible to vote;

had more limited powers, so that control of the police, for example, was excluded. (Adelman & Byrne, 2016, p. 48)

Similarly, the textbook also correctly mentions that the Great Reform Act of 1832 failed to address the unfairness of the electoral system in Ireland:

Constitutionally, three versions of the Reform Act were required: one for England and Wales; one for Scotland and one for Ireland. But the terms of the Irish version were disappointing to the Irish. The vote was not restored to the 40-shilling freeholders, and Ireland obtained only five new MPs, bringing the total to 105. (pp. 44-45)

During the more confrontational period of the repeal movement, from 1840, one of the interpretations presents O'Connell's intentions as a form of blackmailing the government into further reforms, without genuinely aiming for repeal. In addition, a quote from O'Connell also explains that he preferred only pacific means 'I want you to do nothing that is not open and legal' and that he did not want full separation from England (p. 50). Peel's already mentioned words about preferring civil war 'to the dismemberment of the empire' are also quoted (p. 52) and the opposing British public opinion is visualised in a *Punch* cartoon, showing 'King O'Connell at Tara', placing his feet on the 'British Constitution' (p. 52).

Peel's reforms are also narrated in detail, clarifying that their purpose was 'to build up in Catholic Ireland, especially among the middle classes, a feeling of confidence in the effectiveness and impartiality of British government and the law ... [and] become reconciled to the benefits of the Union' (p. 53). According to the authors, the main improvements were the increase of the Maynooth grant (despite strong opposition in Westminster) and the establishment of new non-denominational universities in Belfast, Cork and Galway (despite opposition from the Catholic Church and O'Connell). The book also mentions failed attempts by Peel to reduce the property qualification threshold to £5, to provide 'compensation to evicted Irish tenants' (p. 54), based on recommendations from the Devon Commission (p. 55). The following pages also clarify that the break between O'Connell and the Young Ireland movement was because of '...O'Connell's rigid commitment to peaceful agitation. In 1846, the leaders of Young Ireland came out in favour of the possible use of force in support of repeal' (p. 57) and that already earlier differences existed due to religion, as for the Young Irelanders religion had nothing to do with the movement.

In the final pages of the section dedicated to O'Connell, the textbook analyses whether the conclusion by J.C.Beckett that 'no other single person ... has left such an unmistakable mark on the history of Ireland' (p. 58) can be considered valid. While recognising O'Connell's achievement in the Catholic Emancipation, the authors also believe that the favourable circumstances in British politics helped decisively, and when the British political spectrum was against an initiative – such as the repeal movement – O'Connell could not succeed. The textbook also emphasises O'Connell's legacy in using 'extra-parliamentary means to achieve constitutional ends', becoming the 'forerunners of modern political pressure groups and parties' (p. 59). The final summary includes the previously (in the pages dedicated to Catholic Emancipation) quoted opinion that O'Connell's 'title of "the Liberator" is very questionable' and that he was 'essentially an elite politician' (p. 60). The authors also believe that O'Connell contributed to deepening the religious divide in Ireland – this confirmation is also debatable: it once again implies that a disadvantaged group of people cannot organise themselves to achieve equal rights, as this activism emphasises their belonging to such group. Should they rather stay quiet? With this logic, we should also condemn the US Civil Rights movement of the 1960s... probably only a very few people would believe by now that such movement increased sectarian divide among communities in the US:

But his origins and background, his rapport with the Irish Catholic masses and their priests, the message and appeal of the great associations he led, and his support for the leaders of the Irish Catholic Church on major issues, as well as the unremitting hostility of Irish Protestantism - all these made him inevitably a great national Catholic leader. ... As a result, O'Connell's career helped unwittingly to divide rather than to bring together the two great religious communities of Ireland. (p. 59)

The Great Reform Act of 1832 is a frequent content of all English textbooks dealing with the period, however, its missing impact on the Irish franchise is only mentioned in two of them. *British Economic and Social History. 1850 to the present day* includes a data table showing the percentage of adult males who could vote in different parts of the UK: 'England and Wales: 1832: 20%, 1867: 33%, 1884: 67% and 1918: 100%. Scotland: 1832: 12%, 1867: 33%, 1884: 60% and 1918: 100%. Ireland: 1832: 5%, 1867: 17%, 1884: 50% and 1918: 100%.' (Sauvain, 1987, p. 214) , therefore making it clear that in 1832 only four times less people could vote in Ireland compared to England and Wales. *British History 1815-1914* (Hill & Wright, 1981, p. 43) also discloses the lack of impact of 1832 on Ireland. This textbook also praises Peel's role in increasing the

Maynooth grant and the set-up of the Devon Commission (p. 68), however, there are no contents related to the repeal movement.

In a summary, it seems that O'Connell's evaluation is one of the most visible dividing factors seen so far. Unfortunately, no Irish textbook analyses the repeal movement and his role in the Catholic Emancipation is only explained briefly in one Irish textbook. On the other hand, even among the English and Northern Irish textbooks we could see a more positive and a different – predominantly negative – tone of the narrative for O'Connell, claiming that his main heritage is religious division in Ireland and that the improvements of this era were mostly driven by benevolent British politicians. Among the textbooks with a more critical coverage of O'Connell we could also find a misleading representation which directly connects the nationalism of the Catholic-led repeal movement with the pre-1798 Protestant-led Irish nationalism – when these were very different groups of people. Another interesting finding is that English textbooks often pay more attention to the impact of the Maynooth Grant in British party politics than to the actual repeal movement.

5.7 Great Famine

Key conclusions:

- Most English textbooks only tell the story of the Great Famine as a context to some other event: the repeal of the Corn Laws, the rise of the Irish republicanism, the population change or the social conditions of the population.
- The analysed Irish, Northern Irish and specialised A-level English textbooks show a similar level of detail when narrating the Great Famine: out of a list of 33 different relevant points, Irish textbooks on average include 24.3, Northern Irish 21.3 and specialised A-level English textbooks 23. However, there is some divergence among Northern Irish textbooks, as one of them only covers 15 points, of which 10 relate to the relief measures, showing clear bias.
- The analysed non-specialised English textbooks on average only include 8 out of the 33 points, this number being significantly higher in case of KS3 books: 13.7, compared to GCSE and A-level textbooks (4.8 and 5). These books also frequently refer to the Great Famine as a natural catastrophe due to the potato blight, without explaining why landholdings were small and how this led to potato monoculture.
- The continuation of food exports during the Great Famine is a controversial question, very few textbooks explain it, and in some cases only as reference to the (supposedly unfunded) complaints of the traditional Irish narrative.
- The narrative of the relief measures also shows some bias: only six (out of 25) non-specialised English textbooks mention the change in the British government's attitude in 1846 which led to the stop of direct help and thus starvation. Similarly, only 2 of these 25 textbooks explain that the poor relief was financed by landlords. This aspect of landlords paying most of the cost, is also missing from all Irish textbooks, a significant omission when considering that on average 65% of all points related to the relief measures are explained. Only 3 of all the 35 analysed textbooks (two specialised A-level from England and one from Northern Ireland) explain with clarity the financial construction behind the relief programmes. However, even two of these three books (both specialised A-level

from England) in end-effect praise the British government's efforts to provide funding.

- Even though its impact was limited, the repeal of the Corn Laws is the most frequently mentioned relief measure in English textbooks and it is missing from all Irish ones.
- Among the consequences of the Great Famine, the number of dead and of those emigrating seems to move in a similar range across all textbooks. However, the decline of the Gaelic language is only mentioned in all Irish, one of the specialised A-level English and in one Northern Irish A-level textbooks.
- The increase of republican / anti-British sentiment as a result of the Great Famine is included in 36% of non-specialised English textbooks, and in all specialised A-level English textbooks, Irish textbooks and all but one Northern Irish textbooks.
- Most of the evaluations of the Great Famine seem to be objective and factual. None of the analysed Irish textbooks blame the British government in excess, several textbooks used in England are more critical with the British government than these Irish textbooks and among these English textbooks we can find a specialised A-level and a KS3 textbook which predominantly narrates the story as a failure of government.
- On the other hand, three textbooks (two specialised A-level textbooks used in England and a Northern Irish KS3 textbook) overwhelmingly describe the Great Famine as a critique of the supposedly traditional Irish nationalist perspective which blamed the British government for lack of action and even deliberate wrongdoing; and at the same time excuse the British government from responsibility.
- Moreover, only two of the 25 analysed textbooks (English, Irish and Northern Irish) published after 1997 mention Tony Blair's semi-apology.

The importance of the Great Famine is hardly questionable in analysing the Anglo-Irish relationship¹¹¹. There were no sizeable Irish Catholic uprisings between 1641-52 and 1845: as we have seen, the 1798 Rebellion/Revolution was cross-community (led by Protestants) and the battles on Irish soil surrounding the ‘Glorious Revolution’ in 1689-1690 could hardly be referred to as an ‘Irish Catholic uprising’, it was a war for the right to rule the English throne. Even the largest political demonstration, the Clontarf monster meeting of O’Connell in favour of the Repeal movement had been called off in 1843 after the government banned it, in order to preserve peaceful means (Beckett, 1981, pp. 326-327). After the Great Famine all this changed and Irish politics gradually moved into a different territory (even if until 1916 the mainstream nationalist movement still promoted constitutional methods). As *History in Close-Up: Union and Partition* (KS3, Northern Ireland) summarises it: ‘the countryside and its people would never be the same again. Many regard the Great Famine as a watershed in Irish history and in Ireland’s relations with the British government’ (Rees, Hodge, Johnston, & Turner Johnston, 2012, p. 20).

However, the main aspect describing the Great Famine should not be in reference to the Anglo-Irish relationship, but rather the fact that it caused so much suffering to the Irish population. Then we shall study its causes beyond the natural catastrophe, the corrective actions taken by the government responsible – Westminster – and the many consequences of this catastrophe. Ideally, after learning all these different aspects, students could have an idea what should have been done differently in order to avoid such a destruction – in what was considered at the time the wealthiest economy in the world, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Reasons for telling the story of the Great Famine

The first aspect to look into is the reason for including the story of the Great Famine in the narrative of the textbook. In this sense, all textbooks specialised in Anglo-Irish history which cover this period (3 A-level textbooks used in England, 4 Junior Certificate textbooks of Ireland and 2 KS3 and 1 A-level textbooks for Northern Ireland) treat the Great Famine as a relevant event on its own right. We have seen in *Chapter 4*

¹¹¹ ‘The famine of 1845-9 is a major dividing-line in the history of modern Ireland. Politically, economically and socially, the period that followed it appears sharply distinct from the period that preceded it.’ (Beckett, 1981, p. 336)

that among the textbooks used in England and reviewed in the quantitative analysis, 25 (86% of all) mention the Great Famine. Across these 25 textbooks, the most frequent reason for explaining the Great Famine is the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846: 11 textbooks mention the Great Famine in this context¹¹². 7 of these 25 textbooks include a narrative of the Great Famine as an event on its own right, 5 explain it as a background to the rise of Irish republicanism and the Home Rule movement¹¹³, 3 in relation to population change in the UK (including emigration)¹¹⁴ and 2 in context of how people lived in that period in the UK¹¹⁵. A graphical representation of this data can be found on the upper half of *Graph 29*, expressed as a percentage of the textbooks in question.

¹¹² A few examples related to the Corn Laws:

The changing face of Britain (GCSE):

...Two events in 1845 finally made up his [Peel's] mind. Firstly, about 70 per cent of the Irish potato crop was destroyed by a disease. A quarter of the Irish population, 2 million people, relied entirely upon potatoes for survival; mass starvation was threatened. Yet the Corn Laws made it impossible to import cheap grain to feed them. (Shuter & Child, 1989, p. 34)

How it was: The workshop of the World (KS3):

Then in 1846 came the greatest symbolic move of all: with the public opinion running in favour of Free Trade as a result of the activities of the Anti-Corn Law League, and with a terrible famine in Ireland as a result of the potato blight, Peel decided to repeal (withdraw) the Corn Laws. (Lee, 1993, p. 8)

Making modern Britain (GCSE):

Repeal of the Corn Laws, 1846. (...) Then in 1845 the corn harvest in Britain was bad because of heavy rain, and the Irish potato crop failed because of potato blight. By late 1845 there was starvation in Ireland (Source 4B) [a picture of Starving Irish people, 1845]. Peel decided that large amounts of foreign corn would have to be imported to save the Irish from starvation. This would mean removing the Corn Laws. His party split on the issue, but his own followers, with Liberal support, out-voted the rest of the Conservatives. The Corn Laws were repealed in 1846. (Culpin, 1987, pp. 257-258)

¹¹³ For instance, *Collins Key Stage 3. Modern Britain 1760-1900* (KS3) includes a description of a bit over half a page, where the Great Famine appears as a context to the Irish Home Rule movement, providing it as a background why the faith in British rule diminished: 'many in Ireland blamed the Potato Famine on British rule, causing bitter resentment of the British for generations to come. This contributed to a growth of support for Irish impendence' (Peal, 2017, p. 71).

¹¹⁴ For example, *British Economic and Social History. 1850 to the present day* (GCSE) only focuses on the emigration from the United Kingdom, reproducing statistics about 'estimated number of emigrants from Britain (in millions)', from 1851 to 1900, by decades, totalling 10.4m for the United Kingdom, from which 5.4m corresponds to England & Wales, 1.1m to Scotland and 3.9m to Ireland (Sauvain, 1987, p. 174). The explanation given by the author is the following:

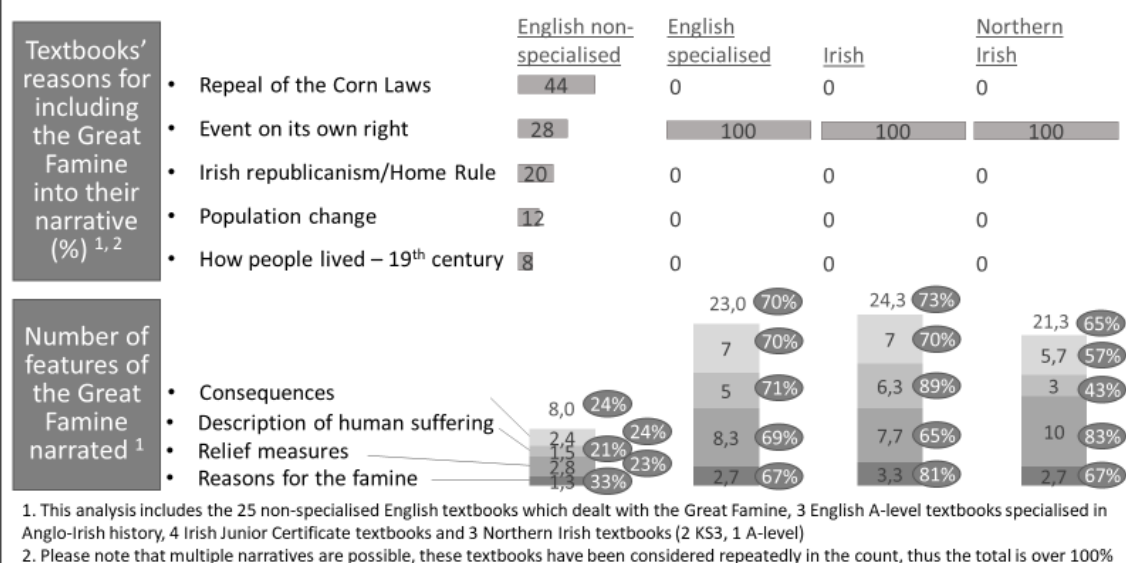
The reasons for the growth in the numbers of people emigrating from the British Isles, in the nineteenth century, were partly 'push' and partly 'pull'. Distress and failure at home, notably after the Irish famine in the 1840s, pushed people out of Britain. (p. 174).

It is highly noteworthy that a textbook dedicated to 19th century economic and social history of Britain (in which the author clearly includes Ireland) only treats the most disastrous event of the period as a side note accompanying a population statistic.

In *Britain since 1800: Towards the welfare state* (GCSE), a book about social and economic history in Britain, the only mention dedicated to the Great Famine is in a chapter titled *Population growth and change 1700-1985*. The page is dedicated to the popular resistance in England to the Irish immigration. 'Successive failures of the potato crop in the late 1840s caused a disastrous famine in Ireland. Many emigrated to England and Scotland to escape its consequences' (Martin, 1988, p. 19).

¹¹⁵ 3 of the 25 textbooks treat the Great Famine for more than one reason, hence the sum of the mentions is 28 and not 25.

Graph 29: the Great Famine



Level of detail included in textbooks

The second aspect I have analysed is how detailed the narrative of the Great Famine is. For this, I have listed 33 different characteristics or features of the Great Famine that can be deduced from the studied textbooks. From these 33 different elements four relate to the reasons why a famine stroke, 12 to the relief measures taken, 7 to the human suffering caused and 10 to the economic and social consequences. The lower half of *Graph 29* shows the results of this analysis, expressed as the absolute number of the features included in the narrative.

The frequency of inclusion of the 33 elements varies highly: the most detailed narrative can be found in the four Junior Certificate Irish textbooks: 24.3 on average (73% of the 33). These textbooks are also quite homogenous in the depth of their storytelling: the minimum number of elements mentioned is 22 (67%) and the maximum 26 (79%). Across the four different groups of elements the percentage of inclusion is quite similar: on average the four textbooks include 89% of the features that relate to the human suffering (individual textbooks mentioning at least 6 of these 7 features), 81% of the features that describe the reasons (all textbooks explain at least 3 out of the 4 points), 70% of the different consequences (all textbooks include 7 out of the 10 listed elements) and

65% of the different points related to the relief measures (one textbook in this sense is shorter than others, only including 6 points, the others explain at least 8)¹¹⁶.

A-level textbooks specialised in Anglo-Irish history and used in England provide the second most detailed narrative: on average 23 of the 33 elements (70%) are included. However, among the textbooks there is a significant difference: *Paper 3: Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923* (Kidson, 2016) lists 31 of the 33 points (94%) and *Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923* (Adelman & Byrne, 2016) 26 (79%), however, *Britain 1815-1895 and Ireland 1798-1922* (Murphy, Walsh-Atkins, & Whiskerd, 2008) only includes 12 points (36%). The three textbooks include a similar depth across the four fields of elements: *Paper 3: Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923* ranges from 90% (consequences) to 100% (both reasons for the famine and human suffering), *Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923* from 70% (consequences) to 86% (human suffering) and *Britain 1815-1895 and Ireland 1798-1922* from 25% (reasons for the famine) to 50% (consequences).

The next group in terms of thoroughness of the narrative are Northern Irish textbooks: on average 21.3 elements out of the 33 are mentioned (65%). Also in this case there is an outlier: *History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1500-1900* (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008) only includes 15 points (45%), while *History in Close-Up: Union and Partition* (Rees, Hodge, Johnston, & Turner Johnston, 2012) and *Ireland under the Union 1800-1900 for CCEA A2 level* (Rees R. D., 2018) feature 24 and 25 of the 33 (73% and 76%). This difference in the depth is driven by the sole focus of *History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1500-1900* (KS3) on the relief measures: 10 out of the 12 points of this group are explained (83%), while only 1 out of the 4 for the reasons of the famine (25%), 1 out of 7 for the description of human suffering (14%) and 3 out of 10 (30%) for the consequences. This is in itself a significant bias, as the narrative mostly concentrates on describing what the UK government has done to improve the situation, which can feel akin to an attempt of whitewashing. We will see later that the overall tone is also questionable; for now I will only mention that the authors show very little empathy with the human suffering and even allow themselves a joke about the deceased: the number of dead and of the emigrants are not mentioned in the main text, only in a cartoon (!) which

¹¹⁶ The textbook that only includes six different points about relief measures, *Uncovering History* (Delap & McCormack, 2011) clearly feels too short about these aspects of the Great Famine: from 11 pages of narrative less than one full page (p.256) refers to the relief measures and the text does not even mention the change of government attitude in 1846 caused by the fall of Peel's ministry.

shows a teacher in front of a blackboard writing ‘population of Ireland 1841 census – 8,175,000, 1851 census – 6,552,000’, followed by a long succession of seemingly mathematical signals (but which are senseless) at which end the teacher says ‘I must conclude that one million died and another million emigrated during this crisis!’ (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008, p. 68). During the analysis of the overall evaluation of the Great Famine we will see that this lack of empathy seems to be driven by the political conviction that the real ‘baddies’ of the story were the Irish nationalists who complained about the British government’s response. *History in Close-Up: Union and Partition* (KS3), on the other hand, provides a much more homogenous narrative: 75% of the reasons for famine, 83% of the elements related to the relief measures, 71% of the points regarding to human suffering and 60% of the consequences are explained. In case of *Ireland under the Union 1800-1900 for CCEA A2 level* the author’s more academic style and the lack of any pictures limit the expressiveness of the account of human suffering: only 43% of the related points are mentioned, at the same time all the relevant reasons for the famine are explained, 83% of the points regarding the relief measures and 80% of the consequences. This textbook dedicates the longest extension to the narrative of the Great Famine: altogether 17 pages (from 105 to 114 and from 147 to 153), explains some points that no other textbook includes (e.g. ‘souperism’ a type of proselytism during the famine, offering food in exchange for converting to Protestantism), its overall evaluation is highly critical of the British government, thus the lack of detail about the human suffering does not seem to derive from ideological bias.

Among the 25 textbooks used in England – not specialised in Anglo-Irish history – which include the Great Famine in its content¹¹⁷, the thoroughness of their narrative varies greatly. On average 8 of the 33 elements are included (24%), showing a similar picture across the four groups of relevant content: 21% of the points related to human suffering are mentioned, 23% of relief measures, 24% of consequences and 33% of the reasons for famine. Across these 25 textbooks, however, we can find two textbooks which only briefly mention the Great Famine without explaining any of these 33 elements, 8

¹¹⁷ As previously mentioned in *Chapter 4*, 25 textbooks among the 29 that should have told the story of the Great Famine did so (86%), and these are being the subject of the analysis in this section of the thesis. The quantitative analysis of *Chapter 4* also showed that 19 textbooks (68%) included some mention of the impact in terms of the number of dead or emigrated, 13 textbooks (46%) that arguably the Westminster government could have done more to protect its citizens during the Great Famine, only 1 textbook (7%) mentioned that Tony Blair in 1997 apologised for lack of action during the Great Famine and 9 (35%) that further emigration happened after the 1850s and thus Ireland has never recovered its pre-famine population levels.

textbooks only include 2-3 points, 5 textbooks 4-6 points, 1 textbook 7-10 elements, 3 textbooks 11 to 14 aspects, 5 textbooks 15 to 18 points and finally one textbook explains 23 different elements of the Great Famine. It seems that KS3 textbooks feature the more itemised narrative: their average is 13.7 points (41%); while GCSE textbooks on average only include 4.8 points (14%) and A-level textbooks 5 (15%).

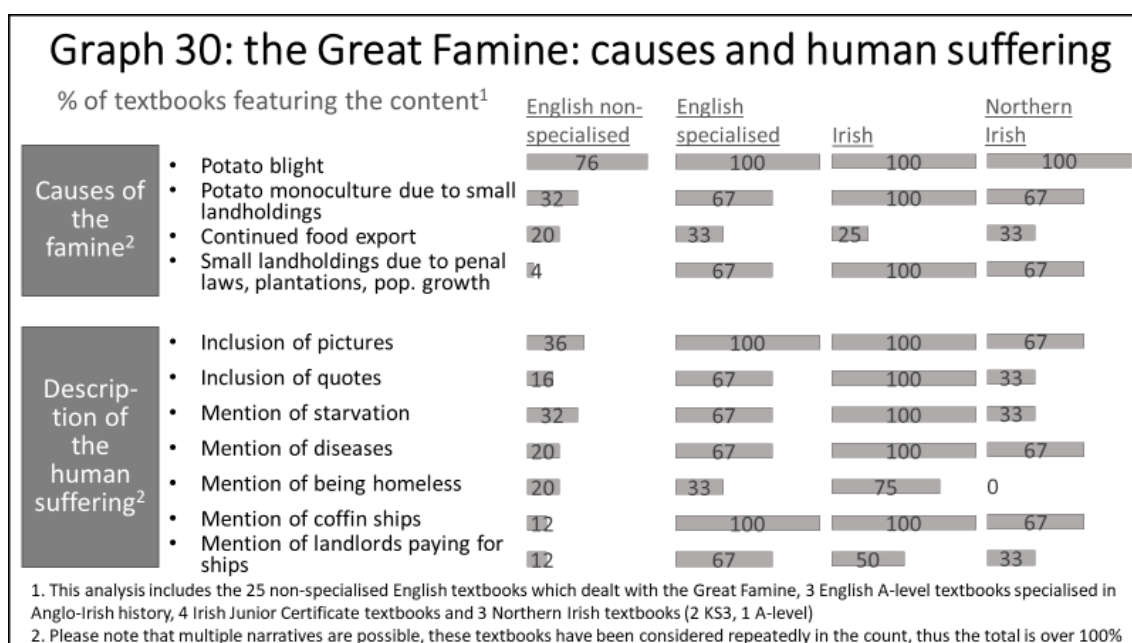
It is interesting to observe that the number of pages dedicated to the Great Famine does not necessarily indicate the highest number of relevant elements included: the most detailed of the non-Ireland-specific English textbooks, *Living through History Book 3, Britain 1750-1900 and the Twentieth Century World* (Kelly, Rees, & Shuter, 1998 (1), pp. 26-29), which explains 23 different elements of the 33, only requires four pages for this, while the textbook with the longest extension among the English textbooks, *Making Sense of History 1745-1901*, of 13 pages, ‘only’ explains 18 of the 33 points (Clare J. D., Bates, Fisher, & Kennett, 2015 (2), pp. 58-71). We have also seen the example of the Northern Irish textbook *History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1500-1900* which in 10 pages only manages to include 15 points (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008, pp. 66-75). The need to synthesize in a small space should not necessarily be a problem to transmit the relevant narrative. The following example is found in the English KS3 book *How we used to live in Victorian times* under a picture, even though if it still misses many facts, it manages to convey 8 of the 33 points:

A family evicted from their home in Ireland where rural conditions were worse than anywhere else in Britain. The failure of potato harvests caused widespread famine. The land was owned by English landlords who came to be regarded as foreign oppressors. Rents were impossibly high, and even when crops failed they had to be paid. Unpaid rent meant being evicted (thrown out). Whole families wandered off across the fields to starve, and their homes were destroyed to prevent them coming back. The British Government's failure to act to protect poor tenants against their landlords was blamed for constant unrest in Ireland. Violence erupted and demands for self-government were made. Meanwhile, a million people emigrated to Canada and the United States, whilst 600,000 went to England. Ireland lost about a third of her population through famine and emigration. (Kelsall, 1978, p. 19)

Causes of the Great Famine

It is also worth to consider which of the above-mentioned 33 elements of the narrative of the Great Famine obtained the highest and lowest frequencies of mention.

Regarding the causes of the famine, among the 25 non-Ireland-specific textbooks used in England, 76% explain that a potato blight was the immediate cause, 32% that there was a potato monoculture due to small landholdings, but only 4% (one textbook) tries to explain why the landholdings were so small (mainly due to the population growth). Although many more textbooks explain the population growth in Ireland in the first half of the 19th century, it is fully left to students to combine this fact with the average size of landholdings. None of these textbooks explain that the Penal Laws and the Plantations also had a role to play in the small landholdings. (See the upper part of *Graph 30*.)



The situation changes in case of the specialised A-level textbooks used in England: *Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923* states that ‘penal laws of the eighteenth century caused smaller and smaller holdings for farmers’ (Adelman & Byrne, 2016, p. 68) and also *Paper 3: Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923* explains these contents (Kidson, 2016, pp. 109-111). All Irish Junior Certificate textbooks describe the subdivision of land at death due to the custom of gavelling, the impact of the population growth, and the resulting potato monoculture, although only one of them (*Uncovering History*) mentions the role of the Penal Laws (Delap & McCormack, 2011, p. 252).

Among the three Northern Irish textbooks in scope, two similarly describe the subdivision of land and the population growth and the potato monoculture.

Another interesting point for the causes of the famine is that food export from Ireland continued during the Great Famine. Although the persistent exportation of grain and meat products did not cause the potato blight, these could have served as substitute food in Ireland. Even though the food that was exported was a private property, and its owner could decide freely how to make best use of it, and it is possible that these exports were used to buy in exchange cheaper food to feed the population, in a similar situation many governments would have declared a ban on all food exports¹¹⁸. This itself would not have solved the famine, as money that allowed the purchase of food in Ireland was in short supply, especially among the poorest 3m inhabitants, but it would have also served to keep the price of food lower.

Across the 25 non-specialised English textbooks 5 (or 20%) mention the continuation of food exports, one of the three specialised A-level textbooks do the same, also one of the four Irish textbooks and one of the three Northern Irish textbooks. However, in case of the Northern Irish textbook (*Ireland under the Union 1800-1900 for CCEA A2 level*) this fact is only disclosed as a reference to John Mitchel's complaint, and it showcases the author's opinion that the Irish nationalist narrative regarding the Great Famine is misleading (Rees R. D., 2018, p. 113). A similar evaluation can be found in the specialised A-level textbook *Paper 3: Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923*:

This exportation of food is a prominent feature of the nationalist interpretation and, although it has validity, the volume of exports remained less than the quantities of food the British government brought into Ireland at that time. (Kidson, 2016, p. 120)

The above quote however shows several type of bias: first of all, it does not quote any of the 'nationalist interpretations' it criticises; second, the detailed statistics found in

¹¹⁸ In Beckett's narrative:

But, among Irishmen in general, gratitude for the aid afforded by English charity was overborne by a conviction that the government policy had displayed a callous disregard for Irish suffering. Probably nothing did more to create and sustain this conviction than the government's refusal to impose an embargo on the export of food; and even at the height of the famine grain was being steadily exported from Ireland. Whether or not the imposition of an embargo would, by itself, have had much effect on the situation is open to some question. Those in need of food had no money to buy it, however plentiful the supply – the very reason why Irish grain was being exported was that it had no market at home; and an embargo would have upset the whole economy. But no one could doubt that if a comparable crisis had arisen in England the government would have ensured adequate supply of food, at whatever cost to the economy; or that an independent government of Ireland would have done the same. (Beckett, 1981, pp. 349-350)

another English textbook do not seem to support the affirmation that the food imports exceeded the imports throughout the famine (only in 1847-48 was this the case, not in 1845-46, see below); and third, after Peel's fall in 1846 it was not the British government who imported the food, as they considered this task should belong to the private initiative.

As for the supposedly 'nationalist' interpretation, we have seen that only one of the four Irish textbooks mention the continued food exports and the author of that textbook (*Discovering History*) does this in a neutral manner, referring to the reaction of people at the time:

Under Russell's policy of laissez-faire, the export of food out of Ireland continued despite the starving population. Ships full of agricultural produce were shipped to England during the Famine. This caused great anger among the starving people in Ireland. Riots took place across Ireland... People did not forget this policy of exporting food while Irish people lay dying of starvation. (McCaughey, c2009, p. 289)

Among the 5 non-specialised English textbooks treating the continued food exports, *Industry, Revolution and Empire. Britain 1750-1900* (KS3) includes detailed statistics, from which students can learn that only in 1847 and 1848 wheat imports to Ireland exceeded exports:

Source J. Wheat imports and exports to Ireland 1844-1848 (in `000 tons). 1844: Exports (wheat sent out of Ireland): 424, Imports (wheat sent into Ireland): 30. 1845: 513, 28. 1846: 284, 197. 1847: 146, 889. 1848: 314, 439. (Wilkes A. , 2004 (1), p. 72)

Another textbook, *Making Sense of History 1745-1901* (KS3) refers to the potential solution of stopping exports altogether and how the government failed to support this initiative and the continued shipments of food leaving Ireland:

In November 1845 some Dublin citizens asked that the government ban the export of food out of Ireland... Their request was denied. (Clare J. D., Bates, Fisher, & Kennett, 2015 (2), p. 64)

1847. In this year 4,000 ships left Irish ports carrying food. Many English landlords were mainly concerned with making a profit. To do this, they needed to export food to markets abroad. As food was being exported while millions went hungry, the army was often used to protect these food exports. (p. 65)

Human suffering

As the lower half of *Graph 30* indicates, across the 25 non-specialised English textbooks, 9 (36%) include a picture that shows the level of suffering and 4 (16%) feature a quote from eyewitnesses that describe the terrible situation. 8 of the 25 (32%) mention starvation, 5 (20%) diseases, also 5 (20%) many people being homeless, 3 (12%) the conditions on coffin ships (some clarifying that as much as 20% of the people died during the journey) and 3 (12%) also explain that landlords were often paying the passage for these ships.

Among the three specialised A-level textbooks used in England, all include pictures of the suffering and mention the coffin ships, two of three include quotes, explain the starvation, diseases and landlords paying for the coffin ships (although one of the textbooks, *Paper 3: Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923*, refers to a ‘humanitarian instinct’ instead of clarifying the economic incentives (Kidson, 2016, p. 126)) and one of the three books describes the suffering caused by being homeless.

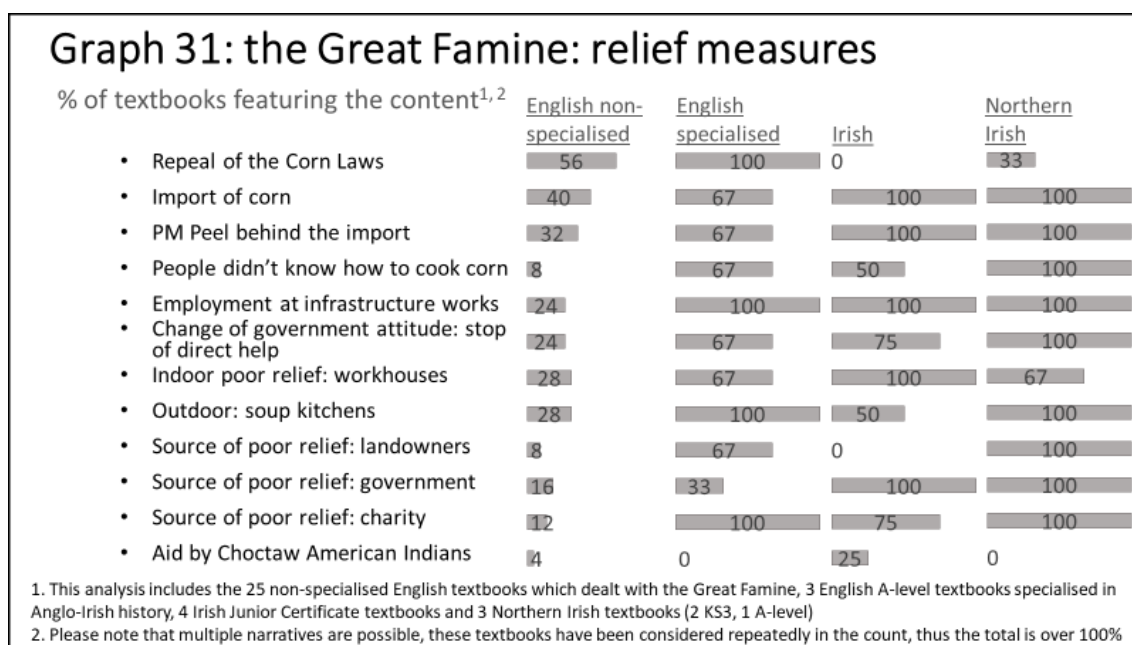
The four Junior Certificate Irish textbooks are the most thorough in describing the suffering caused by the famine: all include the above-mentioned 7 different aspects, except that homelessness is not mentioned in one of the books and landlords paying for the Atlantic passage is included in two of the four textbooks.

It has been already clarified earlier that the situation among the Northern Irish textbooks regarding the depth of coverage of human suffering is very different: *History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1500-1900* does not explain any of the points except that it includes pictures that show the suffering (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008, pp. 68-72), *Ireland under the Union 1800-1900 for CCEA A2 level* explains the diseases, the coffin ships and landlords financing them (Rees R. D., 2018, pp. 108-112), while *History in Close-Up: Union and Partition* (KS3) includes pictures, quotes, a description of starvation, diseases and coffin ships. (Rees, Hodge, Johnston, & Turner Johnston, 2012, pp. 19-20, 25).

Therefore, the relative insensitivity of the Northern Irish textbooks regarding the human suffering caused by the Great Famine is probably the most surprising finding: on average they include 3 points (out of 7), compared to 6.3 in case of Irish textbooks, 5 in case of specialised English A-level textbooks and 1.5 among non-specialised English textbooks (these figures can be also seen in *Graph 29*).

Relief measures

The third group of detailed aspects of the Great Famine refers to the relief measures and a graphical representation of the results of the analysis is included in *Graph 31*.



Across the non-specialised English textbooks the repeal of the Corn Laws is the most frequently included relief measure: 14 textbooks (56%) explain it¹¹⁹. The import of Indian corn (maize) is mentioned by 10 (40%), 8 also explain that Prime Minister Peel was behind this initiative (32%). However, only 2 (8%) recognise that people did not know how to cook corn and that this caused health problems. The public works schemes are mentioned by 6 textbooks (24%). Arguably the most important feature of the relief initiatives, that the 1846 change of government meant a drastic change in the policy,

¹¹⁹ It is interesting to note that in the opinion of Beckett, the issue of the repeal of the Corn Laws was rather delaying effective government response to the famine, given the position of hard-line protectionists. This perspective is not mentioned in any of the studied textbooks.

Difference of opinion about the seriousness of the potato failure did not arise solely from variation in the reports; there was a political reason also. For some years Peel had been moving slowly towards the belief that the corn laws ought to be repealed, and events in Ireland convinced him that he must act at once. For the irreconcilable protectionists, who comprised a great part of Peel's own party, it was, therefore, a matter of policy to minimise the danger of famine. They seized on every favourable report, they declared that the others were exaggerated, and they discouraged the preparation of relief schemes as unnecessary. It was a misfortune for Ireland that the reality of the famine should have become a political question, and that the preparation of remedial measures should have entangled in one of the bitterest parliamentary conflicts of the nineteenth century. (Beckett, 1981, p. 337)

stopping direct help altogether, is only explained in 6 of these textbooks (24%)¹²⁰. Both indoor poor relief in the workhouses and outdoor poor relief via soup kitchens are mentioned in 7 textbooks (28%). Regarding the source of aid, very little is being said: 4 textbooks (16%) name the government, 3 (12%) the private initiative and 2 (8%) the landlords. Finally, the highly surprising anecdote of the Choctaw Native Americans sending direct aid is mentioned by one textbook.

I believe that the depth of the storytelling regarding the source of financing of the relief measures is clearly insufficient across these 25 textbooks, given that this is one of the main aspects based on which a student could decide if enough has been done by the British government to address the catastrophic situation. In order to understand the relevance of this question, the evaluation of the Northern Irish textbook *Ireland under the Union 1800-1900 for CCEA A2 level* needs to be read:

The government's intention was to force landlords to accept financial responsibility for the famine. (...) In this sense the Great Famine witnessed a battle between Irish landlordism and the Westminster exchequer over responsibility for funding the various relief measures. (Rees R. D., 2018, p. 151)

Over the course of the Great Famine the British Government spent almost £10 million on various relief schemes, though its intention was to recover much of this outlay. While this may seem an impressive sum, it is put into perspective when compared to the £69 million spent on the Crimean War over a three-year period in the 1850s. In retrospect, more could have been spent on famine relief, particularly in view of the average annual tax revenue of about £53 million for the United Kingdom in the late 1840s. (p. 152)

The fact that from 1847 landlords had to pay the cost of the only remaining relief measure, the in- and outdoor relief at workhouses, via a specific local tax (and which had been balanced at the level of each Poor Law district) – even if the government was ready to advance the cost as a loan – meant that many landlords were facing bankruptcy (p. 151). The situation became so severe that it was not the question of redistributing the income within each of the Poor Law districts from the landlords to the poor, or even at

¹²⁰ In Beckett's words:

Nevertheless, during the first season of famine, from the autumn of 1845 to the summer of 1846, the government's measures were substantially successful. And this success was due mainly to Peel's foresight, promptness and determination. Even the Freeman's Journal, an O'Connellite newspaper that rarely found much good to say about any conservative, and Peel least of all, could pay him a retrospective tribute in 1847: 'No man died of famine during his administration, and it is a boast of which he might well be proud'. (Beckett, 1981, p. 338)

the level of Ireland, it required substantial income transfer.¹²¹ However, the Whig government considered that ‘Irish property must support Irish poverty’ (quoted in both *Ireland under the Union 1800-1900 for CCEA A2 level* (Rees R. D., 2018, p. 149) and the Irish textbook *Discovering History* (McCaughey, c2009, p. 289)). Apart from *Ireland under the Union 1800-1900 for CCEA A2 level*, probably only two other specialised A-level textbooks from England explain the financial construction behind the relief measures in sufficient details (even if – as we will see later – in their end-evaluation they excuse the British government from any wrongdoing):

Paper 3: Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923:

...by establishing a separate Irish Poor Law Commission this neatly absolved government of both the burden and cost of managing famine relief ... the provision was to be paid for by the Poor Rate in Ireland and not the British ratepayers or the British government. (Kidson, 2016, p. 119)

Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923:

Nor were many Englishmen prepared to accept the logic of those Irishmen who argued that the existence of the Union meant that the whole of the United Kingdom - and not just Ireland - should accept responsibility for the Great Famine. For them, including the prime minister, it was the Irish landlord class who should bear the main burden. (Adelman & Byrne, 2016, p. 70)

In the remaining examples which explain that landlords also had to pay for the relief measures this obligation is only described partially. For instance, in *Living through History Book 3, Britain 1750-1900 and the Twentieth Century World* (KS3, England):

¹²¹ Beckett provides a detailed evaluation of the situation:

The notion that Irish poverty, in the crisis created by the famine, should be made a charge on Irish property displayed an equal ignorance of prevailing conditions. But whatever their [the landlords'] attitude to the famine, they were not, as a body, able to bear the burden that the government wished to place upon them. (...) When, as naturally happened at this time, income from rents shrank, or disappeared altogether, they were faced with bankruptcy. To saddle them with the cost of famine relief might complete their ruin, but could bring little immediate benefit to their starving tenantry. What the landlords demanded (and on this point they were in unaccustomed harmony with the leaders of popular opinion) was that the cost of famine relief should be made a direct charge on the imperial exchequer: if Ireland was indeed an integral part of the United Kingdom, then the United Kingdom as a whole should be financially responsible for Ireland. It was a reasonable argument, but one that neither government nor house of commons would accept. The average British politician, however he might talk of the sanctity of the union, persisted in regarding Ireland as a distinct entity, and he looked with jealous caution on every proposal for the expenditure of ‘the British taxpayers’ money’ on Irish objects. (Beckett, 1981, p. 340)

The cost of a passage was roughly the same as the cost of keeping a pauper in the workhouse and landlords paid the fare of families willing to go to the USA or Canada. It was cheaper that way. (Kelly, Rees, & Shuter, 1998 (1), p. 28)

However, the text also creates confusion when describing the government loan to the Poor Law Commissions as if it was a grant, falsely giving the perception the government provided effective money transfer. Even though much of these loans had to be written off years later, given the impossibility to recover them, the original concept was very different from ‘giving money’ (Beckett, 1981, p. 341):

In 1848 the British Parliament gave money to Irish workhouses and supplied them with cheap maize. In this picture, starving people are besieging an Irish workhouse, desperately trying to get food. (Kelly, Rees, & Shuter, 1998 (1), p. 29)

Another example, *Making Sense of History 1745-1901* (KS3, England) clarifies that workhouses were paid for by landlords which led to evictions: ‘workhouses were funded by local landlords, so to reduce the cost to themselves they began evicting their tenants. If tenants were forced off their land, they would no longer be the responsibility of the landlord’ (Clare J. D., Bates, Fisher, & Kennett, 2015 (2), p. 65), although one could debate if the tone is correct as it places the responsibility on landlords and not the government which created the system.

Other textbooks often do not mention who financed the relief programmes or even provide the impression as if the government or the public in Britain was behind, as in *Colonisation and Conflict 1750-1990* (A-level, England): ‘in Britain there was widespread sympathy for the victims of the famine’ (Collier & Marriott, 2002, p. 95), in *Modern Britain 1760-1900* (KS3, England) ‘in January 1847, Parliament voted through the Soup Kitchen Act, which provided soup kitchens to feed 3 million of Ireland's population’ (Peal, 2017, p. 71) or in *Britain 1815-1851* (GCSE, England): ‘the government opened extra workhouses and soup kitchens as emergency measures’ (Rees R. A., 1990, p. 104).

Other examples refer only to the measures approved during the Peel government and forget to describe the changes introduced after the first year of famine, giving the impression as if the British government’s helping hand was there for the whole duration of the disaster, as in *British History 1815-1914* (GCSE, England): ‘the British government agreed to give as much relief money as was raised by private charity, to open workhouses,

and to bring yellow maize from India [sic] to make broth (known to the Irish as ‘Peel’s brimstone’)' (Hill & Wright, 1981, p. 142).

Across the specialised A-level textbooks used in England, the relief measures are usually explained in detail (see the second column of *Graph 31*): all of the three books describe the repeal of the Corn Laws, the employment at infrastructure works, and the soup kitchens financed by private help. None of these books mention the anecdotal help from the Choctaw Native Americans and only one textbook includes that the government also provided poor relief. All other aspects are explained by 2 out of the three textbooks. Among these textbooks, the most detailed is *Paper 3: Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923*, which tries to be objective, however sometimes seem to celebrate too much the government’s efforts. For instance, related to Peel’s purchase of Indian corn, when a few lines later the same book explains that it was far too little:

Here the British government can be congratulated because it took positive steps to address the problem of food supply in November 1845 by buying £100,000 worth of Indian corn and meal. (Kidson, 2016, p. 116)

In this sense, although Peel had sought to help the Irish, his initial attempt was inappropriate and actually caused additional problems for the population. Furthermore, having purchased £100,000 worth of this corn, it was significantly inadequate compared to the loss of £3,500,000 worth of potatoes. Given this shortfall, more substantial action needed to be taken. (p. 116)

On the other hand, the author shows criticism with other measures, for instance with the impact of the repeal of the Corn Laws:

The impact of this action was not as Peel anticipated. In terms of relieving the famine, the repeal made very little difference: Ireland had plenty of food (maize, dairy and meat), but no money with which to buy these items and, therefore, no matter how cheap grain was, the Irish could not afford it. (p. 117)¹²²

¹²² Beckett also coincides with this evaluation regarding the lack of cash:

...the government suffered from an ignorance of Irish conditions so great that it might, by itself, almost justify the repealers’ contention that Ireland could never be satisfactorily ruled from Westminster. What Russell, Wood and Trevelyan all alike failed to realize was that the economy of rural Ireland, especially in the areas most severely affected by the famine, was totally different from that of England. The peasant in these areas rarely handled money, and even more rarely used it for the purchase of food. He paid his rent by his labour; and he and his family lived on the potatoes that he grew himself. When the potatoes failed, he was helpless; and there was little use in paying him a money wage for his labour on relief works, without at the same time improvising

This textbook also describes in detail the economic policy of the Whig government which led to stopping direct help of famine victims:

The change in government had a profound effect on Ireland. While Peel's administration took active measures to reduce distress, the new Whig authority had a completely different view of how to deal with the problem... it was therefore decided to not buy in more grain, but rather leave the supplying of food to private enterprises. (...) Central to this decision-making process was the new Chancellor or the Exchequer, Charles Wood, and the Permanent Secretary at the Treasury, Charles Trevelyan, both of whom were keen supporters of non-intervention on the grounds of both Adam Smith's economic ideas and also the writing of the Reverend Thomas Malthus. Malthus was a population theorist and he had written extensively about Ireland – a country which he felt was vastly overpopulated and one whose population should consequently be thinned out so as to make best use of its natural resources. The ideas of Malthus lent themselves to a general sense of inevitable tragedy in Ireland: that its population was so great that eventually it would outgrow its ability to sustain itself. These beliefs were popular amongst men like Wood and Trevelyan since they complimented, even justified, their own ideas regarding the free market and non-interventionism. (...) When a second harvest failed in 1846 the government did not buy in further supplies of grain but rather simply continued with the existing policy of public works so that the Irish might earn money to buy their own food items. However, the cost was no longer borne by the administration but instead was passed on to the local Poor Rate in an attempt to force Irish landlords to manage the problem themselves. (p. 117)¹²³

Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923 also describes in detail the changing attitude of the Whig government:

‘It must be thoroughly understood’, announced Russell on assuming office, ‘that we cannot feed the people.’ (Adelman & Byrne, 2016, p. 70)

For all these reasons, although Russell was genuinely moved by Irish suffering, the measures that were introduced in the early autumn of 1846 were haphazard and limited. (p. 71)

a system of retail distribution that would enable him to turn his wage into food. (Beckett, 1981, p. 340)

¹²³ Beckett also provides anecdotal evidence of Trevelyan's lack of sensitivity:

Trevelyan worked day and night at his task; but his outlook was dominated by the prevailing laissez-faire philosophy, and at times he gave the impression that he was more alarmed lest the Irish should be demoralized by receiving too much help from the government than lest they should die of starvation through not receiving enough. ‘You cannot’, one of his agents in Ireland reminded him, ‘answer the cry of want by a quotation from political economy’; but the warning had little effect. (Beckett, 1981, p. 338)

The demands of both landlords and nationalists for real productive work to be provided – for instance, land reclamation and railway construction – were brushed aside by Charles Trevelyan in typical fashion: ‘For the government to undertake by its own direct agency the detailed drainage and improvements of the whole country, is a task for which the nature and functions of government are totally unsuited.’ The measures taken by the government to avert famine proved to be hopelessly inadequate. (p. 71)

Labour Rate Act - Passed in 1846, this Act stated that Irish hunger relief and work creation schemes were to be funded from Irish local taxation. (p. 71)

In effect, Ireland was left to its fate: ‘I do not think that any effort of this house’, Russell told the Commons in May 1849, ‘would, in the present and unfortunate state of Ireland, be capable of preventing the dreadful scenes of suffering and death that are now occurring in Ireland.’ (p. 73)

Trevelyan wrote, characteristically, that ‘too much has been done for the people’. (p. 73)

Among the Irish Junior Certificate textbooks (third column of *Graph 31*), five characteristics of the relief measures are included in all four textbooks: the corn import, that Peel was behind them, the employment at infrastructure works, the indoor poor relief at workhouses and the government providing sources for the relief. 3 of the 4 textbooks explain the change of the government attitude in 1846 and that charities also financed the relief. 2 of the 4 textbooks include the story that people did not know how to cook corn and the existence of soup kitchens. Only one of the textbooks explains the aid from the Choctaw Native Americans, but none of them includes the repeal of the Corn Laws (which we have seen is the most frequently explained measure in English textbooks due to its impact leading to the fall of Peel’s government) and more importantly, none of these textbooks mentions that landowners had to finance poor relief. This is a major failure, as without this, the rationale behind the increase in evictions turns from an economic ‘necessity’ to greed. The overall narrative of these Irish textbooks is factual, for instance in *New Complete History*:

Helping Famine victims

In 1845, Sir Robert Peel was Prime Minister. He imported large quantities of Indian corn (maize) from America and has sold it cheaply to feed hungry Irish people. The people had never seen maize before and they called it ‘Peel’s Brimstone’ because of its strange yellow colour. But Peel’s scheme saved many lives, before it was abandoned when a new Prime Minister came to power.

Lord John Russell was the new Prime Minister. He replaced Peel's 'cheap food' policy with public works schemes. Men were now paid small wages for working in road-building and other public works and were then expected to buy food at market prices. Russell's plan did not work well. Many people were too weak to do the physical labour required by the public works.

Charitable and religious groups such as the Quakers set up soup kitchens that gave out free soup and bread to hungry people. This scheme worked so well that the government opened its own soup kitchens in 1847. Then the government changed its mind, closed its soup kitchens and announced that relief would be provided only in workhouses.

Workhouses, or poorhouses, had been set up to provide emergency aid to people who could not support themselves. They were grim, unpopular places. During the Famine, workhouses were overcrowded with starving, sick people and became death traps as famine fever spread quickly through them.

Indian aid. The Choctaw American Indians had been driven from their lands by the United States government. They were living in great hardship in the town of Skullyville, Oklahoma, when news reached them of a terrible famine in faraway Ireland. The Choctaws – knowing what it was like to be hungry and oppressed – raised \$710 and sent it to Ireland as famine relief. (Hayes C. , 2009, p. 182)

The Past Today (Lucey, 2002, pp. 238-239) and *Discovering History* (McCaughy, c2009, pp. 288-290) include similar but somewhat more detailed descriptions, while *Uncovering History* (Delap & McCormack, 2011, p. 256) provide a significantly shorter account of the relief measures.

Among the Northern Irish textbooks, we have already seen that *History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1500-1900* (KS3) dedicates its narrative mostly to the description of the relief measures, including most points, with the exception of the repeal of the Corn Laws and the aid from the Choctaw Native Americans (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008, pp. 69-71). The tone is objective, also highlighting failures in some of the measures. *History in Close-Up: Union and Partition* (KS3) includes the same aspects as the previously mentioned textbook. Its narrative of Trevelyan's beliefs is quite detailed and the text clearly blames his policies for some of the shortcomings:

Famine relief measures. Although the situation in Ireland was desperate, the British government didn't think it was right to interfere in matters to do with trade and the economy. This policy was known as *laissez-faire*, which is French for 'let act'. At this

time the most important civil servant in the Treasury (where the British government's money was managed) was Charles Edward Trevelyan who was not sympathetic to the Irish. He thought of them as a disorderly race. He was more interested in saving money than in saving lives. But the government did take measures to help relieve the situation in Ireland. (...) The 1970s Irish folk song "The Fields of Athenry" was written about the famine and mentions Trevelyan. (Rees, Hodge, Johnston, & Turner Johnston, 2012, p. 21)

In October 1846 there were 114,000 on [public infrastructure] works like these. By February 1847, there were 700,000. Trevelyan said this was costing too much and by June 1847 nearly all work had ceased. (p. 22)

After stopping the work schemes, Trevelyan suggested a new plan - the local ratepayers would provide soup kitchens to feed the starving. The landlords did not wish to encourage the use of these soup kitchens because they had to pay for them, so they made them as unattractive as possible. (p. 22)

Ireland under the Union 1800-1900 for CCEA A2 level includes all relevant aspects of the relief measures, except the indoor relief in workhouses and the aid from the Choctaw Native Americans. This textbook also dedicates some space to analyse Trevelyan:

An evangelical Protestant who considered the Irish, and indeed the Scots, as inferior to the English, Trevelyan was unbending in his approach to Ireland, and it is difficult to refute claims that he was insensitive to Irish suffering. (Rees R. D., 2018, p. 148)

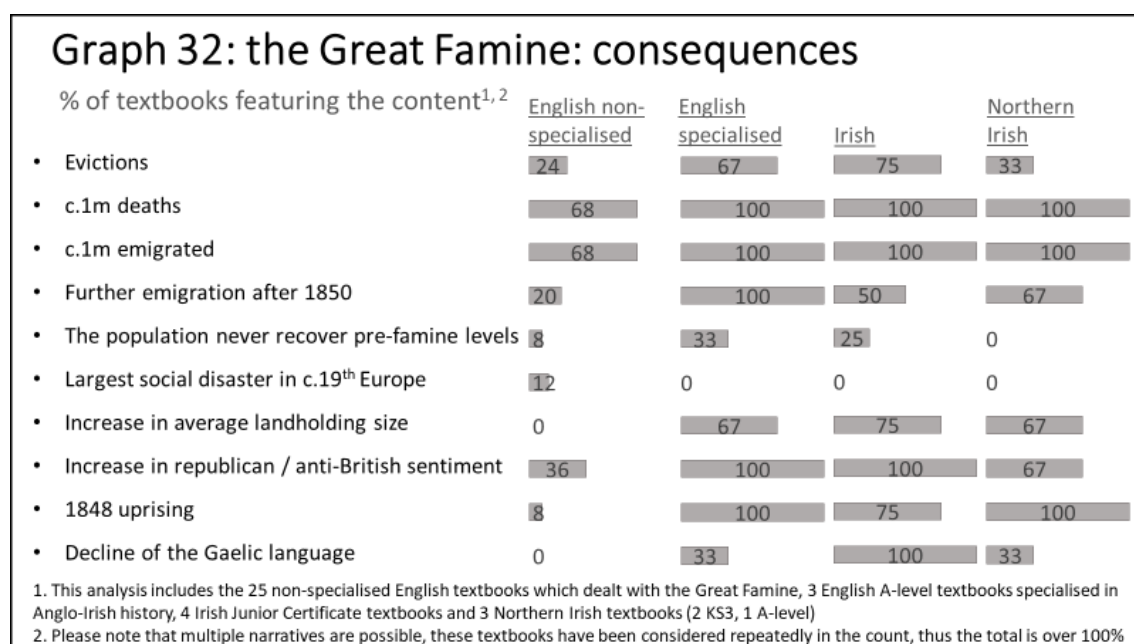
Whereas half the cost of relief schemes initiated by the Peel government had been met by grants from the Treasury, the Whig administration insisted that 'Irish property must support Irish poverty'. (p. 149)

Consequences of the Great Famine

The most frequently explained consequence of the Great Famine are the number of deaths and the impact of the emigration: 17 (68%) out of the 25 English non-specialised textbooks provide a mention about the impact of each, while all Irish, Northern Irish or specialised A-level textbooks explain it (see *Graph 32*). The overwhelming majority of the textbooks which provide an estimation for the number of deaths concludes that it was around 1 million, only one textbook (*British History 1815-1914*, GCSE, England) states that 'estimates of the deaths vary between 300,000 and 800,000' (Hill & Wright, 1981, p. 142), while a couple of non-specialised English textbooks mention somewhat higher

numbers of 1.4 and 1.5 million. All Irish, Northern Irish and specialised English A-level textbooks coincide in the number of 1 million dead.¹²⁴

The variation is somewhat higher in the figure related to emigration, also as its impact was more prolonged in time: estimations range from 1 million to 3 million, the average is 1.38 million and the median 1.2 million, without any relevant difference between the textbooks of the different geographies.¹²⁵



The next most frequently included consequence of the Great Famine is the increase of republican / anti-British sentiment: 9 out of the 25 non-specialised English textbooks explain this (36%). All specialised A-level English textbooks, all analysed Irish textbooks and all but one Northern Irish textbooks also describe this impact. You can find below some examples of these textbooks, most of them are very similar in their conclusions independently from their origin, however some of them specifically mention the incorrect morality of the UK government which led to this result:

History in Close-Up: Union and Partition (KS3, Northern Ireland):

Many in Ireland resented the actions taken by the government during the famine or at best saw them as inadequate. This helped to make the Irish even more bitter towards

¹²⁴ Beckett also coincides with this figure (Beckett, 1981, p. 343)

¹²⁵ Beckett does not mention a specific number, but signals that emigration ‘more than equalled’ the number of dead. (Beckett, 1981, p. 344)

England. Such bitterness took root in the new emigrant communities in England and especially in America. (Rees, Hodge, Johnston, & Turner Johnston, 2012, p. 25)

Ireland under the Union 1800-1900 for CCEA A2 level (Northern Ireland):

Undoubtedly, experience of the Great Famine intensified anti-English feeling both in Ireland and among the Irish diaspora. This was evident during the course of the famine, as the attempts of the Whig government to provide aid for starving communities proved ineffective. (Rees R. D., 2018, p. 112)

Yet what made a greater lasting impression on those who survived the Great Famine was the attitude of many within the political elite in London, who attributed the cause of much of the suffering to the perceived character of the Irish people. This superior moral tone, often blending with providentialist thinking which recognised God's hand behind the unfolding crisis in Ireland, help to explain the inadequate response to the Great Famine by the British government. In time, and it would take time, this would act as a spur to the various strands of Irish nationalism. (p. 152)

Uncovering History (Ireland):

There was an increase in political activism. Many Irish people were angry at the British government's response to the famine. Anger led to calls for a republic and the setting up of the Irish Republican Brotherhood. (Delap & McCormack, 2011, p. 257)

Discovering History (Ireland):

Instead they [the Irish people] felt even more angry that Britain controlled Irish affairs. Some became determined to win Ireland's independence. (McCaughey, c2009, p. 289)

Many people blamed the British government for the Famine. The British policy of laissez-faire and the continued exportation of food from a famine-stricken Ireland were greatly resented. Furthermore, many of the British upper-class did not care about Ireland's difficulties and in some cases even seemed to feel it was deserved. Politicians such as Charles Edward Trevelyan believed that 'the judgement of God sent the calamity to teach the Irish a lesson, that calamity must not be too much mitigated... The real evil with which we have to contend is not the physical evil of the Famine, but the moral evil of the selfish, perverse and turbulent character of the people'. The bitter resentment felt by the Irish people would later be seen in the uprisings of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. (p. 293)

Britain 1815-1895 and Ireland 1798-1922 (Specialised A-level, England):

In many ways the Great Famine of 1845-49 was a turning point in the history of opposition to the Union. It accelerated the move towards Home Rule for an independent Ireland. (Murphy, Walsh-Atkins, & Whiskerd, 2008, p. 183)

The Great Famine created a sense of anger and injustice. It also raised social tensions to a much higher level. Many died and more emigrated. It was easy to blame the richest country in the world, with its huge resources, for the human, social and economic devastation of Ireland in the late 1840s. Most Irish people felt bitterly they had been betrayed and abandoned by the English. There was a huge anger at the perceived treatment of the Irish masses by an incompetent and uncaring 'English' Government. (p. 184)

British History 1815-1914 (GCSE, England):

...there are certainly no statistics to measure the suffering of the Irish people or the extent to which Anglo-Irish relations were further embittered. (Hill & Wright, 1981, p. 142)

The Irish who remained after the Great Famine were no longer content with Daniel O'Connell as their leader, a man so moderate that he had forbidden his followers to join the Chartists. They turned increasingly to existing secret societies... (p. 143)

Making Sense of History 1745-1901 (KS3, England):

Indeed, it might be possible to suggest a direct link from the famine years to the rise of armed resistance to English rule by the Fenians. (Clare J. D., Bates, Fisher, & Kennett, 2015 (2), p. 66)

On the other hand, none of the analysed textbooks explains the rise of similar anti-Irish attitudes in Britain (thus this impact is not shown in Graph 30). Beckett describes how the failed small-scale insurrection of 1848 led to antipathy in Britain:

The anti-Irish feeling that had existed all through the famine in some quarters (it is reflected, for example, in the pages of *Punch*) now became stronger. Public opinion in Britain was coming to regard the Irish as irresponsible, ungrateful and treacherous, unfit to govern themselves, or even to enjoy the same constitutional rights as rest of the United Kingdom. (Beckett, 1981, p. 350)

The specialised A-level English textbooks *Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923* and *Paper 3: Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923* both describe the 1848 uprising and recognise the role the Great Famine played in its genesis – although they focus on the perception the famine created rather than the fact that there were

shortcomings in the management of the famine – (‘...the perceived failures of Britain to adequately provide for Ireland during the famine years directly inspired nationalist action in the form of the Young Ireland uprising in 1848’ (Kidson, 2016, p. 43) and ‘they held the British government responsible for the Great Famine and began to toy with the idea of armed rebellion’ (Adelman & Byrne, 2016, p. 77)), nevertheless, both textbooks fail to mention the impact of 1848 in the British public opinion about Ireland. Although the scale of the 1848 rebellion was rather small (*Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923* describes it as ‘a tragi-comic affray between a handful of peasants led by members of Young Ireland and the police, at a remote farmhouse – “the battle of the Widow McCormack’s cabbage patch”, as it is derisively known’ (Adelman & Byrne, 2016, p. 78)), mostly only the specialised textbooks refer to it at all: two of the non-specialised English textbooks (KS3 and GCSE), the three specialised British A-level textbooks (two already have been quoted), the three relevant Northern Irish textbooks and three out of four Irish textbooks. As *History in Close-Up: Union and Partition* (KS3, Northern Ireland) puts it ‘... Ireland in 1848 was suffering from the famine, and the people had no interest in a revolution. Only about 100 people took part in the Young Ireland rebellion and it was easily crushed’ (Rees, Hodge, Johnston, & Turner Johnston, 2012, p. 49). *History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1500-1900* (KS3, Northern Ireland) includes a narrative of two pages, however, it makes no connection between the Great Famine and the uprising and focuses on the cross-denominational nature of the movement, also mentioning that they invented the Irish tricolour as a sign of peace between ‘Orange’ and ‘Green’ (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008, pp. 78-79). Interestingly, these three Northern Irish textbooks, the third specialised A-level English textbook and the three out of four Irish textbooks that describe the 1848 uprising do that in a chapter separate from the Great Famine, forming part of the narrative of revolutionary tradition, as a continuation of 1798, an introduction to 1916 or as the final event of the repeal movement¹²⁶. In case of *Making Sense of History 1745-1901* (KS3, England), the 1848 rebellion is described in the study unit *Other causes of the breakdown in the Anglo-Irish relationship by 1920*, placed between the repeal campaign and the Land League, and the Great Famine is portrayed as a hinderance of the rebellion, not as a catalyser:

¹²⁶ Apart from the already mentioned two Northern Irish textbooks: *Ireland under the Union 1800-1900 for CCEA A2 level* (Rees R. D., 2018, pp. 41-43), *Britain 1815-1895 and Ireland 1798-1922* (Murphy, Walsh-Atkins, & Whiskerd, 2008, p. 184), *New Complete History* (Hayes C. , 2009, p. 149), *Discovering History* (McCaughy, c2009, p. 354), *The Past Today* (Lucey, 2002, p. 207).

The Young Ireland Movement. Inspired by revolutionary events in France, the Young Ireland Movement aimed for complete independence for Ireland. Independence would be won through violent revolution if necessary. The movement, which had both Catholic and Protestant members, launched a rebellion against British rule in 1848. The rebellion failed due to lack of support, lack of weapons and due to the fact that it coincided with the famine which had left many people too weak to fight. The British government punished three of the leaders with transportation to Australia. (Clare J. D., Bates, Fisher, & Kennett, 2015 (2), p. 70)¹²⁷

The evictions are explained in 6 out of the 25 non-specialised English textbooks (24%), in two of the three specialised A-level English textbooks, in three of the four Irish textbooks and in one of the three Northern Irish textbooks.

The continued emigration after the Great Famine is subject to 5 out of the 25 non-specialised English textbooks (20%), all specialised A-level English textbooks, half of the four Irish textbooks and two of the three Northern Irish textbooks. For instance, in *Industry, Revolution and Empire. Britain 1750-1900* (KS3, England): ‘by 1871, one quarter of New York's population was Irish’ (Wilkes A. , 2004 (1), p. 70). The resulting evolution of the population of Ireland, and that its number of inhabitants has never reached the pre-famine level is included only in one English KS3, one English GCSE, one specialised British A-level, and one Irish textbooks. I believe that it is a mistake not to mention this, as anecdotal evidence will make students remember the scale of the impact more than specific number or long descriptions.

The significance of the Great Famine in international comparison is included in a couple of non-specialised English textbooks: *Industry, Revolution and Empire. Britain 1750-1900* (KS3, England) calls it the ‘one of the greatest natural disasters to strike the Western World in modern times’ (Wilkes A. , 2004 (1), p. 72), *Modern Britain 1760-1900* (KS3, England) ‘the worst social disaster to strike any European nation during the 19th century’ (Peal, 2017, p. 71) and *Twentieth-century British History, Book One 1900-14* (KS3, England) ‘the biggest disaster in modern British history’ (Reynoldson, 1985 (1), p. 75).

¹²⁷ The other non-specialised English textbook to include the 1848 uprising, *British History 1815-1914*, narrates it at the end of the paragraphs covering the Great Famine (Hill & Wright, 1981, p. 143)

The increase of the average landholding size has not been included in any of the non-specialised English textbooks, but in two of the three specialised A-level English textbooks, in three of the four Irish textbooks and in two of the three Northern Irish textbooks dealing with the period.

The decline of the Gaelic language is only explained in one of the three specialised A-level English textbooks, in one Northern Irish A-level textbook and in all four Irish textbooks, for instance in *New Complete History*: ‘the Irish language declined because of the Famine. This is because poor Irish-Speaking areas in the west of Ireland were badly affected by death and emigration’ (Hayes C. , 2009, p. 183). However, the most detailed description is given in the Northern Irish A-level textbook *Ireland under the Union 1800-1900*¹²⁸.

Overall evaluation of the Great Famine

The overwhelming majority of the analysed textbooks tell the story of the Great Famine in a neutral way; however, we can find two of them which predominantly tell the story of a government failure. *Industry, Revolution and Empire. Britain 1750-1900* (KS3, England) provides a significant number of proof points for this evaluation and it does not provide contrary arguments:

Source D. From an Irish newspaper, November 1846. ‘When the Queen (Victoria) at her coronation swore to protect and defend her subjects, no exception was made with regard to Ireland. How does it happen then that while there is a shilling in the Treasury or even a jewel in the crown that subjects are allowed to perish with hunger?’ (Wilkes A. , 2004 (1), p. 70)

Source E. Written by the modern historian, Andrew Langley, in ‘Victorian Britain’. ‘The British Government was slow to give help. Worse still, it gave no protection to peasant farmers who were too poor to pay rents on their land. Many were evicted [thrown out] from their homes by the landowners, most of whom lived in England.’ (p. 71)

¹²⁸ The use of Irish had been falling since the middle of the eighteenth century, and only 50 percent of the population spoke monolingual Irish by 1800. Its decline thereafter was spectacular. The impact of the famine greatly accelerated the trend, as the areas which suffered most were those same areas in the poorer parts of the west where Irish was most commonly spoken. By 1851 only 5 percent of the population spoke monolingual Irish and over the next 50 years this figure dropped to 0.5 percent. Even the number of bilingual speakers, those who spoke both Irish and English, was down to 14 percent by the end of the nineteenth century. (Rees R. D., 2018, p. 92)

Source G. Written by the modern historian, Duncan Gunn, in 'The Little Book of British History'. 'One of the greatest natural disasters to strike the Western World in modern times, the potato famine that hit Ireland ... resulted in more than one million deaths and the forced migration of a million more. Its effects would not have been a tenth as bad if the British Government of the time had made the slightest effort to relieve the starvation, and if ... landlords had not made matters worse by evicting thousands of tenants from the land.' (p. 72)

Source I. Written by a British Government official in 1847. The man was actually in charge of the Famine Relief Association. 'It is my opinion that too much has been done for the Irish people. Under such treatment the people have grown worse instead of better ... it is not the job of the Government to give people food.' (p. 72)

Britain 1815-1895 and Ireland 1798-1922 (Specialised A-level, England) is the other textbook which clearly positions itself with a critique of the British government:

Overall, the actual aid given by the rest of the UK was limited. The Government in London had no experience in dealing with such a famine. Also, there was a strong tendency in London to assume that the situation was exaggerated. In addition, with the prevailing laissez-faire economic ideas, it was not felt to be part of the role of a government to intervene in such matters. The Government in London appeared to be more concerned with the implications of repealing the Corn Laws. It was also more concerned about the economic interests of British farmers and political pledges given in the election of 1841 than about actually stopping a large number of UK citizens in Ireland starving to death. Britain was possibly the richest country in the world at the time, with vast resources of money and shipping. It had all that was needed both to buy food and to ship it to Ireland and feed those there. The English Government seemed to devote itself to academic debates on both the causes and the extent of the problem. It discussed whether public works would actually help or not, and should soup be given out by Protestant organisations with a requirement to convert before the food was consumed. The governments of both Peel (1841-46) and Russell (1846-52) appeared to be particularly concerned to ensure that Irish landowners paid for Irish poverty, and that the English taxpayer would not suffer for Irish profits. (...) Given the possible resources at the disposal of a British government, it is perhaps remarkable that there was so little resentment expressed against the Union. What the Government in London had done was too little too late. While the biographers of Peel and Russell might see them as able leaders, with their Bank Charter Acts and calm handling of the Chartist disturbances,

viewed from an Irish perspective the fact that a million UK citizens died of hunger, they were clearly less than 'able'. (Murphy, Walsh-Atkins, & Whiskerd, 2008, p. 198)

On the other hand, we can also find three textbooks, which despite telling a detailed narrative of the Great Famine, in their evaluation focus on a critique of what is supposed to be the Irish nationalist perspective of the Great Famine. In these summaries, it seems that the main evil were those Irish nationalists who after the Great Famine blamed the British government for their lack of action and even argued that it was a deliberate plan to eliminate the Irish. As we have seen through this section, the four analysed Irish textbooks provide a balanced narrative of the Great Famine, even being less critical with the British government than many English textbooks and none of them hint that the Great Famine would have been a British initiative to annihilate the Irish. Considering the measured tone of the Irish textbooks, it feels rather surprising that these three textbooks (2 specialised A-level textbooks used in England and a KS3 textbook from Northern Ireland) invest so much effort and time in criticising what they describe as the traditional Irish perspective. Given their biased and even toxic nature, it is worth to reproduce these three narratives in detail.

The earlier pages of this thesis already included many quotes from *Paper 3: Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923*, which describe how the relief measures taken by the British government were effectively insufficient, already during Peel's time. Nevertheless, the author mixes these descriptions with other messages with seem to play to the ears of those who would like to find the government excused from any responsibility, for instance claiming that the establishment of a scientific commission at the beginning of the famine was already a strong enough proof that the government did a lot and also claiming that other points of view 'lack complete objectivity'. The author in the below quote uses this one example of early action to argue that the government wasn't slow to react and that contrary beliefs are emotionally motivated subjective opinions. Then he acknowledges that more could have been done, which is already the opposite of the previous confirmation (thus it should belong to the group of 'opinions that lack complete objectivity') but now he positions the text as if the opposing opinions would all claim that the Great Famine was a 'deliberate policy' – thus making students believe that there are only two sides: those who think that that the government was quick to react but a bit more could have been done and those who think that it was a deliberate action. This

is clearly a simplification of the array of opinions which exist about the responsibility for the Great Famine. The following lines finally also clarify that there was not just one type of government response from London – this recognition itself already invalidates the previous argument about the simplified representation of two sides. Thus, the below quote seems a rather illogical attempt to defend the government and to blame the other side for lacking objectivity:

...when blight arrived in Ireland the government was quick to respond to its presence and steps were taken to address the threat. Amongst the earliest of these was the formation of a scientific commission to investigate the disease with the intention that a cure might be found to prevent its spread. Such positive action as this challenges the accepted wisdom that the British government was slow to react and indeed increased the misery of Ireland's population by refusing to supply it with effective support. One reason for this discrepancy is that people apply different interpretations to events, and such is the emotive nature of *an gorta mor* (the great hunger) that there are many contrasting opinions that lack complete objectivity. Certainly, it is reasonable to say that the government could have done a lot more than it did, but to suggest that it pursued a deliberate policy designed to enhance Irish suffering is excessive given the context of events. Another reason for the array of opinion that exists is the changing nature of Britain's response. During the years of famine, policy altered considerably and very markedly, in particular following the introduction of a new Whig administration in 1846 which replaced the outgoing Tory government under Robert Peel. (Kidson, 2016, p. 115)

The author does not stop here when defending the British government and criticising the Irish nationalist perspective. He seems more critical with John Mitchel and the 'traditional nationalist perspective' than with Charles Trevelyan. The text suggests that just by believing that 'Britain could have done so much more to help the affected nation' the 'traditional nationalist perspective' initiated by John Mitchel is an 'Anglo-phobic' 'rhetoric'. This is highly debatable, as a significant number of English textbooks analysed in this thesis recognise the lack of sufficient action as a matter of fact, not forgetting either the already quoted semi-apology from Tony Blair during his time as Prime Minister. The author of *Paper 3: Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923* continues with the claim that the critiques of Trevelyan tried to 'single out' and 'demonise' him:

For many people in Ireland, the distress suffered in the country during the 1840s was a natural disaster which could have been tempered with a more effective response from the British government. In this interpretation, which has largely become the traditional

nationalist perspective, Britain could have done so much more to help the affected nation, but rather than take the necessary measures, it chose to protect its own commercial interest and gave only nominal support to the Irish. This view was originally developed by an Irish journalist called John Mitchel who observed the famine before becoming embroiled in the Young Ireland uprising in 1848 and subsequently being transported to Bermuda. While abroad, he collected his views and opinions of the famine, and Britain's record in Ireland generally, and wrote *The Last Conquest of Ireland (perhaps)*. This was published in 1860 and asserted a distinctly Anglo-phobic perspective that became primer rhetoric of future nationalists. With regard to the conduct of the British government during the famine, Mitchel singled out one man above all others for criticism – Charles Edward Trevelyan, the Permanent Undersecretary at the Treasury – whom he felt deliberately interfered with relief efforts because of his ideological stance and general disregard for the Irish nation. Trevelyan was intimately connected with the process of famine relief, and certainly his actions bear some responsibility. However, the extent to which he ought to be demonised remains open for debate. (p. 121)

To which extent Trevelyan's role is open for debate, even the author of this textbook provides quite self-explaining contrary arguments:

The motivation behind Trevelyan's approach was a belief in the inherent 'idleness' of the Irish and a consequent fear that if relief was excessive than they would become dependent upon it and, therefore, not be able to help themselves. (...)

Source 9. From Charles Trevelyan, *The Irish Crisis*, London (1848), in which he sets out his opinion of the Irish smallholder and general work ethic. '[The Irish smallholder] lives in a state of isolation, the type of which is to be sought for in the islands of the South Seas rather than in the great civil community of the ancient world. A fortnight for planning, a week or ten days for digging, and another fortnight for turf cutting, suffice for his subsistence, when, during the rest of the year, he is at leisure to follow his own inclinations without even the safeguard of those intellectual tastes and legitimate objects of ambition which only imperfectly obviate the evils of leisure in the highest rank of society.'

Trevelyan was a keen advocate of these [Malthusian] principles and was meticulous in his application of them in Ireland. In this endeavour, he was blamed for dragging his feet when it came to relief. Lord Bessborough, lord lieutenant of the country between 1846 and 1847, found him to have limited awareness of the conditions in Ireland and equally unprepared to adapt his moralistic principles accordingly. Even after the Irish Poor Law Extension Act passed responsibility over to Dublin and the Irish Poor Law Commission in 1847, Trevelyan retained a prominent role since it was he who ended the

government soup kitchen provision following the Act's passage. Also, his orders stopped the sale of government-bought cornmeal so as to force the destitute into the workhouses. (p. 121)

However, even after this detailed description of Trevelyan's beliefs and role in the insufficient government aid, the author of *Paper 3: Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923* believes that forgetting the above facts and excusing him is an 'objective assessment' against the Irish nationalist 'rhetoric':

As the main British political figure involved with famine relief, Trevelyan was very much the figurehead that bore the brunt of nationalist antipathy in the aftermath of the famine. However, in recent years there has been a more objective reassessment of his and Britain's actions in an attempt to offer a more rounded opinion in the face of Mitchell's rhetoric. (p. 122)

Maybe unsurprisingly at this stage, the textbook continues to claim that the amount the British government provided (£10 million at the time) was large (please compare this with the already quoted financial evaluation from *Ireland under the Union 1800-1900 for CCEA A2 level* which puts this amount into a different perspective, and also considering that a large share of the amount was supposed to be a loan only) and that road infrastructure was to blame for the Great Famine:

Here there is a reasonable argument to suggest that the actions of Britain were not the actions of a callous government, but rather one that acted under the guidance of accepted political theories that others also supported. Furthermore, the nationalist perspective focused almost exclusively upon the limitations of relief rather than considering the benefits it provided. In terms of financial commitment, Britain was far from mean, providing more than £10 million in an attempt to tackle the emergency. This was a substantial sum of money at the time - equating to more than £ 1 billion in today's value. Additionally, the efforts to minimise suffering were undermined by a poor transport system, causing many resources not to find their way to the people in need. In this sense it is reasonable to say that perhaps the infrastructure failed the Irish people, rather than the individual actions of British politicians. (p. 122)

The author also considers that blaming the 'economic system' and the 'British management' for the Great Famine equals to 'stirring up' 'nationalist sentiment' and that the nationalist view is 'too emotive and fails to consider objectively the actions':

Within its pages he [Mitchell] chronicled the extent of the potato famine in such an emotive language that it stirred up broader nationalist sentiment. In articles such as 'The

Potato Disease’ and ‘The People’s Food’, he offered up the origins of the current suffering, and in future articles tied the continuation of such distress to a failure in the economic system in Ireland as a result of British management and the desire of self-interest. In particular, he censured figures like Charles Trevelyan for deliberately making relief hard and also for the continued exportation of goods from the country in an effort to maintain commercial practises at the expense of starving people (Source 11). (p. 122)

From the nationalist perspective, successive governments did not do enough to support Ireland, clinging instead to non-interventionist principles that restricted their willingness to intercede sufficiently (...) This view has become a popular one in Ireland. However, it is perhaps too emotive and fails to consider objectively the actions that were undertaken, notably the response of Robert Peel’s administration to buy in Indian corn and remove the Corn Laws in 1846, the latter precipitating the fall of his government. Furthermore, the £10 million that Britain spent on famine relief was an unprecedented amount at that time and is perhaps a spending that suggests its governments were more predisposed to support the Irish than the nationalist view concedes. (p. 128)

In summary, Tony Blair’s semi-apology was a mistake!

In another specialised A-level textbook used in England, *Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923*, we can also read a somewhat less detailed critique of the ‘view of extreme nationalists’ which claimed that the British government wanted to reduce the Irish population, affirming that this narrative has ‘no basis in reality’, however in the next sentence it explains the persisting prejudice against the Irish.

The view of extreme nationalists, expressed at the time, was that the aim of the British government was to allow the famine to take its course so that the Catholic Irish majority would decrease and the land would be cleared of surplus population. Some even suggested that the potato blight was deliberate. Such ideas found their way into the popular mythology of Irish people well into the twentieth century. These ideas have no basis in reality. Yet the impatience and prejudice of English politicians and their ignorance of Irish conditions did lead some of them to blame the Irish themselves for their troubles. ‘The real difficulty’, wrote the newly appointed lord-lieutenant, Lord Clarendon, in May 1847, ‘lies with the people themselves - they are always in the mud ... their idleness and helplessness can hardly be believed.’ (Adelman & Byrne, 2016, p. 70)

Also the authors of *Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923* stress how much money has been spent by the British government (quoting £8 million), although

recognising that much of it was later written-off debt and that it amounted ‘to no more than two to three per cent of public expenditure’ (p. 74). However, the textbook also adds that other opinions excuse the lack of more decisive government action due to the lack of infrastructure:

Other historians, however, have stressed the difficulties that would have faced any government dealing with famine conditions in Ireland at this time: lack of good communications, a primitive system of retail distribution, an ineffective system of local government, wide social, regional and religious differences. They have therefore adopted a more sympathetic attitude towards the efforts of Peel and Russell. (p. 74)

The final chapter summary of this textbook, after explaining the consequences in terms of number of dead and the emigration, focuses on the supposed misinterpretation of the events by Irish nationalists, without mentioning at all that the British government could have done more:

The long-term impact was to create a potent image of national suffering that sustained and motivated the nationalist argument for decades. The myth that the British government had deliberately allowed the famine to depopulate Ireland or had even somehow created it, however misconceived and irrational, became widely believed well into the twentieth century and is still given credibility by some people today. (p. 83)

The third example of strongly biased narrative which focuses on the critique of the ‘Irish nationalist perspective’ is *History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1500-1900* (KS3, Northern Ireland). We have already seen earlier that this textbook focuses its narrative nearly exclusively on the relief measures, jokes about the number of dead and emigrating and that the human suffering caused by the famine is only treated via pictures, without providing any fitting description or quotes. In addition, to set the tone of the chapter, the authors dedicate two pages to describe different natural disasters, such as the 2005 Hurricane Katrina, the 1918 flu, the 2005 tsunami, the famine in Ethiopia in the 1980s, a storm in the US in 1993 or the Foot and Mouth disease in Britain in 2001, implying that the overall narrative of the Great Famine is that of a natural disaster (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008, pp. 66-67). After a description of the government response to the Great Famine in the following four pages, which includes a balanced summary of the actions taken and their shortcomings, the next two pages (pp. 72-73) provide four different source materials that refer to the perception of the government’s response at the time and four

other sources about what people think today. Although the introduction allows for different opinions, the selection of the source materials seems biased as it conducts students to adopt an opinion closer to those who excuse the government from any wrongdoing:

What did people at the time think of the government's response to the famine? The government's management of the famine in Ireland has been the subject of CONTROVERSY both at the time and since. Some people claimed that the government did not care about Ireland and willingly allowed people to die, others have criticised more strongly, claiming that a policy of GENOCIDE was deliberately pursued. Others have argued that the government's response was ineffective but must be seen in the context of the time, with prevalent ideas such as *laissez-faire*, and the difficulties of both gathering accurate information and administering relief when communications were not good. Sources 1-4 reflect the views of some people who witnessed the famine.

Source 1. The Almighty indeed sent the potato blight but the English created the famine ... A million and half men, women and children were carefully, prudently and peacefully slain by the English government. They died of hunger in the midst of abundance which their own hands created. John Mitchel, *The Last Conquest of Ireland* (Perhaps) (1861).

Source 2: This illustration was drawn by James Mahony, who was employed by the London Illustrated News to provide images of conditions in Ireland. [Image shows women with a baby begging for food]

Source 3: We are aware that our excellent and humane Lord Lieutenant is making every effort to aid the people. The Waterford Freeman, 3 October 1846.

Source 4: I am well aware of the deep anxiety you felt for our destitute people, and your efforts to save them from the effects of the destruction of the potato crop last season. Famine would have destroyed this country were it not for your wise actions. From a letter written by Father Theobald Mathew (Cork) to Charles Trevelyan, 7 August 1846.

Get active 6

a Which sources support the notion that the government did not do enough?

b Which suggests that the government acted appropriately to help relieve famine?

c Which views do you agree with? Why? What evidence do you have to support your view?

d Study Source 4. What questions would you like to ask Father Mathew? You might use these starters to help you: Who? What? Where? Why? When? How?

e Using the sources and your own ideas, do you think people at the time thought the government managed the famine appropriately? (p. 72)

The above text seems biased as the nationalist view (Source 1) included is the extreme view (which blames the British government directly for the deaths) – so that readers can easily disagree with it. Source 3 praises the Lord Lieutenant, which is correct, but it does not show the Lord Lieutenant's views which were highly critical of the situation (e.g. opposing corn exports). Source 4 refers to a letter written on 7 August to Trevelyan, praising his actions – but these were the actions taken during Peel's ministry, and when the Whig government took over, Trevelyan coincided with the new prime minister and chancellor of the exchequer that these actions need to be stopped. We have already seen what the following steps were and that they have been highly criticised - maybe a quote on his views as in the previously analysed books would have been a better source to evaluate if the government did enough.

The following page, which supposed to represent what people think today, goes even further and suggest that the nationalist-siding sources shown are selective and that they form part of a political agenda. Although it is easy to argue that sources 5 and 6 go way to far, source 7 (which is from the most popular Irish folk song) does not blame anyone – just describes the suffering. The most surprising part is that Source 8 is Tony Blair's semi-apology. Does the writer want to say that also Tony Blair was selective or only uses him as the comparison for not being selective? It is not clear and it leaves the readers to draw conclusions on their own. It is also interesting that on this page, which is about selective use of data, there is no mention of other interpretations that excuse the government too vehemently (e.g. some of them presented on the pages before).

What do people today think of the government's response to the famine?

Source 5: The government used the famine as an opportunity to facilitate various long-desired changes within Ireland. These included population control and the consolidation of property through various means, including emigration. Historian Christine Kinealy in her book *This Great Calamity*, 1997.

Source 6: Famine mural in west Belfast [reading: *an gorta mór*. Britain's genocide by starvation. Ireland's holocaust 1845-1849. Over 1.500.000 deaths.]

Source 7: By a lonely prison wall, I heard a young girl calling, "Michael, they have taken you away for you stole Trevelyan's corn so the young might see the morn' now a prison ship lies waiting in the bay." Lyrics from a folk song 'The Fields of Athenry', written by Pete St John in the 1970s. The song tells the story of Michael, who was sent to Australia for stealing food to feed his starving family.

Source 8: Those who governed in London at the time failed their people through standing by while a crop failure turned into a massive human tragedy. That 1 million people should have died in what was then part of the richest and most powerful nation in the world is something that still causes pain as we reflect on it today. Tony Blair (Prime Minister), June 1997.

Get active 7: Your task is to explore Sources 5-8 to find out about how the famine is remembered today.

a) Start by using the '5W' method (asking Who? What? Why? When? and Where?) which you have used before to explore historical evidence.

b) Now, you're ready to dig a bit deeper. Let's think a bit more about the attitudes behind these sources. Look again at each of the sources in turn. Think about why each person created it. What might have been the intention? What might they hope to have achieved by doing this? What do they state explicitly in their source? What is suggested or inferred?

c) Often, events in the past can be selectively presented. This means that not all the information about an event is given, in the hope that other people can be persuaded to believe a particular point of view. Look again at the sources here. Do you think any of them have tried to portray the famine in a deliberately selective way? If so, why do you think they have done this? (p. 73)

It is interesting that the quote from Tony Blair is only included in the analysed Northern Irish textbook, not in the two A-level textbooks which vehemently criticise anyone representing a point of view different from their position. Among all other analysed textbooks, Tony Blair's famous semi-apology only has been included in one other textbook, *Industry, Revolution and Empire. Britain 1750-1900* (KS3, England), which builds the entire narrative around the previous Prime Minister's words:

In 1997, the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, made an apology on behalf of the Government. He said they were sorry for something that happened in Ireland in 1845. Mr Blair said that one million Irish people died as a result of something the English did. But what was he talking about? Was his statement correct? Do you think modern politicians should apologise for the actions of those long ago?

Source A. Tony Blair speaking in 1997. 'One million people died, in what was, at that time, the richest country in the world. This still causes pain today. The English stood by and let a potato disease turn into a human disaster.' (Wilkes A. , 2004 (1), p. 70)

Thus, among the 25 of the analysed textbooks which mention the Great Famine and have been published after 1997 (including all 4 Irish Junior Certificate, 2 Northern Irish KS3, 1 Northern Irish A-level, 3 specialised A-level English and 15 non-specialised English textbooks), only two include any reference to the recognition by the British Prime Minister of the time that more should have been done and therefore providing an official political evaluation which makes a reader question many of the previously shown narratives excusing the British government of the time.

There are some other narratives introducing the complex nature of Anglo-Irish relations which mention the Great Famine and can be misleading. For instance, by reading the following text from *A history of Britain from 1867* (GCSE), one might be left with the perception that the main message is that the Irish hated the British. Not that the British did a lot over the centuries – and especially during the Great Famine – to deserve such lack of enthusiasm.

The Irish had many grievances against the British. There was a dislike of the privileged position of the Church of Ireland, a minority Protestant body in a land where most of the population was Roman Catholic. There was a dislike of the ownership of much of the Irish soil by absentee British landowners and the difficulties this created for many Irish peasantry. Above all else, there was a legacy of hatred among the Irish for a far-off government that appeared to ignore their problems and to treat them with contempt. This hatred, built up over the centuries, had in the mid-nineteenth century increased as a result of the feeble action taken by the British government to curb the ravages of the great Irish famine of the 1840s. Millions of Irish had died in this famine or have been forced to emigrate. (Martell, 1988, p. 36)

Similarly, when reading the following quote from *Britain 1846-1951* (A-level), one might have the perception that Catholicism was partially responsible for Ireland's fate during the Great Famine. Certainly, it was, but in a different sense: if the population was Protestant they would not have lost their land in the 16th and 17th centuries and during the 18th century they would have been allowed to leave the land in inheritance to the oldest male child, instead of being obliged to divide it between all male heirs and thus creating landholdings too small to live on.

Britain's most troublesome overseas possession was Ireland. An Act of Union that came into effect in 1801 had joined Ireland to Britain, and Ireland sent MPs to the British

parliament, but its backward economy and the predominance of Catholicism among its people made it more akin to a colony. A potato blight in 1845 led to one of the worst famines of the century, which was raging out of control in 1846, leading to the death or emigration of a third of the Irish population. (Wells & Dicken, 2015, p. 7)

Temporary evolution of the textbook narrative

All analysed Irish, Northern Irish and specialised A-level textbooks are from the last two decades, however, among the 25 non-specialised English textbooks dealing with the Great Famine, we can try to analyse the temporary evolution of the narrative by identifying a group of textbooks published in the 80s (8 plus one in 1978) and 90s (5) and comparing them with another group of those published in the 2000s (3) and 2010s (8).

However, these textbooks do not form a fully comparable mix, given that the group of 14 textbooks published in the 80s and 90s include a majority of textbooks for GCSE (8 out of 14) and in case of the 11 textbooks published in the last two decades, only one¹²⁹. The 11 textbooks from the 2000-2010s on average include 10.5 different features among the 33 included in this analysis (32%), while among the 14 textbooks from the 80s and 90s the comparable figure is only 6.1 (19%). Nevertheless, given the limitations of the sample size, I cannot tell if this change is driven by an increased interest in a more detailed story-telling of the Great Famine, and how much is justified by the different mix of textbooks included in the sample. If we look into the different categories of contents analysed, across all of them there is a significant increase. The average number of causes of the famine included in the narrative increased from the 80s/90s to the 2000s/2010s from 0.9 (23%) to 1.8 (45%), the number of relief measures explained from 2.1 (17%) to 3.7 (31%), the description of the human suffering became also more detailed moving from 1.2 (17%) different points narrated to 1.8 (26%) and finally also more of the consequences have been told – changing from an average of 1.9 (19%) to 3.1 (31%).

¹²⁹ In *Section 4.2* we have seen that GCSE textbooks on average feature the lowest share of Anglo-Irish events (50%), compared to 55% in case of KS3 and 65% in case of A-level textbooks. The remaining 6 textbooks from the 80s and 90s are 2 for A-level and 4 for KS3. In case of the textbooks published in the 2000s and 2010s, there was one GCSE textbook, 5 KS3 and 5 A-level. Thus, just by the mix of the textbooks included in the sample of 25, we could expect that the level of inclusion of the different features of the Great Famine will be higher among the textbooks published in the 2000s-2010s compared to the textbooks published in the last two decades of the 20th century.

Given the potential noise in the distribution of the sample among the two groups of textbooks as defined by the decade of publishing, I have not included the detailed statistics of the temporary evolution in the same way as it has been presented in case of Cromwell and the Glorious Revolution. However, maybe a few takeaways might be worth mentioning:

- The highest increase can be observed among the relief measures; in case of the inclusion of the repeal of the corn laws; from 36% in the 80s/90s to 82% in the 2000s/2010s (+46%), followed by the description of the corn import (from 21% to 64%, +42%) and by the affirmation that Peel was behind this measure (from 14% to 55%, +40%).

- Among the consequences explained, the highest increase is in case of the enhanced republican / anti-British sentiment, from 21% to 55% (+33%), followed by further emigration taking place (from 7% to 36%, +29%).

- The share of textbooks quantifying the deaths due to famine and disease changed moderately, from 64% to 73% (+8%). The same increase can be observed in case of the number of people emigrated, also from 64% to 73%.

- Among the reasons for the famine, the highest change happened in the inclusion of the continued food exports (from 7% to 36%, +29%), followed by the existence of the potato blight (from 64% to 91%, +27%) and the existence of potato monoculture due to small landholdings (from 21% to 45%, +24%). Also the number of textbooks mentioning the existence of small landholdings due to penal laws, plantations and population growth increased from 0 to 1 (from 0% to 9%).

- In terms of the description of the human suffering, the same share of textbooks (36%) included a picture showing the destitution of the Irish people in the 80s/90s as in the 2000s/2010s. However, most significantly, the mention of starvation increased from 21% to 45% (+24%).

- As of the overall evaluation of the Great Famine, across the 25 non-specialised English textbooks only a small change can be observed: no textbook narrated the events as predominantly a natural disaster nor as the showcase of Irish nationalism, however, whilst no textbook explained the events in the 80s/90s as a failure of government, there was one textbook in the 2000s/2010s which had this perspective. All other textbooks followed a more natural storytelling.

- The reasons for including the Great Famine in the textbook have also changed: more textbooks told the story as part of the repeal of the Corn Laws (from 36% in the 80s/90s to 55% in the 2000s/2010s, +19%), while the reference to the Great Famine as the reason for population change in the United Kingdom decreased from 21% to 0 (this is understandable given the number of GCSE textbooks of the 80s dealing with social and economic history). Also significantly more English textbooks, 36% instead of 21% (+15) have included the Great Famine into their narrative as an event on its own right. One can only speculate that Tony Blair's 1996 semi-apology might have had this positive side-effect.

In summary, most of the evaluations of the Great Famine seem to be objective and factual. None of the analysed Irish textbooks blame the British government in excess, several textbooks used in England are more critical with the British government than these Irish textbooks and among these textbooks used in England we can find a specialised A-level and a KS3 textbook which predominantly narrates the story as a failure of government. On the other hand, three textbooks (two specialised A-level textbooks used in England and a Northern Irish KS3 textbook) overwhelmingly describe the Great Famine as a critique of the supposedly traditional Irish nationalist perspective which blamed the British government for lack of action and even deliberate wrongdoing; and at the same time excuse the British government from responsibility.

5.8 Home Rule movement and Partition

Key conclusions:

- Based on Beckett's narrative, I have identified 293 different contents for this period and measured the textbooks' narrative against these. Three different aspects have been analysed: a) tone of narrative showing support for a given side; b) content depth bias comparing how many contents support the perspective of a given side vs. the other; and c) frequency of inclusion of doubtful contents.
- For British/Unionist bias, the following narratives stand out: presenting the Home Rule Bills as irrational and not based on principles but on parliamentary gamble; embellishing the role Conservative politicians played in supporting Ulster Unionism; seeing as natural that Protestants can control Catholics but not the opposite; representing Unionists as freedom fighters and Irish nationalists as villains; celebrating the success of the UVF gun-running; positioning morally reproachable Unionist actions as a reaction to previous Irish Nationalist wrongdoings; backdating Irish violence by presenting Sinn Féin since its foundation as a party aiming for full independence and by claiming that the IVF started its activity in parallel with the UVF; assigning the responsibility for the failure to find a compromise to Irish Nationalists; representing the Anglo-Irish War (or War of Independence) as terrorism; whitewashing the role of the British government during the Easter Rising and the Anglo-Irish War; hiding evidence of the Catholic majority in the counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh in order to avoid any questioning on the rightfulness of the border.
- However, for any biased interpretation I could find many contrary narratives in textbooks from the same side. While there are many surprising attempts of indoctrination, no textbook is entirely one-sided.
- For textbooks including an Irish nationalist narrative, the main complaint is the lack of depth in the description of constitutional nationalism before 1912 in Junior Certificate textbooks, omitting most improvements (e.g. land reform) carried out by the Liberal government of the UK, not even naming Gladstone. The Irish protagonists of this movement are missing as well from most textbooks and the extension dedicated to constitutional nationalism is the same as to

revolutionary nationalism – which was a niche movement in that period. Therefore, although there are many more specific examples of bias in English and Northern Irish textbooks, the Irish narrative of the pre-1912 period gives the impression as if the British government did not do much to address the Irish question and to improve the situation.

British politics in the second part of the 19th century and in the early 20th century was largely influenced by Ireland, given the number of seats Irish MPs held, their distinct political demands and because of the special situation of Ulster and the determination of Ulster Unionists to make their opinion prevail¹³⁰. How the aim to achieve a limited level of autonomy for Ireland – when other (white) colonies of the British Empire had already become self-governing dominions – converted into armed struggle, is a lesson that students should learn. When looking for the background to the recent history of Northern Ireland, *The struggle for peace in Northern Ireland*, summarises the results of the Home Rule movement in a few words:

Britain nearly decided to give Home Rule (independence) to Ireland. This almost led to a rebellion by Unionists (people who wanted Ireland to stay part of Britain) but the plan was postponed when the First World War began in 1914. (Dawson & Walsh, 2004, p. 9)

In its essence the text provides the most relevant messages, although some corrections should be made to it: Britain is used as a synonym for the United Kingdom, (which is not widely accepted), the UK actually had decided to grant Home Rule (not nearly) – even if the implementation has been postponed –, and Home Rule does not equal independence (but a level of autonomy). However, the main messages are clear: a) Home Rule nearly became reality and it had been postponed due to the First World War; and b) Unionists almost started an armed rebellion in opposition.

Summary of the narrative

Making a short summary of the more than seventy years between the Great Famine and Partition is nearly impossible; there are so many nuances to consider for any relatively unbiased narrative. Based on Beckett's magnificent narrative in *The Making of*

¹³⁰ 'Irish affairs dominated much of the political landscape in the second half of the nineteenth century'. (Fortune, 2016, p. 51)

Modern Ireland 1603-1923, I have attempted to note down the most important events in the following five pages:

After the Great Famine the need for land reform led to a series of acts of parliament in Westminster to improve the situation of tenants, including the acknowledgement of the 'Three Fs' (fair rent, fixed tenure and freedom to sell) and finally to government-sponsored schemes which allowed tenants to buy the land they cultivated from the landlords at favourable terms (Beckett, 1981, pp. 351-352, 370-374, 390-391, 407). However, continued agrarian disturbances (including the so-called Land War) and the very small-scale Fenian rising of 1867 were required to convince British politicians and the public opinion of the necessity to act (pp. 359-364, 385-393). In 1869, Gladstone – also responsible for the 1870 and 1881 land acts, who considered his mission to solve the Irish problem – disestablished the Anglican Church in Ireland (pp. 365-369), however, he was also responsible for coercion acts that allowed the suspension of the *habeas corpus* and thus imprisonment of suspects without trial (p. 390).

A Home Rule movement was established under the leadership of Butt, a protestant, in 1870, advocating for a limited autonomy in Ireland and already obtaining the majority of Irish seats in Westminster in 1874 (pp. 377-381). Under his successor, Parnell – another Protestant – the Home Rule movement developed further, reaching 85 MPs out of a total of 105 Irish seats in 1885 (p. 395). Parnell's success was based on his energetic opposition in Westminster (obstruction) from the mid-70s, his leading involvement in the movement for land reform (also being imprisoned for it in 1881) and his effective organisation of the Home Rule movement into a modern political party – the Irish Parliamentary Party, IPP (pp. 383-386, 391-394).

Although the conservative government also played with the idea of autonomy for Ireland in 1885, it was Gladstone who introduced the first Home Rule Bill in 1886, based on moral convictions. It proposed a limited autonomy for Ireland, however, given the opposition of many Liberal MPs, it was defeated. This led to the split of the Liberal Party, creating a 'Liberal Unionist' movement. (pp. 395-398, 412). Gladstone made a second attempt in 1893, this time defeated in the Upper House (pp. 410-411).

During the debates for first Home Rule and in the following election, conservative politicians decided to 'appeal to deep-seated prejudices' and 'to play the Orange card', supporting Ulster Unionists in their opposition to any type of Home Rule (pp. 396-398, 400, 424). Ulster Unionist opposition had many reasons: economic – the area around

Belfast was highly industrialised and more akin to Glasgow and Liverpool than to the rest of Ireland – and religious-political: it had its roots in sectarian competition for land and jobs between Catholics and Protestants. Protestants feared to lose their power to Catholics (pp. 398-400): ‘... it was a revival of the seventeenth-century struggle between Roman Catholics and protestants for ascendancy in Ireland, a struggle which his ancestors had twice fought to victorious conclusion and which he was prepared, should the worst come to the worst, to fight again’ (p. 399).

The prospect of Home Rule already led to riots in Belfast in 1886 and then in 1893 (p. 411). Ulster Unionists were decided to fight and already in 1893 they started laying the base for organizing an armed force (p. 411), establishing in 1905 the Ulster Unionists Council – ‘the machinery for enlisting and organizing a disciplined military force was provided’ (p. 422) –, when a conservative government proposed an alternative scheme of devolution. As Beckett explains, ‘the danger of civil war was probably inherent in the situation from the point at which home rule first became a serious possibility’ (p. 419).

At the same time, a form of Irish cultural nationalism emerged, with the Gaelic Athletic Association (1884), the Gaelic League (1893) – which sought to promote the use of Irish language – and even with an Anglo-Irish literary movement. (pp. 417-418).

On the political front, Sinn Féin appeared as a party in 1905, founded by Arthur Griffith, advocating for a Austro-Hungarian-style compromise, which would see a semi-independent Ireland under the same monarch as Great Britain. He was against violence, and thought that his programme could be achieved in the same way as the Hungarians did, via passive resistance. The movement lacked popular support at this time. (pp. 416, 420, 427).

Although Home Rule was part of the Liberal programme again already in the 1906 elections (p. 420), it was after the double elections of 1910 – when the IPP once again held the balance of power – that they introduced the third Home Rule Bill in 1912. As Beckett narrates, ‘liberal attachment to home rule was undoubtedly genuine’, nevertheless, the proposal was seen by many as being held hostage by the IPP (pp. 422-427). As the Lords’ veto right had been reduced to a power to delay legislation by two years in 1911, the bill was certain to become law. The proposal was once again for limited autonomy, which however satisfied Irish public opinion at this time. Leaders of other semi-independent dominions of the British Empire already sent their congratulations. (pp. 423-424, 426-427, 430).

Nevertheless, Ulster Unionist opposition intensified under the prospect of Home Rule: Carson became their leader in 1910 and Craig the second-in-command (pp. 424, 426) and they were ‘determined to show the government that in this matter they would not be bound by a parliamentary decision’ and already in September 1911 the Ulster Unionist Council started ‘to prepare the way for taking over control of the civil administration’ (p. 425). In January 1912 they started to ‘openly raise and train a military force’, later denominated Ulster Volunteer Force or UVF (p. 427). The Conservative support was total, Bonar Law – their new leader, also an Ulsterman – attended a ‘semi-military demonstration in Belfast’ a few days before the bill was introduced to parliament in April 1912 and repeatedly assured Unionists that he would support any type of resistance (also armed) (p. 426). In September 1912 Carson and Craig organised the signing of the ‘Ulster’s solemn league and covenant’, by more than 200,000 men, committing themselves to resist any Home Rule parliament and which ‘despite its invocation of divine aid and expression of loyalty to the crown, clearly foreshadowed rebellion against constitutional authority’ (p. 428). Beckett’s summary once again makes clear their motivations: ‘what protestants of all ranks were preparing to fight for, though they might not have admitted it, was the maintenance, in some form, of the threatened protestant ascendancy in Ireland’ (p. 428).

Nearly half of Ulster’s population was Catholic, three of the nine counties had a large Catholic majority and two other counties had a small Catholic majority. Thus, when the issue of partition surfaced already in 1912, it was not obvious that a separate entity should include all Ulster (p. 429). Although Redmond was initially against partition – believing that Ulster Unionists are playing a bluff – in March 1914 he accepted the principle of temporary exclusion for 6 years based on a county-by-county vote, however, Carson was against this solution. (pp. 429, 432).

Nationalists admired the way how Unionists managed to establish a paramilitary and they did the same in November 1913, the Irish Volunteer Force (IVF). Redmond managed to establish control over them in June 1914 (pp. 430-432).

Meanwhile, the liberal government suffered a humiliation in March 1914 when officers of the army stationed in Ireland said they would rather resign than to participate in any activity against Ulster – the so-called Curragh ‘Mutiny’ (p. 433). The UVF managed to smuggle a significant number of weapons in April 1914, without any police

intervention. The IVF's gun-running on 26 July was of a much smaller quantity and it was countered by the security forces (p. 433)¹³¹.

Before the IVF gun-running, on 21-24 July 1914, the last attempt for conciliation – a conference organised by the king at Buckingham Palace – also failed, as Unionists and Nationalists could not agree on the temporary or permanent character of the exclusion of specific Ulster counties (pp. 433-434).

After the outbreak of the First World War the Home Rule Bill became law, but its application has been suspended until the end of the war. Both Irish nationalists and unionists offered to help the British war effort, although a minority of the Irish Volunteers split away. Some of their leaders saw the war as an opportunity to rise up. (pp. 435-437) The attempt to smuggle German guns failed, but the Easter Rising of 1916 still went ahead thanks to the idea of 'blood sacrifice'. The population of Dublin and the public opinion was against the rising, which failed, however, the following executions changed the public mind (pp. 437-441). In the aftermath, the British government tried again to establish Home Rule, but negotiations failed (p. 442). Although Sinn Féin did not participate in the Rising, it was attributed to it¹³² and in the following year its leadership had been taken over by de Valera, the last surviving commander of the Easter Rising (Beckett, 1981, p. 443).

Sinn Féin now advocated for independence, and – after the failed attempt to extend conscription to Ireland – decisively won the 1918 December elections. The elected Sinn Féin members of parliament did not take up their seats in Westminster and instead established their own parliament in Dublin and an effective parallel government (pp. 444-446). The Irish Volunteers became the Irish Republican Army (IRA), soon engaged in a guerrilla war (mainly from 1920) against which the British government recruited the Black and Tans and the Auxiliaries to help the Irish police force. Both sides committed atrocities, of which the 'reprisals' of the Black and Tans and Auxiliaries shocked British public opinion by mid-1921 (pp. 446-448, 451).

Meanwhile, in the North-East of Ireland, not just as a response to IRA activity, in the summer of 1920 riots against Catholics led to many having to leave their homes (p. 449). In order to sort out the situation in Ulster, the British government partitioned Ireland

¹³¹ Beckett gives the exact date as 24 July 1914, however, other sources coincide in the date of 26 July 1914 (*RTE*, 2024).

¹³² Beckett does not refer to this content, but yes many of the analysed textbooks.

in the Government of Ireland Act in December 1920, enacting Home Rule for both Northern and Southern Ireland – in line with what had been proposed in 1916. However, this was clearly insufficient for the Irish who declared their independence two years earlier (pp. 450-451).

The British public opinion against the war and – for Irish nationalists – the unsustainable military effort led to a truce in July 1921 and finally to the Anglo-Irish Treaty on 6 December 1921 (pp. 451-453). The Treaty established the Irish Free State as a dominion within the Empire, with the king as head of state. An oath of allegiance was required by members of parliament. Three ports remained under British rule. The Treaty also established the right of Northern Ireland to secede, and that in such case a Boundary Commission will be set up. The Irish delegates were made to believe that the commission would significantly reduce the territory of Northern Ireland potentially even making it unviable (pp. 453-454), based on the preferences of the population which were mainly Catholic in many parts of the six counties (p. 429). The Treaty had been narrowly approved by the Dáil in January 1922 and consequently the power was effectively handed over from the British to the Irish Provisional Government the same month (pp. 455-456). However, in June 1922 a civil war started between the pro- and anti-treaty fractions of the IRA, ending with the defeat of the anti-treaty forces in May 1923 (pp. 458-459). The IRA had limited activity in Northern Ireland during the civil war, nevertheless, a sectarian police force – manned exclusively by Protestants and following the footsteps of the pre-war UVF – had been established, considering most Catholics as ‘rebels’ (pp. 457-458).

Visualisation of the results - methodology

Given the complexity of these events and the level of detail one needs to consider in order to provide a reasonable depth of analysis – and at the same time aiming at a still manageable extension for this thesis –, I have used a more quantitative visualisation for the results of the qualitative analysis. The logic of the analysis is similar to what has been done in the cases of Cromwell, William III, or the Great Famine: codifying different aspects or narratives and measuring the frequency with which they have been applied. Nevertheless, the number of variables considered in this period is significantly higher: in total 293 different aspects or narratives of these over seventy years have been defined and measured.

The variables measured relate to different parts of the narrative described in the previous five pages: Land Reform (24 different points), Church Disestablishment (1), Irish Parties, Parnell and Redmond (20), Coercion Acts (4), Fenian movement (8), Gladstone and his Home Rule Bills (38), Ulster resistance (10), Gaelic Revival (8), early Sinn Féin (10), maps showing Ireland (7), Third Home Rule Bill (16), Ulster Covenant, UVF, Carson and Bonar Law (24), IVF (18), Curragh ‘Mutiny’ (8), Buckingham conference (7), beginning of the First World War (13), Easter Rising (19), following negotiations (4), Anglo-Irish War (40), Irish Civil War and de Valera (7), Northern Ireland during the Irish Civil War (7).

132 of the 293 of the variables correspond to factual and neutral events (e.g. existence of anti-treaty forces in Ireland in 1922), which themselves do not support either the Irish nor the British/Unionist narrative. The frequency of their inclusion also provides with some insights, nevertheless, other variables which directly measure potential bias are more relevant. These variables – which could show a level of bias – can be grouped into two categories: I) tone of the narrative (27 variables) and II) contents which can support a specific point of view (134 variables). The first category (tone of the narrative) means that the author shows clear support in favour of one of the sides. The second category means that the author – while aiming to evaluate the event neutrally – through the selection of specific events included in the textbook effectively transmits the perception that one of the sides was more correct than the other.

Tone of the narrative

In order to measure the tone of the narrative, I have considered the representation of twenty-seven different persons, political movements or initiatives. Each of them could be narrated in a neutral, supportive or critical manner in each textbook. Some of these persons, political movements or initiatives represent a) Unionism (Ulster resistance, Ulster Covenant, UVF, Carson, Bonar Law, the Northern Ireland government before and after the Irish Civil War and also the Coercion Acts¹³³) and b) the British government after the First World War (during the Easter rising, or during the Anglo-Irish War, the Government of Ireland Act 1920 and the terms of partition). Other persons, political

¹³³ Although the Coercion Acts had been a repeated feature of British rule in Ireland, their significance became even more relevant when in parallel Gladstone either proposed or implemented other legislation to improve the situation in Ireland.

movements or initiatives represent c) Irish nationalism in its different forms (Fenian movement, IPP, Parnell, Redmond, Gaelic revival, Sinn Féin before the First World War, UVF, Easter Rising, the Irish side during the Anglo-Irish War, de Valera, and also the Land League for its association with Irish nationalism) or d) the Liberal government of the UK (First Home Rule Bill, Second Home Rule Bill, Gladstone, Third Home Rule Bill).¹³⁴

It is easy to count the supportive opinions for Unionism and deduct from the sum the evaluations critical with Unionism. In this way, we obtain a score for net support for Unionism. The neutral narratives do not influence the score. The same operation can be done for the British government after the First World War, Irish Nationalism or the Liberal government of the UK. Finally, we can add up the net support for Unionism and the net support for the British government after the First World War and deduct from this sum the net support for Irish Nationalism and the net support for the Liberal government of the UK. The result is the differential support for Unionism. The value of this final score can range from -26 to 26. A positive figure means support for Unionism while a negative figure means support for Irish nationalism. This final score or index is a reasonably good proxy to describe if a book includes a biased tone of narrative over the period in question, considering as potential bias if the scores are highly positive or negative.

In absolute numbers, the highest deviation can be observed in the recent A-level non-specialised textbook *Challenge and Transformation, Britain c. 1851-1964* (Fortune, 2016), showing a score of +15: the author speaks positively of the Coercion Acts, the Ulster resistance, the Ulster Covenant, Carson, the Government of Ireland Act of 1920 and the terms of partition and critically of the Land League, the IPP, Parnell, the Fenian movement, the First Home Rule Bill, Redmond, the Gaelic revival, the Irish side during the Irish Civil War and de Valera. We will see later specific examples of this narrative.

The next highest deviation is 7; three textbooks have a score of +7. The first example is the non-specialised GCSE textbook from 1988 *A history of Britain from 1867* (Martell, 1988). This textbook includes ten narratives which support the Unionist point of view, and three narratives which are against. It supports Unionism by depicting positively the Ulster resistance, the Ulster Covenant, UVF, Carson, the Government of

¹³⁴ The 27th content is the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921, and it corresponds to the final agreement between Britain and Ireland (technically, the Irish delegates spoke for the whole of Ireland when signing the Treaty and the government of the United Kingdom represented Britain (The Anglo-Irish Treaty, 6 December 1921, 2023)), thus I have not considered the Treaty to represent any of the parties.

Ireland Act of 1920 and negatively the Land League, IPP, Parnell, Sinn Féin and IVF and at the same time it supports the opposite side by being positive about Gladstone and the Second Home Rule Bill and by criticising Bonar Law.

The next example with a score of +7 is the 2016 specialised A-level textbook *Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923* (Adelman & Byrne, 2016). This textbook includes ten narratives which support the Unionist perspectives and three which are against. The narratives supporting Unionism are the positive mentions of the Ulster resistance, the Ulster Covenant, the UVF, Carson and Bonar Law and the criticism of the Land League, Parnell, Gladstone, the Irish side during the Anglo-Irish War, and de Valera. The narratives in favour of the opposing perspective are the criticism of the British government during the Easter Rising and the Anglo-Irish War and of the Government of Ireland Act of 1920. Interestingly, parts of the narrative of the Third Home Rule Bill are in favour, while other parts are against¹³⁵.

The next textbook with +7 differential support for Unionism is the Northern Irish KS3 textbook from 2009 *History for NI Key Stage 3: A study after 1900* (Dean, Kelly, & Taggart, 2009). This book includes seven different narratives in favour of the Unionist perspective, by supporting the Ulster Covenant, Carson, the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, the terms of partition and the Northern Ireland government during the Irish Civil War and by criticising the Gaelic revival and Sinn Féin before the First World War.

The following two books with a relatively high score in absolute value are +5 and -5. The specialised A-level textbook from 2016 *Paper 3: Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923* (Kidson, 2016) scores +5. It includes seven narratives which support the Unionist perspective and two for the opposite point of view. The seven narratives in favour of Unionism are the support for the Government of Ireland Act 1920 and the criticism of the IPP, Redmond, the Gaelic revival, Sinn Féin before the First World War, the IVF and the Irish side during the Anglo-Irish War. The two narratives against Unionism are the support for the Land League and Gladstone. At the same time, the Ulster resistance, the 1912 Third Home Rule Bill, the Ulster Covenant, and the British government during the Easter Rising and the Anglo-Irish War are represented with both negative and positive tonality, often appearing as if the book would have been written for two different publics. This textbook has two different chapters to deal with *The struggle for constitutional*

¹³⁵ I classified this textbook's narrative of the Third Home Rule Bill not as 'neutral' but as both 'supportive' and 'critical' as the text does not seem to show a coherent neutral description of arguments for and against.

change, c1774-1923, the first of them describes Irish nationalism and the second the ‘British reaction’. For some of the above points, one of the chapters evaluates the issue differently from the other. For instance, the Unionist resistance to Home Rule or the British government during the Easter Rising and the Anglo-Irish War is seen critically in the first chapter but they are represented in a supportive tone in the second chapter.¹³⁶

The first textbook which appears in this ranking of ‘bias’ with a negative score – showing a narrative against Unionism – is the 2022 A-level textbook for Northern Ireland *History. Partition of Ireland 1900-25. CCEA A2 Unit 2* (Jefferies, 2022). Its score of -5 comes from one narrative in favour of Unionism and 6 against. The narrative in favour of Unionism is the critical representation of Redmond. The narratives against Unionism are the criticism to Carson, Bonar Law, the British government during the Easter Rising and during the Anglo-Irish War, the terms of the partition and the Northern Irish government before and during the Irish Civil War. The Ulster resistance to Home Rule is evaluated in both positive and negative lights.

For comparison, if we looked at Beckett’s narrative, he would have scored -2, with a narrative slightly against the Unionist point of view. He is overwhelmingly critical of the Gaelic revival and the early Sinn Féin (two points against Irish nationalism) but also of the Ulster resistance, the Ulster Covenant, Bonar Law, and the actions of the Northern Irish government before and during the Irish Civil War (four points against Unionism). While the criticism of Gaelic revival and of the early Sinn Féin can be detected in the tonality of the short narrative, being visibly sceptical of their aims, the critical attitude towards certain aspects of Unionism is clearly tangible through extensive and repeated factual descriptions summarised in demolishing key sentences. His text also makes clear that he believes that the merits of the different Home Rule Bills were significant, however, his tonality is neutral. Thus, a more carefully weighted score of his book could be somewhere between -2 and -5. What this means, is that, maybe, the neutral opinion in this score is not 0, but a low negative number, given that – while most persons, movements and initiatives in this period can be represented with several arguments in favour and against –, there are some of them where this becomes very difficult. This is the case of the Ulster resistance and the subsequent Ulster Covenant – morally we should not accept the argument that if I discriminate against someone, when I stop doing so, they

¹³⁶ It would be an interesting topic for a follow-up research if schools using this textbook teach both chapters or only one of them.

might become more powerful and they might discriminate against me, hence I am allowed to continue the existing discrimination. Nor should we accept the implied argument that Protestants should be allowed to rule over Catholics but not the other way. The case is similar for Bonar Law – as the head of opposition giving unconditional support to an armed resistance against a constitutional government – and the terms of the partition – making a joke out of the principle of self-determination by making Tyrone and Fermanagh part of Northern Ireland when they had a majority Catholic population. Of course, we should not and cannot condone the violent attempts of either side – including the Fenian uprising, the UVF, the IVF, the Easter Rising and the response of the British government, nor the atrocities of the Anglo-Irish War on both sides – however, most of these are the consequences of the previously described points. As the referred textbook highlights, ‘putting the gun back into Irish politics’ is a burden which Unionists have to cope with (Jefferies, 2022, pp. 28-29).

If we do not look only at the more extreme narratives, but at the averages, we can find a slight positive bias in non-specialised English textbooks in favour of Unionism: the differential support for Unionism 1.5. This comes from an average of 10.6 narratives treated in these textbooks (out of the 26 possible). Therefore, the differential support for Unionism is 14% of the narratives featured in these textbooks. In case of specialised English textbooks, the differential support for Unionism is 2.8. This comes from an average of 18.4 narratives, therefore a net 15% of the narratives favours Unionism. In Ireland, the differential support for Unionism is -1.8 (thus there is a differential support in favour of the Nationalist point of view). This comes from 22 narratives, thus net -8% of the narratives favours the Nationalist point of view. The Northern Irish average differential support for Unionism is only 0.5. However, if we separate the textbooks by editorial, between Hodder and Colourpoint, a significant difference can be observed: Hodder’s differential support for Unionism is 1.4 (coming from 15 narratives, giving an average net support of 9%), while Colourpoint’s differential support for Unionism is -1.0, thus it supports the opposite perspective (average number of narratives 17.7, thus a net 6% support). In total, there is a slight bias on each side and in Northern Ireland each side seems to be represented by the two editorial lines.

Contents which support a specific point of view

The second type of variables which can show bias are related to contents which can support a specific point of view. For instance, narrating the 1914 gun-running of the UVF but not that of the IVF would not be fair. For this, I need to consider how many of the events that would support the Irish perspective are included and compare it with the inclusion ratio of events that support the Unionist perspective.

In addition, some variables that I have created represent specific narratives – some of which are even incorrect or questionable. For instance, related to the gun-running of 1914, the sequence of the events is critical. The IVF (Irish nationalists) gun-running happened three months after the UVF (Ulster Unionists) managed to smuggle in large quantities. For this particular point, I have considered three different potential narratives from the textbooks: a) both gun-running attempts happened at about the same time; b) UVF was first; c) IVF was first. From the three different narratives b) is factually correct and it supports the Irish perspective. c) is factually incorrect and it can be used to give the impression that Irish Nationalists started the violence. a), on the other hand, can be an attempt of whitewashing the responsibility of Unionists by equally blaming both sides.

A total of 134 different variables have been considered for this analysis. They can be considered in three large categories: 1) Supportive of Irish perspective – being factually correct (as measured against the previously summarised narrative and which has been deducted from Beckett). 2) Supportive of British/Unionists perspective – being factually correct. 3) Supportive of British/Unionist perspective – representing a doubtful point of view. In theory, a fourth category could exist, being supportive of Irish perspective, but representing a doubtful point of view, however no such narratives have been identified in the analysed textbooks during this period.

- 1) Textbooks supportive of the Irish perspective include two situations: 1.a: recognising a British/Unionist wrongdoing. 33 of such contents have been considered. For instance, role of Conservative politicians during the 1886 Home Rule Bill debate. The second situation, 1.b, includes other contents that support Irish perspective. 30 of these have been identified. For example, that Sinn Féin was against violence after its foundation in 1905.
- 2) Textbooks supportive of the British/Unionist perspective – which are factually correct – also include two similar situations: 2.a: recognising an Irish

wrongdoing. 25 contents fit into this category, such as the atrocities committed by the IRA during the Anglo-Irish War. 2.b: Other contents showcasing British benevolence with the Irish. 21 of these contents have been identified, for instance the disestablishment of the Irish Church in 1869.¹³⁷

- 3) Textbooks supportive of the British/Unionist perspective – representing a doubtful point of view – include situations where 3.a: doubtful affirmations support the British/Unionist side (there are 20 of these contents, among them, the affirmation that all Northern Irish counties had a Protestant majority in 1920) and 3.b: there is a relativization of British/Unionist wrongdoings (5 contents have been identified, for example giving the impression that the UVF gun-running happened at the same time as that of the IVF).

As the number of contents considered in each of the three categories varies, I have calculated the relevant percentages in order to facilitate more direct comparison. These are calculated as the share of ‘Yes’ and ‘Partially’ over the sum of ‘Yes’, ‘Partially’ and ‘No’ for each of these variables¹³⁸. Contents that are ‘Out-of-scope’ in the specific textbook thus have been excluded.

Also in this case, the most interesting conclusions come from the comparison of the relevant percentages of inclusion in case of the three different categories, especially of the first and the second (as thankfully, there are generally not as many doubtful affirmations).

The highest difference can be observed in the 2017 KS3 English textbook *Modern Britain 1760-1900* (Peal, 2017). Out of 26 different contents that would correctly speak in favour of a British/Unionist perspective (defined as Category 2 above), 12 have been included (46%). At the same time, from 14 contents which could support the Irish perspective, none (Category 1). On the positive side, none of the six different contents that would doubtfully support the British/Unionist perspective have been mentioned

¹³⁷ It is important to note that most of these actions showing British benevolence towards the Irish correspond to initiatives of the Liberal governments of the UK (as the disestablishment or the Home Rule Bills). The mere mention of these initiatives shows that the British government during this period tried to improve the situation of Ireland. This is different from evaluating the Home Rule Bills positively, which shows an identification with the Irish perspective, and which has been evaluated in this way in the previous analysis related to the tone of the narrative.

¹³⁸ I have not used ‘very limitedly’ as a possible answer for these detailed variables.

(Category 3). In order to understand the methodology, we shall see in detail how these results are calculated:

2.a: recognising an Irish wrongdoing: the textbook mentions the violence during the Land War, the existence of the Fenian movement, its demands of repeal of the Union/independence, its violent methods, including the terrorist attacks in Britain and that the IRB – Irish Republican Brotherhood – was behind. These are 6 mentions. At the same time, the textbook does not mention the Phoenix Park murders, the obstructionism of Parnell, the filibustering of Home Rule MPs during the debate of the Coercion Acts, and the 1867 Fenian rising. These are 4 missing points.

2.b: other variables showing British benevolence: the textbook explains the existence of the First and Second Home Rule Bills, that Gladstone was author of both, that he was convinced since 1885 of the need of these measures, and that the Second Home Rule Bill obtained support in the House of Commons (6 mentions). However it fails to mention Gladstone's 1870 and 1881 Land Acts, their measures, Wyndham's 1903 Land Purchase Act, its measures and its impact, the disestablishment of the Irish Church, that the First Home Rule Bill was based on the principle of self-government and that Gladstone supported it out of moral conviction. These are 10 missing points.

Between 2.a and 2.b, there are 12 mentions and 14 missing points, which is an inclusion rate of 46%.

1.a: among British/Unionist wrongdoings, the textbook does not include the existence of Coercion Acts nor does it explain what they consisted of. The role of conservative politicians in the 1886 Home Rule debate is also missing (3 missing points in total).

1.b: for other contents that support the Irish perspective, the textbook fails to explain the Land League's stated intent of using legal methods, the impact of the Phoenix Park murders in the rejection of violence, that both Butt and Parnell were Protestants, the popular support of the IPP during both Parnell and Redmond, Parnell's rejection of violence, the forged letters scandal, the supporting argument for Home Rule in form of the existing autonomy in other British ex-colonies (Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa) and that the Protestant resistance in Ulster did not extend to the entire province (as some parts were populated by Catholics). These are 10 missing points.

3.a: for doubtful affirmations, this textbook excludes all 5 five that could be considered: that the reason for support for the First Home Rule bill was party politics, that the reason for opposition was that the Irish are unfit to govern themselves, that Gladstone supported Home Rule out of political calculation and that he changed his opinion ‘suddenly’ and that the Protestant resistance in Ulster extended to the entire province.

3.b: for relativization of British/Unionist wrongdoings, the textbook does not claim that the Ulster opposition to Home Rule is justified by their history is being ‘different’.

Therefore, we can see certain bias by featuring more frequently contents which supports the British/Unionist perspective. This textbook in our previous analysis about the tone of the narrative has shown a preference towards the Unionist perspective, with a score of +2, out of 5 relevant narratives.

Textbooks with content depth bias or with doubtful content

For analysing other textbooks in a more synthesised way, once again we can form an overall indicator, defined as the difference between the percentage obtained for Category 2 and Category 1. We could call this index ‘differential content depth in favour of British/Unionist perspective’. For the sake of simplicity, in the following pages I will only refer to it as ‘content depth bias’. Also in case of this analysis we can look into the highest absolute values, representing the most salient cases of featuring contents that support the point of view of each side, and the average for textbooks on each side. In addition, we shall also look into the Category 3 mentions – which doubtfully support the British/Unionist perspective.

The average bias for content depth is not very high: 10% in case of non-specialised English textbooks, in favour of the British/Unionist perspective (27% inclusion rate of contents correctly supporting British/Unionist perspective vs. 17% of contents correctly supporting Irish perspective), and 15% in case of specialised English textbooks (78% vs. 63%). Northern Irish textbooks on average show a 10% content bias in favour of the British/Unionist perspective (58% vs. 48% inclusion rate), however, in case of this index, the average is very similar for both textbooks published by Hodder and Colourpoint. Irish textbooks show a 5% content bias in favour of the Irish point of view (50% of contents

supporting British/Unionist perspective and 55% of contents supporting Irish perspective have been included).

For analysing content depth bias, it is interesting to separate the contents of the long-time horizon subject to this section of the thesis into pre-1912 and post-1912 parts. In my narrative, before 1912 there are more contents that support the British perspective (26) than the Irish (16), however, from 1912 this changes: 20 contents which support the British perspective can be compared with 47 contents that support the Irish perspective. The contents that from 1912 support the Irish perspective are concentrated in the 4 years between 1912 and 1915, driven by the escalation of the Home Rule crisis by Unionists: 31 of these 47 contents are in this period and 16 took place after 1915.

The content depth bias before 1912 is similar along Northern Irish and English textbooks: 19% in Northern Ireland (content inclusion rates of 64% vs. 45%), 19% across specialised English textbooks (94% vs. 75%) and 17% in English non-specialised textbooks (33% vs. 16%). In Irish textbooks, there is no content bias in this period: 34% of contents supporting the British point of view and 33% of Irish-supporting contents are included.

From 1912, the content depth bias diminishes in Northern Irish and English textbooks, they reach only 5% in Northern Ireland (content inclusion rates of 53% vs. 48%), 2% in specialised English textbooks (62% vs. 60%) and 3% in non-specialised English textbooks (20% vs. 17%). On the other hand, Irish textbooks in this period show a content bias in favour of the British/Unionist perspective of 9%, by including 72% of the contents which support the British while only 63% of the contents for the Irish point of view.

Therefore, we can conclude that the overall content depth bias in case of Northern Irish and English textbooks is driven by telling a more British/Unionist perspective before 1912 and that after 1912 the percentage of contents included becomes similar. In case of Irish textbooks, the overall slight content depth bias in favour of the Irish perspective is created by the statistical effect of featuring many more contents in general form 1912 (63-74% compared to 33-34% before), where the number of pro-Irish contents increases. Looking separately at both pre-1912 and post-1912, Irish textbooks do not show a content bias in favour of the Irish perspective, they even show a pro-British content bias after 1912. However, this lack of depth in Irish textbooks before 1912 is something worth to mention – I will revisit this question later.

Beyond the averages for English, Irish and Northern Irish textbooks, the extreme values are even more interesting to consider. A British content depth bias above 25% can be observed in case of 7 non-specialised and 1 specialised English textbooks. The 7 non-specialised textbooks correspond to 29% of all non-specialised textbooks that deal in a certain depth with this period, which is a significant proportion. No Northern Irish textbook has a net content bias above 25%, the highest figure is 17%. The highest score for Irish content depth bias observed is -27%, which corresponds to an English KS3 textbook, which has been separated into 3 volumes and the second volume – telling the story of the period from 1919 to 1939 – has this score. However, the first volume – referring to 1900-14 – has a British content depth bias and the two volumes together do not show any bias. The next highest values for Irish content depth bias are -13% in a British A-level documentary reader (which includes source materials), -14% for an Irish Junior Certificate textbook and -18% for a specialised English textbook dedicated to Irish history after 1923. Thus, this analysis shows that the most extreme cases of content depth bias can be observed in favour of the British/Unionist perspective. Apart from the already mentioned KS3 English textbook *Modern Britain 1760-1900* (Peal, 2017), the other examples of content depth bias above 25% are the following, all used in England¹³⁹:

- GCSE: *British History 1815-1914* (Hill & Wright, 1981) includes 43% of the relevant Irish contents (20 out of 47) but 80% of the relevant British/Unionist contents (32 out of 40), thus it shows a British content depth bias of 37%. In addition, this textbook also includes 6 different points of doubtful British content, out of a total 18 different points that could have been observed during the period it covers. The differential support for Unionism is 0, out of 17 different narratives.
- KS3: *How we used to live in Victorian times* (Kelsall, 1978) features 35% of the relevant British contents (9 out of 26) and none of the 13 Irish contents. There are no doubtful British contents. The tone of all narratives is neutral in this textbook.
- A-level: *Britain 1867-1918* (Catterall, 1994 (2)) mentions 22% of Irish contents (14 out of 63) but 52% of British contents (24 out of 46), thus it has a 30% British content depth bias. At the same time, 4 out of 25 doubtful British contents are included.

¹³⁹ For each of these textbooks I will also mention the score obtained in the previous analysis about the tone of the narrative, in terms of the differential support for Unionism.

However, this author narrates in favour of the Irish perspective, having a differential support score for Unionism of -2, out of 19 different narratives.

- GCSE: *A history of Britain from 1867* (Martell, 1988) explains 37% of Irish contents (23 out of 63) but 65% of British contents (30 out of 46), resulting in a 29% British content depth bias. This book also includes 8 doubtful British contents out of 25. The narrative of this textbook is also in favour of Unionism, with a differential score of +7, out of 23 different narratives.

- A-level: *Liberalism and Conservatism 1846-1905* (Paterson, 2001) includes 69% of Irish contents (9 out of 13) but 96% of British contents (25 out of 26), showing a difference of 27%. In addition, 4 out of 6 doubtful British contents are included. The differential support for Unionism score is +4, out of 11 narratives.

- KS3: *Making Sense of History 1745-1901* (Clare J. D., Bates, Fisher, & Kennett, 2015 (2)) features 7% of Irish contents (4 out of 59) and 33% of British contents (15 out of 46), thus showing a bias of 26%. 3 out of 23 doubtful contents are also included. The differential support for Unionism is +4, out of 15 narratives.

- A-level specialised: *Paper 3: Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923* (Kidson, 2016) mentions 52% of Irish contents (33 out of 63) but 78% of British contents (36 out of 46), resulting in a content depth bias of 26%. 10 out of 25 doubtful British contents are also included, the joint second-highest number among all analysed textbooks. In terms of differential support for Unionism, the score is +5, among all 26 points narrated. Therefore, this textbook shows one of the highest scores for pro-Unionist bias along all three indexes: differential support for Unionism in terms of narrative, mention of doubtful contents supporting the British/Unionist perspective and higher content depth for contents supporting the British/Unionist perspective than for events supporting the Irish point of view.

There are five other textbooks which include a significant number of doubtful contents in favour of the British/Unionist perspective, however, their content depth does not show a big difference between each perspective:

- England, A-level specialised: *Britain 1815-1895 and Ireland 1798-1922* (Murphy, Walsh-Atkins, & Whiskerd, 2008): this textbook includes 12 different contents

that are doubtful out of a total of 18 – the highest score. At the same time, the difference in the content depth is low: 83% of Irish contents (39 out of 47) and 95% of British contents (38 out of 40) are included. The tone of the narrative is also unbiased (differential support for Unionism is 0 out of 19 narratives evaluated)

- England, A-level non-specialised: *Challenge and Transformation, Britain c. 1851-1964* (Fortune, 2016): mentions 10 different doubtful British contents (out of 25) – the joint second-highest score. The content depth difference is relatively low: 62% of Irish contents are included (39 out of 63) vs. 69% for British contents (31 out of 45). However, as we have seen earlier, this textbook has the highest score for differential support for Unionism: +15 (out of 26).

- Northern Ireland, KS3: *History for NI Key Stage 3: A study after 1900* (Dean, Kelly, & Taggart, 2009): features 9 different doubtful British contents (out of 23) – the third highest score. Also in this case the content depth is similar between Irish (48%, 26 out of 54) and British/Unionist (52%, 16 out of 31) contents. However, as we have seen, the narrative is clearly biased in favour of the Unionist perspective, with a differential support score of +7 (out of 21 narratives).

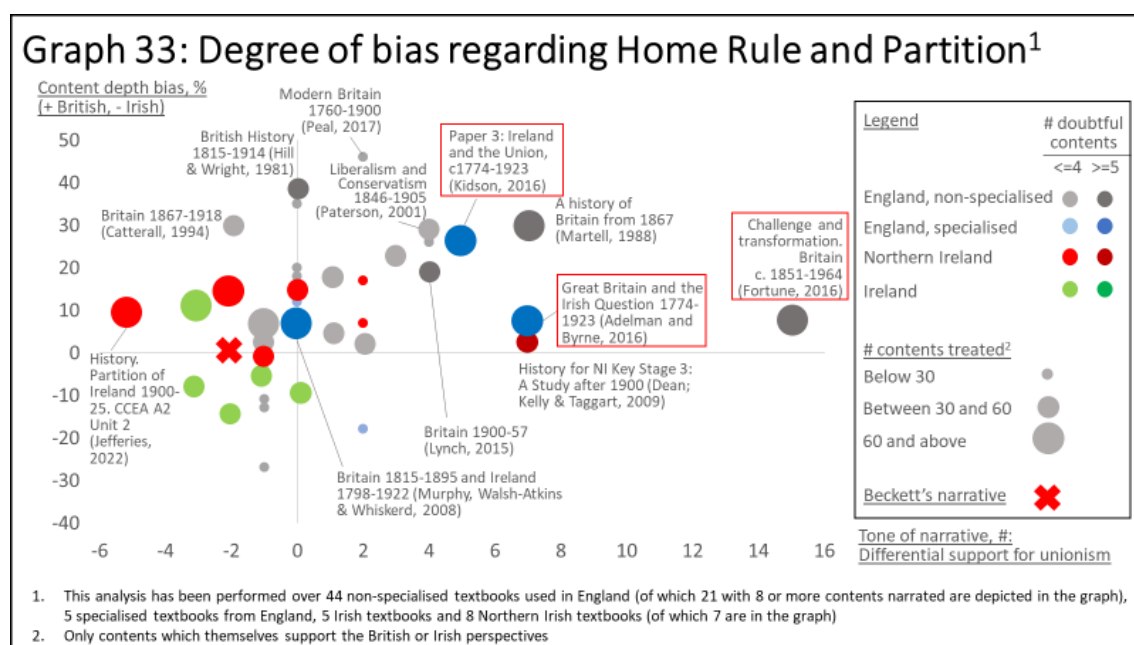
- England, specialised A-level: *Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923* (Adelman & Byrne, 2016): includes 7 different doubtful contents out of 25. Nevertheless, it features 75% of Irish contents (47 out of 63) and 80% of British contents (37 out of 46). We have also seen that tone of the narrative is also in favour of Unionism, with a score of +7 (out of 26).

- England, non-specialised A-level: *Britain 1900-57* (Lynch, 2015 (1)): 7 doubtful contents are mentioned out of a total of 25. The difference in the content depth is 20%: 35% of Irish contents are mentioned (19 out of 55) vs. 55% of British contents (17 out of 31). This textbook's narrative is also in favour of Unionism, showing a differential score of +4 out of 17 different narratives.

The last textbook I have mentioned in the previous analysis regarding the tone of the narrative – showing a differential support of Unionism of -5 (thus in favour of Irish nationalism), the A-level textbook for Northern Ireland *History. Partition of Ireland 1900-25. CCEA A2 Unit 2* (Jefferies, 2022) –, includes no points which could be classified

as doubtful British content and it features 73% of Irish contents (40 out of 55) compared to 82% of British contents (23 out of 28).

Graph 33 visualises the position of different textbooks along differential support for Unionism (horizontal axis) and content depth bias (vertical axis), also marking the number of doubtful contents featured by a darker tone of colour of the dot and the significance of the textbook in terms of number of contents treated (larger dot = more contents treated).



Looking at the graph, it seems appropriate to analyse more in depth the narratives of three textbooks with a significant bias in favour of the Unionist/British perspective, marked with a red rectangle. Of course, many more examples could be included, however, these three textbooks are sufficient to highlight the typical situations of biased narratives identified by this study. It is interesting to observe that all 43 textbooks have been published recently, in 2016.

- England, A-level non-specialised: *Challenge and Transformation, Britain c. 1851-1964* (Fortune, 2016)
- England, A-level specialised: *Paper 3: Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923* (Kidson, 2016)
- England, specialised A-level: *Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923* (Adelman & Byrne, 2016)

Doubtful contents featuring British/Unionist perspective

Before looking at the specific examples of biased textbook narratives, we shall review the ‘popularity’ of the different types of contents included in this analysis. The most interesting of all seems to be Category 3, doubtful contents featuring British/Unionist perspective. Among these 25 different contents, the average rate of inclusion is 10% across Irish and English non-specialised textbooks, 13% among Northern Irish textbooks, but 35% among English specialised textbooks. This means that on average about a third of these contents appears in all English specialised textbooks. The following ranking can be established across these contents, by the frequency of mention:

A) 46% of all analysed textbooks – English specialised, English non-specialised, Irish or Northern Irish – tells us that there was a civil-war-like situation in Ireland before the First World War as a result of the activities of both the UVF and IVF. I have classified this content as relativization of Unionist/British wrongdoings, given that Beckett’s narrative (as earlier explained) makes it clear that the danger of civil war already existed before the IVF was established. Also, the IVF gun-running happened on 26 July 1914, thus exactly 3 days before the First World War started on 29 July 1914 and 9 days before the United Kingdom entered the war on 4 August 1914 – therefore, it would not be fair to refer to the period before the First World War as being in danger of civil war because of both UVF and IVF. Nevertheless, this high score of 46% comes from all sides: non-specialised English textbooks (29%, or 9 out of 31), specialised English textbooks (75%, or 3 out of 4), 4 out of 5 Irish textbooks (80%) and 5 of 6 Northern Irish textbooks (83%). Against this narrative, the alternative version – which mentions the danger of civil war as a result of the activities of the UVF against the British government and which coincides with Beckett’s narrative) – appears only in 4 English non-specialised textbooks, 2 specialised English textbooks¹⁴⁰ and in one Northern Irish textbook (and in no Irish textbook)¹⁴¹.

B) 38% of all analysed textbooks narrate the motivation for the Third Home Rule Bill being a political gamble (as the Liberals depended on the Irish Nationalist votes). This narrative does not take into account that Home Rule was already included in the

¹⁴⁰ (Murphy, Walsh-Atkins, & Whiskerd, 2008, pp. 187, 192, 218, 224) uses both narratives in several places.

¹⁴¹ One of the Irish textbooks does not say why was there a civil-war-like situation.

election manifesto of the Liberal Party in 1906 and then again in 1910 (see Beckett's narrative). 26% of non-specialised English textbooks (8 out of 31), all 3 specialised English textbooks, 4 out of 5 Irish textbooks and 2 out of 6 Northern Irish textbooks tell us the same. This is an interesting point, as it once again makes English and Irish opinion coincide: for a biased English narrative, the Third Home Rule was a mistake and it only happened because the Liberals were held hostage by the Irish Nationalists. For a biased Irish narrative, the same situation would demonstrate that the English never wanted anything good for the Irish, only if obliged. The alternative – and correct – narrative, that the Third Home Rule Bill was based on principles, appears in one non-specialised English textbooks, 2 out of 3 English specialised textbooks¹⁴², one out of 6 Northern Irish textbooks and in no Irish textbook.

C) 27% of all analysed textbooks claim that the Protestant resistance against Home Rule was dominant in all Ulster. Beckett had shown us that this was not the case and publicly available data of the 1911 Northern Ireland census demonstrates us the same: out of the nine Ulster provinces not only the three that formed part of the Irish Free State after Partition had Catholic majority, but also Tyrone and Fermanagh. In addition, Armagh and the county of Derry had only a small Protestant majority, and in all counties with Protestant majority there were many parishes with Catholic majorities. (His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1912, pp. 73, 77, 81, 83, 88-89, 99-100, 115-118). I will explain the population distribution in more detail when analysing the textbook *Challenge and Transformation, Britain c. 1851-1964* (Fortune, 2016). In this point, the difference between English, Irish and Northern Irish textbooks becomes clear: 30% of English non-specialised textbooks (11 out of 37), 67% of English specialised textbooks (2 out of 3) and 17% Northern Irish textbooks (1 out of 6) makes us believe that this claim is correct, meanwhile no Irish textbooks write in the same sense. The alternative (and correct) affirmation – that Protestant resistance was in parts of Ulster – is included in 5 English non-specialised textbooks (14% of 37), 2 out of 3 specialised English textbooks¹⁴³, but in 4 out of 6 (67%) on Northern Irish and in 4 out of 5 (80%) Irish textbooks.

¹⁴² Two textbooks use two different arguments, in favour of the 'principles' narrative and in favour of the 'gamble' narrative (Adelman & Byrne, 2016, pp. 143-144) (Murphy, Walsh-Atkins, & Whiskerd, 2008, pp. 186, 195, 221). In the second case, the 'principles' narrative appears as the opinion of a historian, while the 'gamble' narrative is explained by the authors.

¹⁴³ One of these textbooks use two different narratives in different chapters (Adelman & Byrne, 2016, pp. 138-140, 153).

D) 26% of all textbooks claim that Sinn Féin's aim in its early stages (until 1916) was full independence. 23% of English-non-specialised textbooks (7 out of 31), 2 out of 3 specialised English textbooks, one out of 4 Northern Irish and one out of 5 Irish textbooks tell us the same. The alternative narrative is that Sinn Féin's early aim was a dual state, where Ireland would have remained part of the British monarchy. This clearly falls short of full independence. Even *Beckett* refers to this, however, in a cynical tone (Beckett, 1981, p. 416)¹⁴⁴. This alternative narrative is included in 2 non-specialised English textbooks (6% of 31), 3 out of 4 English specialised textbooks¹⁴⁵, 3 out of 4 Northern Irish and 4 out of 5 Irish textbooks. Here the difference does not seem to be along national convictions, but by level of detail: if a short summary is needed (as in non-specialised English textbooks), Sinn Féin is portrayed as a party campaigning even at this early stage for full independence. If more space is available (as the case of specialised English textbooks and those in Ireland and Northern Ireland show), a higher percentage of authors explain the more nuanced situation.

E) The next example of doubtful affirmations in favour of the British narrative is the relativization of UVF's responsibility in the escalation of the Ulster crisis by giving the impression that the UVF and IVF were formed about at the same time: 20% of textbooks; 19% among non-specialised English (6 out of 31), one out of four specialised English textbooks, and two out of six Northern Irish textbooks state this (and none in Ireland). An even more extreme truth-bending, that IVF was first to be established, is implied by one non-specialised English textbook¹⁴⁶. The correct sequence is narrated by 5 out of 31 (16%) non-specialised English textbooks, 2 out of 4 specialised English textbooks, 4 out of 6 Northern Irish and all 5 Irish textbooks.

It is interesting to observe that in all five mentioned cases more English non-specialised textbooks include the incorrect/misleading narrative than the correct one! In

¹⁴⁴ The knowledge of Hungarian history – the Austro-Hungarian compromise was the template for the early Sinn Féin – helps us to understand that the result actually would not have been so bizarre. The main failure of Austria-Hungary was not the power-sharing between Austrians and Hungarians but the fact that other nations were excluded.

¹⁴⁵ (Murphy, Walsh-Atkins, & Whiskerd, 2008, p. 186) uses both narratives: a short text claiming that Sinn Féin was 'a radical political party committed to Irish independence and unity' and another more detailed description which tells the whole story.

¹⁴⁶ The KS3 textbook *Colonisation and Conflict 1750-1990* (Collier & Marriott, 2002, p. 227) first explains the deeds of revolutionary nationalism, and among them the 1913 formation of the Irish Volunteers. Only after this is the establishment of the UVF narrated, without any date or indication of sequence.

case of Irish textbooks, a majority of doubtful narratives could be only observed regarding the motivation for the Third Home Rule Bill. In case of Northern Ireland, regarding the question if Ulster resistance to Home Rule Bill was prevalent in the whole of the province or not. And in case of specialised English textbooks, it is frequent that both narratives are featured in the same textbook.

Other examples of doubtful narratives against the Irish perspective appear less often:

F) Ulster resistance against Home Rule is justified by the ‘different history’ of Ulster in 6 textbooks: 4 English non-specialised (11% of 37) and 2 English specialised (out of 3).

G) The failure of the Buckingham conference in 1914 to reach consensus is seen as a shared responsibility¹⁴⁷ by 6 textbooks: 2 of them are English non-specialised (6% out of 31), 2 (out of 3) English specialised and 2 (out of 5) Irish.

H) The opposition to Irish Home Rule in 1886 is justified in 5 textbooks by the narrative that the Irish are unfit to govern themselves: 2 English non-specialised (6% of 31), one out of 3 English specialised and 2 out of 5 Northern Irish textbook mention this.

I) When narrating the partition, 5 textbooks affirm that all counties of Northern Ireland had Protestant majority. Of these, 4 (13% out of 32) are English non-specialised and 1 (out of 3) is English specialised.

The remaining doubtful contents all have been included in four of less textbooks and these contents relate to the motivations of Gladstone to support the Home Rule Bill; the evaluation of Sinn Féin in its early stage; whether Sinn Féin was behind the Easter Rising; whether it was the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 that partitioned Ireland (instead of the Government of Ireland Act of 1920); the affirmation that the smaller part of the IVF that did not support Redmond in 1914 after the start of the First World War was preparing straight away for insurrection; the positioning of the Ulster Covenant as if it did not support violence; directly blaming Redmond for the failure of the Buckingham conference; emphasising the role of electoral fraud in Sinn Féin’s success in the 1918 parliamentary elections; claiming that in Northern Ireland Protestants only reacted to

¹⁴⁷ Please see below (Point J) for the arguments to consider this narrative as doubtful.

Catholic violence after Partition; and blaming the Irish tradition of violence for the Easter Rising. In case of all of the contents with 6 mentions or less, there are more English textbooks that narrate the alternative version of events than the doubtful versions, with three exceptions:

J) The failure of Buckingham Conference is seen as either the fault of all (by 2 specialised, 2 non-specialised English and 2 Irish textbooks) or of Redmond (by 1 specialised¹⁴⁸ and 1 non-specialised textbooks used in England). No English textbook states that Unionists were to blame. Among the five Irish textbooks only two express opinion about who was to blame and they also say it was all sides. However, across the Northern Irish textbooks, the two textbooks which provide an opinion in this respect clearly imply Unionist responsibility. These are *History. Partition of Ireland 1900-25. CCEA A2 Unit 2* (Jefferies, 2022, pp. 27-29)¹⁴⁹ – which as we have seen earlier, in general is slightly against the Unionist perspective – and, more surprisingly, *History for NI Key Stage 3: A Study after 1900* (Dean, Kelly, & Taggart, 2009, p. 71)¹⁵⁰ – which in general is clearly in favour of the Unionist perspective. Beckett also puts the blame on both sides without entering into a detailed explanation of the events (Beckett, 1981, pp. 433-434), however, considering the detailed narratives contained in the quoted textbooks, we should reasonably accept that Unionists had more responsibility for failure than Redmond: Ulster

¹⁴⁸ *Paper 3: Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923* (Kidson, 2016) clearly blames Redmond for lack of compromise, although it does not explain what was exactly that Redmond was not ready to accept: ‘Despite good intentions the conference lasted for three days and achieved nothing since the Irish Party was unprepared to compromise on the issue of division. The failure of this attempt threatened potential civil war in Ireland.’ (p. 57) At the same time, earlier pages indicate that Redmond accepted the idea of partition and this made him weak: ‘although the bill seemed likely to pass, by 1914 the Ulster Unionists had threatened armed resistance and Redmond, pragmatically, accepted an “opt out” for the Ulster counties’ (p. 28) and ‘faced with this opposition [of conservative unionists in Ulster] the prime minister was able to secure Redmond’s agreement to allow the northern opponents to home rule to be excluded from the legislation in an attempt to reduce their threats. Though in effect this would split Ireland, Redmond reluctantly took a pragmatic view and accepted, reasoning that it was only by one step at a time that Ireland would find its own feet’ (p. 48). Thus, the same textbook earlier on pages 28 and 48 has recognised that Redmond was ready for compromise and page 57 still blames him without supplying any additional argument for its moral judgment against Redmond.

¹⁴⁹ ‘When Asquith appealed to Law for a compromise that would have seen Tyrone divided between the unionists and nationalists, saying, “It would be a crime if civil war resulted from so small a difference”, Law retorted that the UVF could “hold the province ... and there they knew that they could get their own terms, and it was certain that they would rather fight than give way on a such a point as this”. The conference broke up without agreement. (...) Knowledge check 21. What evidence is there that Asquith was keener to address the concerns of both sides in the Third Home Rule Bill crisis than Law was? (...) Law... must share responsibility with Carson and Craig for “putting the gun back into Irish politics”. (...) The efforts made to reach a settlement were thwarted by Law who was determined to bring down the government at any cost.’

¹⁵⁰ ‘The government tried to negotiate. On 21-24 July 1914, King George V held a conference at Buckingham Palace to try to persuade the Unionists to accept “exclusion” - that the four Ulster counties with Protestant majorities would be left out of the Home Rule agreement. Edward Carson demanded that all six Ulster counties be included, and the conference failed.’

Unionist were only ready to accept partition if they received the two provinces with slight Catholic majority (Tyrone and Fermanagh) permanently. Based on democratic principles, it does not seem reasonable that Redmond should have accepted these terms. Even the textbook which blames him for the failure of negotiations recognises his readiness to accept partition in principle (however, on more equitable terms).

K) More English textbooks tell us that the remainder of the IVF (which did not agree with Redmond in joining the British war effort) was preparing straight away for resurrection than those which state that they were on hold: one English non-specialised¹⁵¹ and 2 specialised textbooks use the resurrection narrative, while only one specialised textbook describes the situation as being on hold. Across the five Irish textbooks, only one enters into this level of detail and that textbook states that ‘the revitalised IRB, controlled by a highly organised group of young zealots, was waiting for the right opportunity to use this group in staging a rebellion against British rule in Ireland’ (Brookie & Walsh, 2016, p. 115) – which also stands closer to the ‘insurrection’ narrative. Among the Northern Irish textbooks all 4 that narrates this aspect uses the ‘on hold’ version. For this point, Beckett provides enough clarity: there were two wings within the breakaway IVF (not considering the majority which followed Redmond), one of them – including its leader – was on hold, while another smaller wing wanted to act quickly (Beckett, 1981, pp. 436-437). Thus – although the insurrection version is not fully incorrect –, the wording provided by Fortune is: indicating that the entire breakaway IVF was preparing insurrection, when it was the minority of the minority which did so.

L) One of the specialised English textbooks gives the perception as if Sinn Féin was behind the Easter Rising: it reproduces a contemporary source material with the title ‘the Sinn Fein rising as it affected property’ (Kidson, 2016, p. 33) but makes no comment about the fact that it was a false belief at the time that Sinn Féin was behind. Against this, another English textbook affirms that Sinn Féin had nothing to do with the Easter Rising. A third English textbook is ambiguous: it both explains that Arthur Griffith as founder of Sinn Féin took part in the preparatory meetings already in 1914 but then also that he took no part in the actual rising – thus it is not clear if Sinn Féin as a party participated. (Fortune, 2016, p. 173). Against this, all 5 Irish textbooks and 3 out of 6 Northern Irish

¹⁵¹ *Challenge and Transformation. Britain c. 1851-1964* (Fortune, 2016, p. 120): ‘While the majority followed Redmond, the remainder joined forces with James Connolly and prepared insurrection against the British Government.’

textbooks clarify that Sinn Féin was not involved in the uprising. One Northern Irish textbook also implies that Sinn Féin was involved by directly linking the outcome of the rising with the success of Sinn Féin, without explaining that they were not involved: ‘the government’s actions had turned the rebels into martyrs and membership of Sinn Féin began to soar’ (Dean, Kelly, & Taggart, 2009, p. 74). It is interesting to observe that all three textbooks with this ambiguous narrative implying some sort of Sinn Féin involvement belong to the group of textbooks with significant Unionist/British bias.

Contents correctly supporting Unionist/British perspective

On average, specialised English textbooks include 78% of the 46 different points that correctly support Unionist/British perspective, Northern Irish textbooks 58%, Irish textbooks 50% and English non-specialised textbooks 27%.

Among these contents, the most frequently mentioned ones are the existence of the First, Second and Third Home Rule Bills¹⁵². The First Home Rule bill is narrated by 70% of all analysed textbooks: 65% of non-specialised English textbooks, all specialised English textbooks, all Northern Irish textbooks but only 60% (3 out of 5) of Irish textbooks. The Second Home Rule Bill obtains similar figures: 63% in total, 54% among non-specialised English textbooks, all specialised English and all Northern Irish textbooks but only 60% of Irish textbooks.

The lack of depth about the Home Rule movement before 1912 is a significant omission in Irish textbooks. As previously mentioned in the content depth analysis, 1912 is the turning point in the depth of narrative in Irish textbooks. Up to 1912 only 34% of the 26 contents supporting British/Unionist perspective are included (and most of these come from the one Leaving Certificate textbook), from 1912 this figure becomes 72% (out of 20 contents).

Therefore, the narrative of the Home Rule movement is extremely short in most cases: *New Complete History* (Hayes C. , 2009, pp. 190-194) dedicates half a page of text in total to constitutional nationalism before the 1912-14 crisis, about the same extension as the one occupied by the republican tradition. Cultural nationalism (Gaelic revival) and

¹⁵² As previously mentioned, the mere existence of the Home Rule Bills demonstrates certain level of empathy towards the Irish and thus benevolence by the British. However, the evaluation of these bills or their promoters – Gladstone, Asquith or the Liberals in general – as positive contents or figures is seen in this thesis as supporting the Irish narrative.

Unionism are also worth half a page each. *Discovering History* (McCaughey, c2009, pp. 354-358) follows the same treatment, but increasing the coverage of Gaelic revival to one and half pages¹⁵³. *The Past Today* (Lucey, 2002, pp. 245-249) is similar, however it does not mention the Gaelic revival at all. *Uncovering History* (Delap & McCormack, 2011, pp. 362-366) is even shorter: each constitutional nationalism and unionism get half a page, but the Gaelic revival or the republican tradition are not even mentioned¹⁵⁴. Only one of these four Junior Certificate textbooks mention Butt and Parnell (without adding that they were Protestant) and none of these textbooks mentions Gladstone at all! The fact that Irish affairs obtained much attention in the Westminster parliament during the second half of the 19th century is not something Irish children would learn. The land reform implemented by British politicians is also missing from all textbooks but one. Even then, the readers of *The Past Today* won't learn about the contents of the different Land Acts, only that tenants won the 'Land War'. The British government only appears in this narrative as the source of financing, not as an active player in bringing about the changes:

At the end of the nineteenth century, the tenant farmers and the landlords battled for the control of the land in the Land War. The landlords lost. The tenant farmers bought out the landlord class. The tenants were able to buy the land with the help of loans from the British government. (Lucey, 2002, p. 176)

Therefore, the agrarian crimes during the Land War, the Phoenix Park murders, IPP's obstructionism, or the Fenian terrorist attacks in Britain in 1867 are also completely missing from all four Junior certificate textbooks.

The only analysed Irish textbook with a good coverage of this period is the Leaving Certificate textbook *Modern Ireland* (Brockie & Walsh, 2016). From all 26 different contents up to 1912 correctly supporting British/Unionist perspective only the impact of Wyndham's Land Act is missing (2/3 of tenants became owners of the land).

In English and Northern Irish textbooks 1912 also marks a difference, but on the contrary, the share of contents included decreases. In specialised English textbooks from 94% to 62%, in Northern Irish textbooks from 64% to 53% and in English not specialised textbooks from 33% to 20%. Certainly, from a British/Unionist perspective, the period

¹⁵³ This textbook narrates the existence of the First and Second Home Rule Bills in one sentence: 'The IPP came very close to winning Home Rule in Ireland in 1886 and 1894 but were narrowly defeated in the British parliament'.

¹⁵⁴ This textbook also mentions the existence of the 1886 and 1893 attempts at Home Rule, very briefly: 'Two previous Home Rule Bills had been blocked in 1886 and 1893'.

before 1912 is much more convenient to focus on, given the many initiatives to improve the situation in Ireland.

Contents correctly supporting Irish perspective

Among the 63 different contents that predominantly support the Irish perspective, on average 63% of them have been included in English specialised textbooks, 55% in Irish textbooks, 48% in Northern Irish textbooks and 17% in English non-specialised textbooks. It is interesting to see however, that in Irish textbooks more and more attention is paid to these contents as the movement for independence intensifies: from 33% before 1912 to 56% in 1912-1915 and 76% after 1915 (overall 63% after 1912). In case of specialised English textbooks, the evolution is the opposite: from 75% before 1912 to 65% in 1912-1915 and 51% after 1915 (in total after 1912: 60%). As we have seen, the same happens in case of contents supporting the British perspective.

A) The most frequently mentioned content in favour of the Irish perspective is the British government's response to the 1916 Easter Rising, including among others the execution of 15 of its leaders. All analysed Irish, Northern Irish and specialised English textbooks explain this and 48% (14 out of 29) of non-specialised English textbooks do the same. The reaction in the Irish public opinion to the British government's 1916 retaliation is also featured in 14 non-specialised English textbooks and all Irish and Northern Irish textbooks. However, one of the specialised English textbooks does not mention this impact.

On the other hand, much fewer textbooks explain that the Irish public opinion initially was against the rising: 7 English non-specialised textbooks (compared to 14 that narrate the executions and the adverse reaction to it), one English specialised textbook (against 3 for the executions), and 4 Northern Irish textbooks (against 6 for the executions). All 5 Irish textbooks narrate this aspect of the Easter Rising – which is seen as a sign of maturity, given that it bursts the myth of a national revolution. In my opinion the initial reaction of the Irish people should be a crucial part of an unbiased narrative of the Easter Rising, as it explains that it did not have a mass following – the majority of people were at this time in favour of belonging to the United Kingdom and they were against any armed uprising. Only as a result of British retaliation did the Irish public change their mind.

B) The next content in terms of popularity are the results of the 1918 General Election, when Sinn Féin won 73 seats out of 105 Irish seats. All analysed Irish, Northern Irish and specialised English textbooks and 47% (14 out of 30) of non-specialised English textbooks include this content.

C) The existence of the UVF appears similarly in all Irish, Northern Irish, specialised English and nearly half of non-specialised English textbooks (42%, 13 out of 31). Only a slightly lower share of textbooks narrates the date of their establishment, their aim to fight Home Rule, the gun-running of Larne and that they had about 100,000 members. It is interesting to observe, however, that the paramilitary character of the UVF is narrated by 12 (out of 31) non-specialised English, 3 (out of 4) specialised English and 3 (out of 6) Northern Irish textbooks, however no Irish textbook explains this. The treatment is similar for the paramilitary character of the IVF (which is a content supporting Irish perspective): no Irish textbooks feature this content either. Thus, it seems that Irish textbooks' more euphemistic representation of these private armies is not biased by the side they represented. Most of the facts are present, thus pupils will probably know what they effectively were, however, it would have been preferable to morally condemn their existence.

Although UVF's gun-running is mentioned by 48% of all analysed textbooks (9 out of 31 non-specialised English, 3 out of 4 specialised English, all 5 Irish and 5 out of 6 Northern Irish), only less than half of these (and 20% of all textbooks: 1 non-specialised English, 2 specialised English, 3 Irish and 3 Northern Irish) explain that there was no police intervention against the gun-running. The description in *Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923* – although recognising the lack of police intervention – even seems celebratory; we can feel to be part of the success of Ulster Unionists in illegally importing German weaponry in order to arm a paramilitary: '... in a daring and completely successful operation...', '...under the noses of the authorities...' (Adelman & Byrne, 2016, p. 152). A similar number of textbooks (22% of all: 3 Northern Irish, 3 Irish, 2 specialised English and 2 non-specialised English) disclose that – in contrast to Larne – there was police involvement during the IVF gun-running in Howth. However, only 6 (2 Northern Irish and 4 Irish) call out the very significant difference in the quantities smuggled in: the 2 Northern Irish textbooks quantify the number of rifles landed in Howth as 1,500, compared to 25,000 in Larne. The 4 Irish textbooks estimate the number of guns arrived at Howth as 900 to 1,500 (one referring to the quantity as '...not quite as grand...')

(Brockie & Walsh, 2016, p. 114)), compared to 24-35,000 in Larne. However, the author of one of the specialised English textbooks goes as far in describing the equivalence of both gun-running attempts that he sentences that 'as a countermeasure radical Irish nationalists also brought in 25,000 rifles through the port of Howth, and civil war seemed a possibility' (Kidson, 2016, p. 57). Of course even 900 or 1,500 guns are too many, however, you can hardly consider a voluntary force of over 100,000 being well armed with them. 25,000 seems to be on a different scale. This also shows that the equidistant claim that both sides smuggled arms and this created a threat of civil war is misleading.

Consequently, the UVF is narrated supportively by 3 English textbooks, including some gems like 'as the Ulster Volunteers were preparing to defend the independence of their province from any home rule government...' (Martell, 1988, p. 110) in the GCSE textbook *A history of Britain from 1867* – please note that Ulster appears as an already independent province! Another example (*Britain in peace and war 1900-1918*, GCSE) makes the unlikely claim that even the king supported UVF's gunrunning, and proudly describes the success of the operation:

In April 1914, 25,000 rifles and 3 1/2 million rounds of ammunition were successfully smuggled through the port of Larne. This was a very well-organised operation, with convoys of motor cars arriving at the port by night and taking away consignments of weapons to be hidden until they might be needed. This armed Ulster resistance was undoubtedly illegal, but had considerable support in England, from the Conservative Party and even the king. (Culpin, 2016, p. 75)

Against this, there are 4 textbooks which evaluate UVF rather negatively: 3 are English and one Irish. *Modern Ireland* (Ireland, Leaving Certificate) shows a clear critique, however, it does not go beyond what Beckett also concluded:

The founding of the Ulster Volunteers was an important turning point in Irish history. Since the defeat of the Fenian rising in 1867, violence for political aims had all but disappeared. Although the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) remained in existence, it had little impact on public life. The decision of the Ulster unionists to take up arms altered the situation radically. Although professing loyalty to Great Britain, they now threatened to use violence against a law passed democratically by the British Parliament. (Brockie & Walsh, 2016, p. 127)

All other analysed textbooks evaluate UVF neutrally.

Interestingly, there are no textbooks which would speak positively about IVF. There are 3 critical narratives, from English textbooks and the remaining 23 are neutral.

Among the less frequently mentioned contents supporting Irish perspective we can find many interesting examples of biased narrative:

D) The existence of the Land War is mentioned by a third (8 out of 24) of non-specialised English textbooks, all 3 English specialised textbooks, 3 out of 4 Northern Irish and only 2 out of 5 Irish textbooks (this incorrectness in Irish textbooks has already been highlighted). The formation of the Land League in 1879, its aims, its invention of boycotting and the existence of agrarian crimes related to its activity¹⁵⁵ are also explained in a similar number of textbooks. However, their stated intent of only using legal methods is only featured in much fewer textbooks: 2 non-specialised English, 2 specialised English, one Irish and one Northern Irish. Thus, more than half of the pupils who learn about the Land League could believe that it was one of the ‘typical’ violent Irish organisations.

Not much later, the Kilmainham Treaty ending the Land War and the Phoenix Park murders¹⁵⁶ are explained by 7 (out of 24) non-specialised English textbooks, all 3 specialised English textbooks, 1 out of 5 Irish and 1 out of 3 Northern Irish textbooks. However, the impact of the Phoenix Park murders in effectively ending violence given its widespread rejection by the Irish society, is only included in half of these textbooks: 4 non-specialised English, 1 specialised English, 1 Irish and 1 Northern Irish. One of the textbooks failing to mention this consequence of rejection of violence even implies the opposite: ‘the action was strongly condemned by Parnell, but it significantly blunted much of the goodwill that the treaty had created and also showed that Parnell was not in a strong position to control the outrages as he claimed’ (Kidson, 2016, p. 149). Also in this case, Beckett wrote in the opposite sense (Beckett, 1981, p. 393).

E) In characterising Parnell, nearly double as many textbooks tell about his obstructionism in Westminster (14) than about his rejection of violence (8). The difference is driven by English non-specialised and by Northern Irish textbooks. Parnell was the leader of constitutional nationalism for a decade, even being called the

¹⁵⁵ This particular content has been considered as being in favour of the British/Unionist perspective, the previous points have been considered as neutral contents.

¹⁵⁶ A neutral and a British/Unionist supporting contents.

‘uncrowned king of Ireland’¹⁵⁷. Thus, nearly as many textbooks (6) give the impression that Parnell was not entirely for peaceful means than those which state the opposite (8). Maybe not surprisingly, Parnell’s overall description is rather negative in 5 textbooks (1 Northern Irish, 2 specialised English and 2 non-specialised English), against 2 textbooks which are rather supportive (1 Northern Irish and 1 English specialised). The remaining 13 are neutral.

F) The pro-Home Rule argument that at the same time other white ex-colonies (Canada and others) already enjoyed dominion status is explained by only 5 textbooks (2 non-specialised English among 30, 2 specialised English among 3, 1 Northern Irish among 5 and no Irish textbook). I personally find this omission quite significant, because it could put into perspective the frequently repeated argument that the reason for opposition to Irish Home Rule was its impact on Britain’s imperial standing¹⁵⁸. This narrative – that Home Rule is dangerous to the imperial unity – is repeated by 9 (out of 31) non-specialised English, all 3 specialised English, 2 out of 5 Irish and 4 out of 5 Northern Irish.

G) The recognition that the Ulster Covenant included the threat of armed resistance appears in 9 textbooks only (4 English non-specialised, 2 English specialised, 2 Irish and one Northern Irish), compared to 21 textbooks that mention the Ulster Covenant (9 English non-specialised, 3 English specialised, 5 Irish and 4 Northern Irish). Most of these remaining textbooks provide a narrative that imply that it was a peaceful protest. For instance, in *Wars and Welfare: Britain in Transition 1906-1957*:

Carson organised meetings, and progressed the cause as follows: 1912: Carson drew up the Ulster Covenant... protesting against the introduction by the British Government in that year of a Third Home Rule Bill. (Thomas & Willis, 2016, p. 40)

In line with this, five textbooks provide an overwhelmingly positive narrative of the Ulster Covenant (1 from Northern Ireland, 2 specialised English, 2 non-specialised English), while two textbooks are rather critical (1 Irish, 1 English specialised). The

¹⁵⁷ 9 textbooks refer to this: 2 Irish, 2 Northern Irish, 2 specialised English and 3 non-specialised English. Only 6 textbooks mention that he was considered the ‘uncrowned king of Ireland’ and that he was against violence.

¹⁵⁸ *Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923* uses this content as an argument for Home Rule when the authors include a source material quoting Asquith: ‘Source B. From a speech by Asquith introducing the Home Rule Bill in April 1912, quoted by The Liberal Magazine, Liberal Publication Department, 1913, p.236. (...) There are at this moment between twenty and thirty self-governing legislatures under the allegiance of the Crown. They have solved ... the problem of reconciling local autonomy with Imperial unity. Are we going to break up the Empire by adding one more?’ (Adelman & Byrne, 2016, p. 145)

remaining 16 are neutral. Interestingly, one English specialised textbook narrates the Ulster Covenant in confusing tone, giving arguments for both support (with the emotional description of ‘loyal citizens’ who are ‘left upon the mercy’) and critique (‘stirring up’, ‘threateningly’):

...it was an appeal to the Conservative Party and other potential opponents of the home rule to consider the wishes of those loyal citizens in Ireland who did not want to be cut adrift from the mainland and left upon the mercy of an Irish Catholic parliament. (Kidson, 2016, p. 31)

Given these fears Carson sought to stir up public sentiment against home rule by arranging for the organisation of what became known as the Ulster Covenant on 28 September 1912. This was a document that declared its signatories’ opposition to home rule and, more threateningly, their willingness to use all means necessary to prevent the bill’s passage. (p. 31)

H) The existence of the Buckingham conference in July 1914 is narrated by 15 textbooks: 7 out of 31 English non-specialised, all 3 English specialised, 2 out of 5 Irish and 3 out of 6 Northern Irish. The contents discussed – whether it should be a temporary or permanent exclusion of some Ulster counties from Home Rule and if the number of counties excluded should be 4, 6 or 9 – are referred to by 4 and 8 textbooks respectively (4 for the temporal question). Of the 4 textbooks, one comes from each Irish, Northern Irish, non-specialised English and specialised English textbooks. Among the 8 textbooks narrating the question of the number of counties involved, 2 come from Ireland (out of 5), 4 from Northern Ireland (out of 6) and 2 from specialised English textbooks (out of 3). I have already mentioned the significance of the Buckingham conference when analysing the responsibility for its failure; it was the last attempt to reach a peaceful solution before the Easter Rising. During this conference, Redmond accepted the principle of partition based on the preferences of the majority of the population, the issue was that Unionists wanted to rule also some of the counties which did not have a Unionist majority. However, we should not only criticise English and Northern Irish textbooks for not being more outspoken about what happened during the conference; also three Irish textbooks remain silent about it – maybe because it would mean that the principle of partition was not imposed by the British government but accepted in principle by Redmond?

I) One of the Irish grievances at the beginning of the First World War was that although the UVF was allowed to form a separate (36th) division, members of the IVF

who followed Redmond (now renamed National Volunteers) and who joined the British war effort were distributed among existing divisions. This event had the consequence that while the deeds of the Ulster 36th division during the 1916 Battle of the Somme can be told as a general sign of loyalty of Ulster with the United Kingdom, similar sacrifices of pro-Home Rule Irishmen had gone unnoticed. The fact that the IVF members were distributed among existing divisions appears only in 1 out of 5 Irish, 2 out of 6 Northern Irish, 2 out of 4 specialised English and in no English non-specialised textbooks and thus is one of the least mentioned contents in favour of the Irish perspective. The complementary fact that the UVF formed the 36th division appears in 3 out of 4 specialised English textbooks, one out of 31 non-specialised English textbooks, 2 out of 5 Irish and 4 out of 6 Northern Irish textbooks. *Colonisation and Conflict* is the non-specialised KS3 English textbook telling the story of the 36th division at the Battle of the Somme, comparing it to the events of the Easter Rising, therefore making clear that one side was 'loyal' while the other 'rebelled':

As the talk of the [Easter] uprising continued, the British prepared for their offensive on the Somme (see pages 122-4). Thousands of Ulster Volunteers had been formed into the 36th Ulster Division. (...) Ignoring instructions to walk, the Ulstermen left their trenches early and charged the German lines. (...) The sacrifice of the men of Ulster on the battlefields of France was to become an important bargaining chip when the future of Ireland was decided after the war. In the wake of 1916, public opinion amongst those who wanted an independent Ireland swung behind Sinn Féin, led by Eamon de Valera, because they had sympathy with Valera's cause after the executions in May 1916. (Collier & Marriott, 2002, p. 229)

A completely different narrative appears in *History. Partition of Ireland 1900-25*.
CCEA A2 Unit 2:

Those volunteers became the 36th (Ulster) Division, an exclusively Protestant unit in the British Army which remarkably, was allowed officially to exclude Catholics. (Jefferies, 2022, p. 30)

Redmond requested that Irish men in the British Army be organised into a distinct 'Irish Brigade' with its own badges and insignias. However, the head of the British War Office, Lord Kitchener, a southern unionist, distrusted nationalists and he blocked the formation of a distinctive Irish division in the British Army. Instead, nationalists were dispersed into existing Irish Regiments in the British Army, or else into British regiments. This was a humiliating demonstration of Redmond's inability to influence government

decisions, and it was widely recognised as a reflection of the British military establishment's continued favouritism towards Ulster unionists. (p. 31)

These two textbooks paint a completely different picture about who was 'good' and who was 'bad' and if we are presented both narratives, based on the more detailed explanations provided by the latter, we shall be inclined to accept it as a factual description demonstrating bias against nationalists. At the same time, the first narrative emphasises the difference between Ulster's loyalty and (Southern) Ireland's treason in form of the Easter Rising.

J) Among the 32 textbooks in total which refer to the Anglo-Irish Treaty, 24 explain its content of dominion status for the 26 'southern' counties, however, only half of these provide the different motivations for the Irish delegation to sign the Treaty: 12 textbooks (4 out of 6 Northern Irish, 3 out of 5 Irish, 3 out of 4 specialised English and 2 out of 30 non-specialised English) mention the Irish conviction that the Border Commission would make Northern Ireland too small to survive and that Lloyd George was behind this belief. Only a third of the textbooks which explain the Treaty's outcome – 8 textbooks (1 out of 6 Northern Irish, 4 out of 5 Irish, 2 out of 4 English specialised and 1 out of 30 non-specialised English) – explain Lloyd George's threat of renewed fights if they do not accept the ultimatum.

K) The existence of sectarian riots in Northern Ireland in 1920 is explained by 11 textbooks, most of which are Northern Irish (4, out of 6 textbooks) or Irish (3, out of 5). Only one of the four specialised English textbooks describe this content and three non-specialised English textbooks (out of 28). The fact that many Catholics lost their jobs, houses and businesses as a consequence appears in only 9 textbooks: compared to the previous content, one less from Northern Ireland and among the non-specialised English textbooks. The severity of these riots and their motives – religious cleansing – and that only in some cases they have been provoked by IRA attacks is clearly explained by Beckett (Beckett, 1981, pp. 449-450). Against this, even some of the textbooks which narrate the attack on Catholics claim that it was in response to previous IRA attacks, like in *Collins History Key Stage 3 Book 2: 1750-1918*: 'the IRA killed Protestant farmers. This resulted in attacks on Catholic families in Belfast' (Murphy, Gosling, & Martin, 2010, p. 105). On the other hand, Irish and Northern Irish textbooks estimate the number of Catholics who lost their jobs between 5,000 and 11,000. The Northern Irish narrative

in *History. Partition of Ireland 1900-25*. CCEA A2 Unit 2 is maybe the most detailed¹⁵⁹. It also starts with the general causation of the atrocities by an IRA murder in Cork (!), however, it provides a significant amount of data, quantifying the number of refugees as 23,000 only from Belfast:

On 17 July 1920 an RIC officer from Ulster was killed by the IRA in Cork. Loyalists then forced thousands of Catholic workers from their jobs in the Belfast shipyards and engineering factories and attacked Catholic homes. (...) Around 8,000 Catholics were driven from their homes, and 6,000 were expelled from their jobs. (Jefferies, 2022, p. 58)

Hart calculates that 23,000 Catholics were driven from their homes in the city [of Belfast] and 8,750 from their jobs. Two-thirds of the victims of violence were Catholics, though they made up only 23% of Belfast's population: in other words, Catholics were many times more likely than Protestants to be killed or injured, with Catholic children and women at disproportionately greater risk. Fewer than 10 of those killed were members of the IRA. (p. 59)

Considering the numbers involved, one should expect that many more English textbooks would tell this side of the story.

Textbooks with significant British/Unionist bias: *Challenge and Transformation, Britain c. 1851-1964*

Three textbooks have been identified at the beginning of this section as interesting examples of bias in terms of tone of the narrative, content bias and for featuring doubtful contents. Some of their narratives have been already quoted in the previous pages and additional instances of bias are analysed in these following pages.

The first textbook is *Challenge and Transformation, Britain c. 1851-1964* (Fortune, 2016), a non-specialised A-level textbook from England. This textbook dedicates four ample sections to the specificities of the joint Anglo-Irish history: regarding the period 1850-1886 on pages 51-60, the years 1886-1914 are reflected on pages 112-121, the events from the Easter Rising to the Second World War of pages 172-180 and the origins of the Troubles in Northern Ireland on pages 233-242. We have seen

¹⁵⁹ This textbook had the highest score for 'Irish bias' in its narrative (-5). However, as also the below example shows, this is more based on providing facts which overwhelmingly support the Irish perspective than on a biased narrative.

earlier that this textbook has the highest bias in its tone of narrative (score of +15 out of 26) and that it includes the joint second-highest number of doubtful contents (10 out of 15). However, it featured a similar share of Irish and British contents (62% vs. 69%). The following 12 pages describe 22 different points which could be understood as examples of indoctrination against the Irish perspective:

A) Although the text is formulated mostly in neutral terms, also recognising that the ‘Land League organised demonstrations using perfectly legal methods’ (p. 56), it is less sympathetic about the tactics used during the land wars, before the 1881 Land Act:

Key term. Boycott (boycotting): in this context, to shun or exclude from society anyone taking over land from an evicted tenant; it originated from the treatment meted out to Captain Charles Boycott, and agent to an absentee landlord in County Mayo who had evicted tenants – he was mercilessly targeted by Land League supporters and needed almost permanent police protection (...)

An intentionally non-violent but unnerving tactic encouraged by the Land League was ostracising or boycotting landlords who were accused of ‘abuses’, such as unfair evictions or rack-renting. Once the finger of the Land League was pointed at these landlords, the entire community was organised to refuse them all goods and services, including labour to work the farm. Any opposition to the boycott was met with further threats and intimidation. (p. 56)

It is interesting that the treatment of Boycott is labelled as ‘merciless’, but not the evictions that he organised, which from an ethical perspective probably caused comparably more human suffering. Similarly, the word ‘abuses’ is placed in inverted commas, indicating that the author does not agree that unfair evictions or rack-renting would constitute an abuse. As the previous page of the same textbook explains, the underlying situation still did not ensure tenants’ rights: ‘the provisions of Gladstone’s 1870 Land Act did not offer sufficient protection’ (p. 55), thus these abuses can be considered real.

B) Another important point of information missed by the author is the relevant fact that the leader of the Land League, Charles Stewart Parnell, was Protestant. He is portrayed rather as an unsympathetic strongman with an irrational hatred:

(...) ‘[he] was the son of an Anglo-Irish landowner, and held a deep dislike of the English (...) embarked on an obstructionist policy (...) initially failed to condemn their [the Land

League's] illegal activities (...) he had a ruthlessness and authority that gave him massive support in Ireland. (p. 56)

C) The author also shows a level of indulgence regarding the Coercion Acts. Most of her critique is placed against the tactics used by Irish MPs in Westminster who wanted to block the approval of this highly restrictive and undemocratic legislation:

Gladstone regarded the Land League as a criminal conspiracy. He was willing to accept that the non-payment of rents was due in part to genuine 'distress', but believed that the rest was 'conspiracy'. The escalating unrest and acts of lawlessness persuaded Gladstone of the necessity of coercion, although he was reluctant to pursue this course of action again. In 1881, in tandem with a new Land Act, a Coercion Act was pushed through Parliament, which allowed anyone suspected of involvement in illegal activities to be imprisoned for indefinite periods without trial. The legislation was held up by the excessive filibustering of the Home Rule MPs, one session lasting for 41 hours! To prevent a repeat of this obstructionism in the future, the Commons' rules on debating and voting were changed. (p. 57)

A textbook of 2016 should probably be a bit more critical of the Coercion Acts, of which by one estimation 105 different versions had been approved between Union and Partition, nearly one per year (Wikipedia re. Irish Coercion Act, n.d.). Might the filibustering of Irish MPs had been truly unnerving, it probably caused less harm than the suspension of the UK's constitution in Ireland, allowing the endless detention of suspects without trial.

Similarly, the portrayal of Salisbury's hard-line policy after the failure of Gladstone can be understood as a perfectly acceptable choice, not as a typical colonial-style move, and the deaths of a few demonstrators by police fire seems an acceptable by-product of a 'resolute government':

Salisbury entered office determined to give Ireland 'resolute government' (...) Salisbury thought the Government had become too soft on Ireland and he adopted a hard-line policy from the start, by planning to use tough action to deal with the perpetrators of the violence and unrest. Only then would it be appropriate to address the Irish grievances (...) Firmness, through Coercion Acts to deal with anyone who resisted paying due rents (...) Balfour's [appointed by Salisbury as Secretary for Ireland in 1887] next move was to outlaw the plan of campaign and follow this up with a new Crimes Act that gave police and magistrates special powers to deal with troublemakers. When violence escalated with

a riot at Michelstown in September 1887, the police shot and killed three of the demonstrators. (p. 115)

D) Although this textbook describes the genesis of the Fenian movement with some level of empathy, directing the attention to the underlying tensions that led to its appearance, it continues by putting a share of the blame to non-specified Irish extremists ‘trying to whip up anti-English feeling’. Thus, it seems that the movement was a result of clever propaganda...

(...) but the majority Catholic population in Ireland remained dissatisfied – they were still poor and still oppressed and were easy prey for violent extremists who tried to whip up anti-English feeling. (p. 58)

E) Gladstone’s proposal for the first Home Rule Bill is presented as something irrational, not based on principles, and the author blames this attempt of giving autonomy to Ireland for causing the divide between independentists and unionists:

The election provided a fascinating result. The Liberals had a majority of 86 over the Conservatives, but the Irish Nationalists returned with 86 seats and again held a powerful position between the two main parties. In December Gladstone dropped a bombshell – it was leaked to the press that he had altered his position on Ireland and now supported Home Rule. It proved to be one of the most momentous political decisions of the nineteenth century. (p. 60)

In Ireland and Irish politics it [the Home Rule Bill] created the conditions for an increasingly bitter divide between those who wanted independence from Britain and those who wanted to stay in the Union. (pp. 60, 115)

This portrayal – especially the last sentence, which is repeated on both pages 60 and 115 – is questionable, as those wishing for independence did not have much influence until the Easter Rising was beaten in 1916, 30 years later, and meantime two other Home Rule Bills were debated and one of them got accepted but suspended before being applied, but still the majority of the population did not share the desire of the organisers of the Easter Rising for independence. Instead, they wished for an autonomy. In line with this, the Home Rule Bills did not advocate for independence, but for a devolved government for Ireland. In this narrative, anything that involved some kind of autonomy in Ireland was an unnecessary stirring up of emotions, those who wished for it should have stayed quiet so that they do not upset Unionists...

F) Randolph Churchill's role in supporting Unionist opposition to Home Rule is presented as an opinion, not as a fact. The wording should be compared with earlier narratives of (nationalist) extremists 'stirring up' the peaceful population, in this case, the call to protest is seen as legitim:

It has been argued that Randolph Churchill's vehement opposition to Home Rule in 1886 fanned the flames of the Nationalist/Unionist division in Ireland. Churchill maintained that the interests of the Ulster Protestants would be ignored if there was Home Rule, and that Nationalist Catholic interests would be served. On a visit to Belfast, Churchill encouraged the slogan, 'Ulster will fight, Ulster will be right', an implied threat of civil war in the event of Home Rule. (p. 114)

G) The narrative on pages 61-63 continues representing the struggle for Home Rule as the scapegoat for the demise of the Liberal Party. It is factually true that Gladstone's insistence to present the Bill led to the split of the Liberal Party in 1886 and that it inaugurated a period of conservative ministry, however, the issue of political autonomy should not be exclusively seen from an imperial colonial perspective, in which the events in the colonies are relevant only as long as they influence the life of the metropolis. This particular textbook dedicates specific sections to the Irish aspects of British history, nevertheless, the main narrative, to which pages 61-63 belong, represent connections to Ireland only very briefly.

H) The author evaluates John Redmond generally positively, however, it also seems as if it would have been his fault that Unionists rejected the compromise proposals and thus he brought Ireland 'to the brink of a civil war':

Redmond was a compromiser but in his desire to also find a solution for the Unionists, he miscalculated their determination to reject Home Rule and this took Ireland to the brink of civil war in 1914. (p. 112)

I) This textbook also justifies the uniqueness of Ulster in a highly debatable form:

The people of Ulster had long regarded themselves as different from the rest of Ireland. There had been a historic, religious and economic divide since the days of William of Orange and the Battle of Boyne in 1690, when Protestant dominance was established in Ulster (...) Ulster was fearful that with Home Rule, they would be dominated by the Catholic majority government in Dublin. (p. 113)

Certainly, there was a degree of uniqueness, however several aspects of the above assertion are questionable. First of all, there was a higher share of Protestant population

in the North, however, they settled there not in the days of William of Orange but at the very beginning of the 17th century. After the Battle of Boyne, the ‘Protestant dominance’ was established not just in Ulster, but in the entire island of Ireland. In that sense, Ulster was not different to the rest of Ireland. Second, one can look back to the movement of Irish Protestants in the late 18th century – which claimed self-governance for Ireland – to argue that in that period no significant difference existed between Ulster and the rest. Third, there is also the question whether the factual difference between North vs. South of Ireland by the end of the 19th century was extending to the actual territory of the historical province of Ulster. As the same page 113 shows, there were nine counties in the historical province of Ulster. Six of these counties became later Northern Ireland. This textbook already looks for a justification of this division on page 113 by marking the six counties with a different colour, meaning ‘Majority Unionist/Protestant population’. This is factually incorrect, as only four of the six counties actually had Protestant majority according to the census. Therefore, one could argue for a degree of ‘historic, religious and economic divide’ (even if not since 1690), however not for Ulster, but for those areas with Protestant majority. Fourth, the assertion that ‘the people of Ulster had long regarded themselves as different from the rest of Ireland’ can also be questioned statistically. Taking the entire province of Ulster as the basis for the ‘historic, religious and economic divide’, we can analyse the historic evolution of the number of Protestants vs. Catholics in Ulster. The census tells us that in 1861, the share of Catholics was still 50.5%, Protestants only became majority in 1871, when the share of Catholics decreased to 48.9%. The decrease continued in the following decades, leading to the 43.7% share of Catholics in 1911 (His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1912, p. 38). The decrease in the share of Catholics was driven by a reduction in their absolute numbers, in total a 28.5% drop from 1861 to 1911 in the province of Ulster (against a 6% drop in the absolute number of Protestants). County by county, the evolution is much more telling. There are only minor changes in most counties, and none of the nine counties has changed its majority from one religion to another. What has happened is a strong increase in the share of Belfast within Ulster. It was 6.4% in 1861 and it became 24.5% by 1911. In the same period, the share of Protestants in Belfast strengthened from 66.1% to 75.9% (own calculations based on (His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1912, pp. 37-38, 73, 77, 81, 83, 88-89, 99-100, 115-118) and data directly included in those pages).

Therefore, although it is true that the province of Ulster had a significant difference to the rest of Ireland in the relative share of Protestants, that difference did not convert into a Protestant majority until 1871 and hence we cannot argue for a long divide for the entire province. We could argue for a long-term difference in Antrim (including Belfast) and Down and to a lesser extent in (London)Derry and Armagh, but this is not the argument the textbook is making. Looking for a longstanding historic justification of the divide Ulster vs. the rest of Ireland does not seem to be well-placed in an English textbook of 2016, it rather seems to be the object of Hobsbawm's critique of nationalism in which nation-states look for old historic borders which they argue always belonged to them, in order to establish the right to govern a certain territory (Hobsbawm, 1992, p. 37).

J) The second Home Rule Bill, of 1893, is presented in a paragraph, which explains the main difference in comparison to 1886 (Irish MPs also in Westminster), the result of the vote in the Commons and the blockage in the House of Lords. No further information is provided about Gladstone's motivation to propose a Home Rule Bill again, it could have been relevant if this book showcased the 1886 proposal as a sudden change of mind. At the end of the paragraph the following comment illustrates where the heart of the author probably is: 'the question of Ulster was again ignored' (Fortune, 2016, p. 117). The same opinion, that Home Rule altogether was a nuisance – as it did not satisfy Unionists – appears a few lines later referring to events 10 years later. Somehow, it appears, those who wanted Home Rule within the United Kingdom were simply troublemakers who should have known better not to raise the issue again. The reference to 'a period of peace and calm' reminds us of Cromwell's narrative of the 1641 Irish Rebellion justifying his massacres after. It is worthwhile to know that the 1904 initiative came from the Conservative and Unionist Party, something that is not mentioned in the text. Once again we can appreciate that for the author the use of the verb 'stirring up' is appropriate for opinions against Unionism:

Ireland appeared to be experiencing a period of peace and calm, but in 1904, a conference on the subject of devolving more powers to Ireland again stirred up Unionist fears. There was no immediate outcome, but underlying this initiative was the gradual strengthening and re-emergence of Irish nationalism. (p. 117)

K) Arthur Griffith and Sinn Féin are also presented with bias, claiming that their aim was full independence:

The political party Sinn Féin was founded by a journalist, Arthur Griffith, in 1905, and argued for a separate independent Ireland, but made little political impact before 1914 (...) they preferred independence rather than Home Rule.’ (p. 118)

It is remarkable that the same author later also recognises that this representation is incorrect: ‘Griffith’s idea was for Ireland to have a Dublin parliament, which controlled Irish affairs, but would still retain the monarchy’ (p. 173) and ‘he was a member of the IRB, but left in 1910 through his dislike of violence. He was imprisoned after the Easter Rising, though he took no active part’ (p. 173). Therefore, why the categorical representation of Sinn Féin as an independentist movement since its foundation? One does not need to be a supporter of any of Sinn Féin’s policies or actions since 1916 to believe that we should teach the past correctly, without seemingly ‘convenient’ shortcuts that illustrate our schoolchildren who were the ‘good’ and the ‘bad’.

L) A peculiar example of British identity can be seen on the map titled *Populations of British cities c1901*, in which the British Isles are shown, however only the current territory of the United Kingdom is shaded as subject to the map and no cities and county borders are included in the South of Ireland, only in the current territory of Northern Ireland, including Belfast (p. 98). As in 1901 the United Kingdom still included both Great Britain and Ireland, this map seems unhistorical. It could have shown either the entire island of Ireland, or, the island of Great Britain.

M) The third attempt on Home Rule in 1912 is often projected as a parliamentary gamble, and thus ethically questionable. On the other hand, the opposing Conservatives can be perceived as statesmen with principles, represented by adjectives such as ‘tough’ and ‘unbending’:

(...) the Nationalists, with 80 seats, once more held the balance of power between the Liberals and the Conservative. Asquith [Liberal Prime Minister] needed the promise of the Irish Nationalist vote in the Commons to ensure the People’s Budget, already rejected in the Lords, would be passed. The promise was given by Redmond. The reward was the promise in return of a Home Rule Bill (...)

The Conservative Party continued to support the cause of Ulster Unionists and maintained their opposition to any compromise over Home Rule under the leadership of Balfour (1902-11) and then Bonar Law from 1911 (...)

Andrew Bonar Law (...) was a tough, unbending opponent of Irish Home Rule. (p. 118)

N) The textbook narrates the Unionist resistance against Home Rule in 1912-1914 as a heroic act:

...the Protestant Ulster Unionists threatened to revolt if they were pushed unwillingly into a Catholic-dominated Ireland and forced to sever ties with Britain (...) Sir Edward Carson (1854-1935) became the leader of Protestant Ulster in its struggle against Home Rule for Ireland. He was fiercely committed to preserving the Union and led the Ulster Unionist resistance to Home Rule between 1912 and 1914 (...) He was instrumental in ensuring Ulster remained part of the United Kingdom (...)

Members of the Ulster Volunteer Force with mobile machine gun; Sir Edward Carson, leader of the Protestant Ulster Unionists, set up the Ulster Volunteer Force to resist implementation of Home Rule in Ulster (...)

The Ulster Unionists began to resist the introduction of Home Rule by mobilising their forces. Their brilliant and unscrupulous leader, Edward Carson, whipped up support for separate treatment for Ulster (...)

He [Carson] built up an 'army' of 100,000 from the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF). It was an illegal organisation prepared to use force, and Carson bought guns from Germany (...) (p. 119)

One can surely have a level of sympathy with any people organising themselves (pacifically and democratically) to express their wishes, even if they are a minority against a majority which does not want to represent their interest. However, this narrative should apply equally to those Irishmen who looked for autonomy from Great Britain as for those from Ulster who wanted the same against the rest of Ireland. Moreover, the wording 'if they were pushed unwillingly into a Catholic-dominated Ireland' can be easily perceived as a sign of superiority of Protestantism against Catholicism, as if Protestant domination of Catholics was something natural while the opposite something unthinkable. Imagine if a British textbook made the comment that 'Catholics have been pushed unwillingly into a Protestant-dominated United Kingdom', justifying some of their rebellions as just resistance?

O) In the evaluation of the 'Curragh Mutiny' we see a strange levelling of responsibility between Liberal vs. Conservative politicians:

Bonar Law was implicated in this act of near treason, but so also, unwittingly, was Asquith's War Minister, Sir John Seely, who was forced to resign after he agreed not to use the army in Ulster. Asquith can be criticised for weak handling of this situation in which army officers were dictating government policy'. (Fortune, 2016, p. 120)

Naturally Asquith (the Liberal Prime Minister) can be criticised, but even more Bonar Law (the Conservative head of the Opposition) who gave permanent support to anyone defying the implementation of Home Rule, even with arms.

P) If we read through this textbook representing both movements up to 1914, even if recognising at certain points that Irish Nationalists in general followed legal routes and that the Ulster Unionist established an illegal organisation, it is clear that it pictures the Irish Nationalists as some kind of villain – using words such as merciless, ruthless, obstructionist, violence, unrest, to whip up, to ignore, miscalculation, to overwhelm, to dominate and to stir up –, while Ulster Unionists (and their Conservative supporters) are seen as freedom fighters – represented by words such as tough, unbending, fiercely committed, brilliant and resistance.

Q) The author presents the results of the 1918 election as doubtful given irregularities during voting and it also highlights that the total of the votes for Sinn Fein was less than that for all the other parties together (which included Unionists and the Irish Parliamentary Party). This is true, but it is the main characteristic of the British First-Pass-the-Post electoral system – if the author wished to criticise the system itself, there could have been many other places for it. It might also be misleading that this representation sums up Unionists – which were against Home Rule – and the Irish Parliamentary Party – which supported Home Rule but was against independence – as jointly being non-Republican and thus representing the majority. I do not think Carson/Craig and Dillon, their respective leaders, would have been happy to be seen on the same side of the divide.

Sinn Fein won 73 out of 79 seats previously held by the Irish Nationalist Party, with votes totalling 485,105 (i.e. the Republican vote). Later it emerged that members of the Irish Volunteers had intimidated people to vote for Sinn Fein and many had voted several times. The total votes for the Irish Party was 237,393. The total for Unionist and other votes was 320,042. According to Irish historian Robert Kee, the anti-Republican vote was 557,435. Thirty-two seats out of 105 were held by non-Republicans. (p. 175)

R) Whether the Anglo-Irish War is narrated as a war of independence or as a terrorist action, not only shows the political conviction of the author, but also indoctrinates the readers of the textbook. It can be hardly imagined that the leaders of any movement of decolonisation outside of Europe would be portrayed as terrorists in recent

British textbooks, however, this is the treatment of the Irish movement which obtained the majority in the 1918 elections and declared Ireland's independence:

The Declaration of Independence ratified 'the establishment of the Irish Republic', declaring that a state of war existed that could never end until Ireland was 'definitively evacuated by the armed forces of Britain'. At first it seemed that the Sinn Fein policy was one of passive resistance. This changed with sporadic attacks on the police (members of the Royal Irish Constabulary) by the Irish Republican Army (IRA). The British government's view was to treat the IRA terror attacks as a police matter, to avoid conceding 'belligerent status' to the Republican government. (Fortune, 2016, p. 175)

The situation became more serious as De Valera toured the USA raising financial support, while Collins and Griffith trained and organised IRA terrorist groups to carry out acts of violence against British-linked targets. (Fortune, 2016, p. 176)

S) A second relevant aspect of the Anglo-Irish War is the description of the atrocities, which both sides committed. Unfortunately, it seems as if somehow atrocities of the British government forces could be justified by previous actions of the IRA. In the analysed textbook there is no mention of whether brutalities were also against the civil population of Ireland. Therefore, the author makes the actions of both sides appear the same, highlighting that the only difference was that 'propaganda' of the Irish side was more successful, therefore creating a degree of sympathy with those who suffered the malicious propaganda:

As Sinn Fein sought to destroy British authority in Ireland through the IRA, the Government called in the Black and Tans and the Auxiliaries, rather than the army. What followed was a bloody struggle between the two sides, each carrying out acts of brutality, but with propaganda against the Black and Tans' outrages being more successful (...) The war continued, with increasingly shocking atrocities on both sides. (p. 176)

Without the aim to condone any type of brutality, actions against the civil population are usually considered a different and unacceptable degree of the hostilities. It was not easy to see who were 'civils' on the Irish side, given the by this moment massive popular support of the independence movement. However, it leaves two potential interpretations of the actions of the British authorities: a) that the support for independence and armed actions against the British forces were already so widespread that most of the population became belligerent and non-civil and in this case the movement cannot be labelled any more 'terrorism' but rather a liberation movement, and

therefore its suppression is a clear example of colonial brutality in a confrontation between unequal forces; b) that the support for independence and armed actions against the British was still isolated, and in this case retaliation by a supposedly civilised government against the civil population of Ireland needs to be seen as far more severe than equally brutal actions of the ‘terrorist’ IRA against the British police and military forces. Unfortunately, this textbook does not seem to recognise this logic and treats both cases of brutality as equally bad.

T) The narrative of the Government of Ireland Act can also show a high level of identification with a specific side of the conflict. *Challenge and Transformation, Britain c. 1851-1964* makes it clear that the Act was a positive measure: ‘the Government of Ireland Act of 1920 was yet another attempt by the British government to achieve Irish Home Rule, in the hope that it would win the backing of the moderates in Ireland’ (p. 177). This sentence can be considered of a propagandistic character, considering that more than a year earlier Sinn Féin won the parliamentary elections in Ireland, declared it to be an independent republic and that effective war was waged between this entity and the British government. Lloyd George was not anymore in the position to impose a solution approved by Westminster, he needed to negotiate with the other side (Sinn Féin). If the same textbook criticises the First, Second and Third Home Rule Bills for ignoring the objections of the Unionists, why is it acceptable to come up in 1920 with a proposal that does the same with the Irish Nationalists? Therefore, the Government of Ireland Act of 1920 can only with a lot of imagination be seen as ‘yet another attempt’.

U) The textbook visualises incorrect information about the distribution of the Protestant and Catholic communities. Although page 177 includes a map showing the ‘areas with a predominantly Unionist/Protestant majority’, which recognises that the largest part of Fermanagh, the southern half of Armagh and the southern third of Down (all of them adjacent to other counties which became part of the Irish Free State) were of Catholic majority, it does not provide population figures to prove whether or not these counties had an overall Protestant or Catholic majority. The territory of the county of Tyrone is nearly entirely painted as of Protestant majority, which is statistically rather unlikely, considering that overall the share of Protestants was 44.6%. In fact, looking up the detailed census data per parish in the 1911 census, the majority of parishes (27 out of 43) in Tyrone were of Catholic majority (His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1912, p. 99), although the location of Protestant and Catholic majority parishes is mixed. Based on the

same official source, some additional omissions or errors can also be observed in the county of (London)Derry, which on the map does not seem to have any Catholic majority areas, but it was the actual situation in 1911 (13 out of 46 parishes had Catholic majority, including the Western part of city of Londonderry) (His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1912, pp. 88-89). In Armagh, the differences seem to be less biased, although the map drawn in the textbook oversimplifies the religious boundaries which in reality were more complex.

In addition, erroneously the textbook states that the Belfast parliament was set up 'for the six mainly Protestant counties' (Fortune, 2016, p. 177), giving the perception to the reader as if Partition followed the majority of the population. Following principles of the majority of the population, Partition could have been defined by county (which would have established a four-county Northern Ireland, excluding Fermanagh and Tyrone) or by each village/town (defined as parishes in the census). Partition was defined by counties, but also adding to Northern Ireland Fermanagh and Tyrone, which had a Catholic majority and a sizeable Protestant minority (43.8% and 44.6%, respectively). It is interesting that in this book full of questions asked to the students, there is no exercise or activity that would prompt to think about the actual boundary and whether it was a fair division. It is highly questionable that only two pages later, when describing Northern Ireland after Partition, is it mentioned why the borders have been set in the way they were: 'Sir James Craig (...) pressed for six and not nine counties to comprise Ulster, as he believed it would make for a stronger Protestant unit and would be better able to preserve Protestant dominance' (p. 179). This probably could have been illustrated by supporting data, for instance regarding the number of parishes in the 3 Ulster countries that did not join Northern Ireland, which were of Protestant majority: in Cavan and Monaghan no such parishes can be found and in Donegal there were 6 out of 52. In contrast, in Tyrone and Fermanagh the picture was much more mixed: 16 parishes out of 43 and 10 out of 22 had Protestant majority. In Armagh the Catholic parishes were still more numerous: 15 out of 29 (14 of Protestant majority), however in Down 46 out of 70 parishes were Protestant, in Londonderry 33 out of 46 and in Antrim 70 out of 79 (His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1912, pp. 73, 77, 81, 83, 88-89, 99-100, 115-118). Page 179 of the textbook also includes a short comment on the Boundary Commission recognising the existence of many Catholics in Northern Ireland, however not clarifying that they were in majority in those border areas:

A Boundary Commission was set up to clear up anomalies on both sides of the new border (...) The boundary set in 1920 remained in place, thus ignoring the position of the substantial Catholic Communities who found themselves unwillingly part of Ulster. (Fortune, 2016, p. 179)

Moreover, page 180 makes another mention of the strong Catholic communities in Fermanagh and Tyrone, however without saying that they were the majority there. In a tricky succession of words, the next sentence confirms that the share of Catholics overall was one third, maybe some readers could mistakenly believe that this could also apply for Fermanagh and Tyrone? ‘In Ulster, there remained unease within the strongly Catholic communities of Fermanagh and Tyrone. In total one third of the Ulster population was Catholic’ (p. 180).

In summary, it is probably not a sign of being adept to conspiracy theories if someone perceives that *Challenge and Transformation, Britain c. 1851-1964*, an A-level textbook, wants to avoid at all cost to disclose the exact shares of population between Catholics and Protestants in each of the counties of Northern Ireland, so that no student can question the adopted borders.

V) There is a strange attempt to portray the British government as a neutral force for good in the text related to the negotiations leading to the Anglo-Irish Treaty: ‘...until June 1921, when Lloyd George invited the leaders of both sides to London for talks’ (p. 176). Considering that the two sides that actually signed the Treaty were the ‘Irish’ and ‘British’ Delegations – whose head of government was Lloyd George – the wording seems surprising (The Anglo-Irish Treaty, 6 December 1921, 2023).

Textbooks with significant British/Unionist bias: Paper 3: Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923

The English A-level textbook from 2016 *Paper 3: Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923* (Kidson, 2016) – as its title indicates – is fully dedicated to the Anglo-Irish history of the long 19th century. It is one of the most detailed textbooks about the shared past of England and Ireland. It is because of this that its visible pro-British/Unionist bias is even more surprising. This of course does not mean that all narratives are biased and this textbook also clarifies many points that support the Irish perspective. In terms of tonality of the narrative, it scored +5 (out of 26), based on seven narratives in favour of Unionism

(support for the Government of Ireland Act 1920 and the criticism of the IPP, Redmond, the Gaelic revival, Sinn Féin before the First World War, the IVF and the Irish side during the Anglo-Irish War) and two narratives against Unionism (support for the Land League¹⁶⁰ and Gladstone¹⁶¹). There are five additional themes where both positive and negative evaluations co-exist about the same events (the Ulster resistance, the 1912 Third Home Rule Bill, the Ulster Covenant, and the British government during the Easter Rising and the Anglo-Irish War). 10 out of 25 doubtful British contents are also included, the joint second-highest number among all analysed textbooks. It mentions 52% of Irish contents (33 out of 63) but 78% of British contents (36 out of 46), resulting in a content depth bias of 26%.

We have already seen some of its biased narratives regarding the impact of the Phoenix Park murders in rejecting violence, evaluation of the Ulster Covenant, number of rifles involved in the 1914 gun-runings, blaming Redmond for the failure of the Buckingham conference and the narrative of Sinn Féin's role in the Easter Rising. Another eight different examples are highlighted in continuation:

A) The author suggests that it was Irish nationalism that divided the country across religion and which led to partition. As we have seen through many examples of the past from the 16th century, the division by religious beliefs had not been started by Irish nationalists in the 19th century. Regarding the comparision of the 'moderate demands' at the end of the 18th century, and the 'more radical reforms' at the end of 19th century in terms of Home Rule, we need to note that the rights Grattan's parliament obtained at the end of the 18th century were significantly wider then the ones any of the three home rule bills suggested. Therefore, this first sentence might sound convenient for portraying the radicalisation of Irish nationalism, but historically it is incorrect. The author in the below quoted text also suggests that home rule was radical and it was equivalent to

¹⁶⁰ 'With the exception of Belfast and Dublin, the majority of Ireland's income came from farming the land, and significant proportion of the country's population were either tenant farmers or labourers on other people's farms. In part, the reason for this was the high percentage of Catholics who did not own their own land as a result of the Penal Laws that denied them the same opportunities as Irish Protestants. The consequence was that most Catholic farmers simply rented their farm from larger, usually Protestant, landowners.' (p. 44) 'The system was arranged entirely for the benefit of the landowner at the expense of the tenants.' (p. 130)

¹⁶¹ 'Gladstone was motivated in part by the same political need to reduce antagonism in Ireland so as to allow his country to better govern it, but he was also guided by a deep moral principle that told him Ireland deserved justice.' (p. 133)

independence. He also implies that the loyalist backlash was to the nationalist agenda, he does not mention that it was to the law approved by the British parliament:

Beginning first with the moderate demand for greater rights for the established Irish parliament, and then progressing towards more radical demands for home rule – self-government over domestic affairs and later independence – the demand for complete autonomy became more assertive in the 19th and 20th centuries. In making these demands, the nationalist movement not only transformed the political landscape in Ireland, but also its social and geographical topography. With foundations in religious discord, Irish nationalism divided the population along these lines. In the north of the country, where Protestant – and by extension British – influence was more keenly felt, there was a determined loyalist backlash to the nationalist agenda. (p. 10)

B) Evaluating Redmond, the textbook criticises the lack of flexibility to accept any plan of partition:

However, the Irish Party, in its position of power, also remained wedded to its demands that the country, in its entirety, be given home rule. It would not consider any compromise that offered the possibility that Ulster could remain part of the [sic] Britain. (p. 57)

This text stands in contrast with an earlier page that confirmed the opposite:

...the prime minister was able to secure Redmond's agreement to allow the northern opponents to home rule to be excluded from the legislation in an attempt to reduce their threats. Though in effect this would split Ireland, Redmond reluctantly took a pragmatic view and accepted, reasoning that it was only by one step at a time that Ireland would find its own feet. (p. 48)

C) The description of the Ulster resistance provides arguments for any taste, including both an ode to the loyalty of Ulster Protestants and a more conceptual critique based on democratic principles (that Catholics also had the right to decide what they wanted):

The growth of Irish nationalism was not met with unanimous approval in Ireland. In the north of the country – notably the province of Ulster, where there was greater British support – the prospect of home rule was viewed with significant distaste. The basis for this lay in religious fears among Ulster's majority Protestant community that home rule would equal 'Rome rule', implying that under a Dublin parliament Catholicism would be forced upon the country. This fear resulted in the creation of Ulster's own political organisation to safeguard the interests of Irish people whose allegiance lay with

Britain and the Protestant faith. This organisation was established in 1886 and became known as the Ulster Unionist Party. (p. 30)

Unionism in Britain reflected a reactionary attitude to Irish affairs, refusing to accept the growing need to offer concessions to the country whose majority population demanded change. Certainly it considered the interests of the Ulster Protestant population, but in doing so it denied the interests of the minority Catholic community in Ulster and also Catholic interests throughout the rest of Ireland where it was a majority. (p. 51)

D) The different Gaelic cultural and sports associations are seen as responsible for the emergence of more extreme nationalism, aiming directly at independence. Sinn Féin appears from its foundation as a pro-independence separatist party. Moreover, these more 'extreme' ideals are credited with creating Ulster opposition in general – this is not correct, as we know from Beckett that Ulster opposition was already active as the prospect of a moderate Home Rule Bill surfaced many years earlier. It is also worth to observe the use of the wording 'nationalists increasingly began to upset unionist supporters', as it implies value judgement about the validity of the aims of both sides.

The institutions of these bodies [Gaelic associations] collectively inspired a more assertive nationalism that increasingly became less content with the moderate aims for home rule – especially following the failure of two such bills in 1886 and 1893 after conservative unionist opposition had been successfully mobilised. The new demand was for complete independence, and in the pursuit of this goal nationalists began to turn towards more radical politics, such as those promoted by separatist parties, for instance Sinn Féin, which had emerged by 1905 (see page 32). By drifting towards such ideas, nationalists increasingly began to upset unionist supporters in the north of the country, and by 1910 there was a well-organised opposition established there. (p. 33)

E) The Third Home Rule Bill is seen as a cynical parliamentary deal, without any moral principle. The reality however is that the content was the same as in 1893 and similar to 1886 and that the Liberals campaigned during the 1910 elections with a clear promise of home rule – which was maybe the reason why they lost their majority.

However, in April 1912 a third bill was proposed by the Liberal Party. This was brought to parliament in payment for the Irish Parliamentary Party's support for the Liberals once they lost their majority after 1910, and became reliant upon Irish support - the cost of which was a home rule bill. (p. 30)

1910: Hung parliaments give the Irish Party influence over Liberal policy and home rule is the price of their support. (p. 56)

As an individual, Asquith was not an immediate supporter of home rule, but out of political necessity rather than any moral principle he had obliged to present a home rule bill for Ireland in April 1912. (p. 54)

F) The establishment of the IVF is not seen as a reaction to the earlier foundation of the UVF, but as an intrinsic event based on the existence of a more extreme nationalism – this narrative is quite different from Beckett's.

...the nationalist drift to arms was not just mirroring unionist actions and had its origins in a more assertive nationalism that grew after the death of Charles Stewart Parnell. (p. 33)

G) The textbook is apologetic with the British government's response to the Easter Rising, and rather complains about the propaganda success that 'republican nationalists' could draw from it. With this logic, we could also complain about the Indian independence movement successfully positioning the Amritsar massacres as a proof that the British colonial rule lost its moral standing... It is worth to note that in this narrative it was not the actions of the British government that directly resulted in the change of public opinion, but that 'republican nationalists' used them as an excuse to 'to stir up national feeling against Britain'. Considering the number of people with republican sympathies arrested and deported to Britain after the uprising – many of them without any connection to the Easter Rising –, it would be interesting to know how many 'republican nationalists' were left in Ireland so that they were able to 'stir up public feeling' and if there were so many, why they have not participated previously in the Easter Rising...

The aggressive manner in which the British government reacted to the rising was, from its perspective, a justified action given wartime pressures. However, it gave republican nationalists the opportunity to stir up public feeling against Britain and this resulted in bitter conflict... (p. 48)

H) The Government of Ireland Act 1920 is narrated similarly to the previous textbook as a good 'pragmatic solution'.

...they had once more adopted pragmatic solutions in order to retain Ireland within the empire. This was noticeably evident when conflict broke out in 1919 and, though willing to support devolved power, politicians employed military force to avoid complete separation. (p. 51)

However, this textbook goes even further when characterising the British attitude to Irish aspirations, by showcasing the ‘benevolent empire’ narrative also often criticised in relation to other decolonisation movements:

The creation of the Irish Free State and a Northern Ireland parliament in the early 1920s was the culmination of a slow evolution in British political thought which began in the 18th century. Between 1774 and 1922, successive British governments struggled with the growing demands for greater Irish powers, and when it became clear that simple coercion would never be enough to subdue a nation’s aspirations, they sought to adopt more conciliatory methods. This shift reflects a pragmatic attitude that sought to achieve the best possible outcome for Britain while recognising that the Irish people would not accept their existing circumstances. Throughout this period, successive prime ministers and politicians acknowledged this position and undertook to resolve the increasingly challenging Irish question in a mutually beneficial manner. In doing so, pragmatism transformed resistance into acceptance. (p. 62)

This paragraph is highly debatable for a number of reasons: more conciliatory methods have been applied at some instances, other times – 1916 or 1919 – not. What is meant by a ‘mutually beneficial manner’? Does it refer to the dominion status? If yes, and it was ‘mutually beneficial’, why did Ireland change this status in 1949 and to a lesser extent in 1937? Transformation of resistance into acceptance? What about the Anglo-Irish War and the Irish Civil War? In my opinion, it was exactly the lack of British pragmatism that led to the Anglo-Irish War. Unfortunately, the events of 1912-1921 demonstrated that in order to convince the British government and public opinion, one needs to be prepared to use violence. Ulster Unionists very successfully managed to achieve their objectives through the effective threat of violence. After 1914, there was no questioning of their rights. Irish nationalists struggled to effectively achieve Home Rule until they organised a violent uprising in 1916 and then again in 1919-1921 they turned to the arms. Only in December 1920 was the first Home Rule Act effectively approved by the government of the UK (as the 1912-14 Act was suspended and never applied), when it was already too late and they had no effective control over most of Ireland. Maybe it would be more correct to describe the transformation of the Irish majority from acceptance (being satisfied with a narrow autonomy) into resistance (wishing for an independent state, finally achieved in 1949). This certainly should not be described as a success story demonstrating the enlightened character of successive British prime ministers...

The paternalistic attitude also continues in the narrative of the 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty, as if it was an unruly child who finally matured and thus now could become independent: ‘it was also an acceptance that the country [Ireland] had grown more independent and should therefore be allowed to stand on its own two feet despite British reluctance’ (p. 49)

Textbooks with significant British/Unionist bias: *Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923*

The English A-level textbook *Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923* (Adelman & Byrne, 2016) is also entirely dedicated to the Anglo-Irish history in the long 19th century and it similarly includes questionable narratives. The tone of the narrative is in favour of Unionism, with a score of +7 (out of 26). Ten narratives support Unionist perspectives (positive mentions of the Ulster resistance, the Ulster Covenant, the UVF, Carson and Bonar Law and the criticism of the Land League, Parnell, Gladstone, the Irish side during the Anglo-Irish War, and de Valera) and three are against (criticism of the British government during the Easter Rising and the Anglo-Irish War and of the Government of Ireland Act of 1920). Parts of the narrative of the Third Home Rule Bill are in favour, while other parts are against. The textbook includes 7 different doubtful contents out of 25. Nevertheless, it features 75% of Irish contents (47 out of 63) and 80% of British contents (37 out of 46).

The examples of bias already highlighted in this thesis are the triumphant description of the Larne gunrunning and the ambiguous reference to whether the entire province of Ulster was against Home Rule. It is worthwhile to call out the following additional eight instances:

A) The aims of the Land League are characterised very differently from other textbooks, it seems that tenants were simply trying to maximise their profits. The authors also affirm that any contrary view should be disqualified:

This manifesto was, of course, largely propaganda. No reputable historian now regards the Land War as a simple clash between a rapacious landlord class and downtrodden, exploited peasantry. Indeed, it can be argued that the real motive of the League’s members in attacking the landlords and demanding the ‘Three Fs’ was to enable them, and more particularly the larger pastoral farmers, to inflate their dwindling incomes by

obtaining rent reductions (that is, 'fair rents', in their eyes). The landlord was thus made a scapegoat for the effects of the agricultural depression. (p. 102)

It is interesting, however, that even the authors contradict themselves a few pages later when describing the positive effects of the following legislation:

...thanks to the work of the Land Courts, which, it soon became clear, intended to set genuinely fair rents. Because of their decisions, over the next few years, a twenty per cent reduction in rents gradually occurred. (p. 106)

I am not sure if the reason for the same level of rents being described as fair in the first quote and unfair in the second is that in the first quote it is the Irish tenants who demand a change and in the second it is the British government which recognises the previous unfairness...

B) Parnell's characterisation demonstrates that the authors do not perceive him as a positive hero. Nevertheless, a bit less cynicism ('spreading the gospel') and more supporting data (what constituted contempt for English opinion) would be welcome. It is natural for politicians to represent their opinion (of course with a good level of readiness for compromise), however, it seems rather stereotypical that this is only called out as a negative phenomenon in case of Irish nationalists.

Parnell's aggressive attitude and contempt for English opinion soon made him a popular hero for militant Irish nationalists everywhere... (p. 97)

Parnell, however, was away in America during the early months of 1880 raising money for the League and spreading the gospel of Irish nationalism. (p. 103)

C) Although arguments are presented both for and against the 1886 First Home Rule Bill, the following sentence affirms that the establishment of a Dublin-based autonomy was existential threat for Ulster. However, it is unclear why a Catholic-majority parliament (as this in Dublin) is an existential threat for Protestants and a Protestant-majority parliament (as that of Westminster) is not an existential threat for Catholics...

By raising the spectre of self-government for the whole of Ireland, centred on a Dublin parliament, these developments seemed to threaten the very existence of the Ulster Protestant way of life (p. 137)

D) The description of the establishment of the Ulster Unionist Council – in Beckett's narrative a parallel government in waiting, defying the Westminster government which Unionists said they were loyal to – is celebratory. It affirms that it was democratically elected – maybe yes as a cultural association, but not as a pseudo-

government, as its existence was not foreseen in the British constitution. With this logic, Sinn Féin in 1918 had much more legitimacy to establish a breakaway government, they at least had been elected in a UK parliamentary election.

It led directly to the formation of the Ulster Unionist Council in March 1905, centred on Belfast: a democratically elected body which now represented every strand of Ulster unionism: the unionist clubs, the Orange Order, the protestant Churches and the Ulster members of the Commons and Lords. The Council thus became the directing force of Ulster unionism, and therefore in any future political crisis Ulster unionism could speak with one powerful, unified voice. Even more portentously; it also meant that Ulster now possessed the framework of an independent governmental organisation, which could be summoned into life as and when the political situation demanded. (p. 140)

E) The textbook also establishes the right of Ulster Protestants to challenge any legislation that eliminates their ascendancy. However, it seems rather strange that for a 2016 textbook even the right of Catholics to become members of parliament is seen as an unjust threat to Protestant interests – although the text represents this stance as an opinion of Ulster Protestants, the context (‘entirely predictable’) means that we should be inclined to see it as a fact:

The Ulster Crisis over Home Rule was long in the making and entirely predictable. As far back as the Brunswick Clubs of 1828-9, mobilised (unsuccessfully) to oppose Catholic emancipation, Ulster Protestants had shown their willingness to challenge legislation they saw as offensive and dangerous to their interests. (p. 155)

F) There are points in the textbook both supporting and criticising the Third Home Rule Bill. However, some of the arguments used do not seem to be very robust: the Liberals yes campaigned in the previous general election on the grounds of Home Rule and there was a majority in parliament for Home Rule. Even if their lack of legitimacy was a robust argument (and as we have seen, it is not), parliamentary decision making consists of voting at the end of the debate. Thus the textbook narrative complaining that these arguments (as well as other ‘powerful points’ made by Ulster Unionists) have been ignored is unreasonable as this is the way parliaments work. In this way the authors imply that if a minority warns in parliament that they are against a decision, they have the moral right to fight against it after.

Bonar Law attacked the Home Rule Bill on the grounds that it was the outcome of a ‘corrupt bargain’ between Asquith and Redmond. He condemned it as the price to be paid

for gaining Irish votes to prop up the government. The Liberals, he argued, had no mandate to introduce Home Rule, as the recent election campaign had shown. These arguments were ignored by the supporters of Home Rule, as were the powerful points produced by the leaders of the Ulster Unionists on behalf of their province. (p. 145)

G) The establishment of UVF is celebrated as a progressive step representing the will of the people. It is presented as a militia, calling out the difference between the militia and an army (part vs. full-time), but not explaining that it actually was a paramilitary and what is the difference between paramilitary and militia/army (illegal vs. legal). The authors claim that they only defended their 'established constitutional and legal rights'. However, it is unclear what these rights consisted of. The authors also claim that a minority has the right to defy the law if they are united in their will. Is this true also for previous Catholic uprisings? The authors equally claim that they were loyal to the crown and that loyalty to the crown can be defined subjectively, not by the terms of the law:

In April 1912, two leading Unionists, Sir Edward Carson and James Craig, set up the Ulster Volunteers – a militia force that soon numbered over 100,000 – to defend Ulster from all-Ireland Home Rule. Militia: An army that is made up of civilian volunteers, as opposed to a professional army of regular, full-time soldiers. (p. 146)

The Ulstermen took their stand on their established constitutional and legal rights. They argued that they were justified in defying a law which overrode the rights of minorities, especially a minority so united in its resistance to the dictates of the government. (p. 149)

Thus, the integrity of the Empire was also at stake. The unionist concluded, therefore, that their duty to the Crown, as the symbol of imperial unity and constitutional authority, was greater than their duty to the law passed by a particular parliament. (p. 149)

It is interesting to observe that the same rules do not apply for Irish Nationalists. For instance, the narrative of the beginning of the First World War includes the following sentence: 'even more significantly, it created the opportunity for extremists to strike for Irish independence during the great ordeal of war that was to come.' (p. 154)

H) The Protestant character of the six counties conforming Northern Ireland is repeated on several pages, without calling out the different situation of Tyrone and Fermanagh:

The distinctive social, economic and political position of Ulster, or at least the six counties with clear Protestant majorities, was also beyond dispute. (p. 155)

...six mainly Protestant counties of Ulster... (p. 168)

As far as the vexed question of the boundaries of Northern Ireland was concerned, the coalition government eventually accepted the Ulster Unionist argument in favour of six counties (see page 168) on the grounds that, owing to their overall Protestant majority, security and stability in the new state would be made easier. (p. 176)

There is one reference to Tyrone and Fermanagh on page 153, however it states that they 'were almost evenly divided' between Protestants and Catholics – a bit euphemistic reference to the situation, as Catholic majority in Tyrone (55.4%) and Fermanagh (56.2%) was as strong as Protestant majority in Armagh (54.7%) and Londonderry (city and county together: 54.2%). (His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1912, pp. 73, 77, 81, 83, 88-89, 99-100, 115-118). In comparison, the textbook describes the situation in Armagh and Londonderry as 'definite Protestant majority'.

Thus, it seems also this textbook would like to avoid any questioning about the moral correctness of the boundaries finally established in 1920.

On the other hand, in this textbook there are many well-balanced narratives, rightly calling out fault on both sides or implying failure of the British government (and sometimes of Ulster Unionists). There is not enough space in this thesis to call out any relevant number of these good examples, however, in order to demonstrate that the tone is not outright pro-British/Unionist, I will quote a few paragraphs that this textbook features from the Easter Rising to the Anglo-Irish Treaty (the key words have been underlined by me):

The rebellion was mostly confined to Dublin, and most citizens there were bemused or downright hostile. Indeed, many felt that the rebels were simply traitors, stabbing Britain in the back when so many Irishmen were fighting and dying in France. (p. 166)

...the rebellion was therefore made 'by a minority of a minority'. (...) Yet, within a few weeks, Irish attitudes towards the rebellion began to change. This was mainly due to the policies adopted by the British authorities. (p. 167)

Sinn Féin could now claim to represent the will of the Irish majority. The election had given it legitimacy. Its MPs decided, therefore, not to take their seats in the House of Commons and so refuse to recognise the authority of the UK parliament over Ireland. (p. 174)

The Black and Tans – and particularly the Auxiliaries – responded in kind, and their unofficial reprisals were, in effect, condoned by the British Army and the

government. This attitude did not go uncondemned in Great Britain, especially by the press. Even the staunchly Conservative Daily Express proclaimed ‘murder for murder is ... a confession of impotence, a return to sheer barbarism’. (p. 179)

In the autumn of 1920, the British government at last accepted that it was engaged in a real war in Ireland, and applied regular troops on a wider scale. (p. 179)

In southern Ireland, on the other hand, the political revolution that had been gathering pace since 1916 had made Home Rule irrelevant as an acceptable option for Irish nationalists. The Government of Ireland Act therefore was essentially constructed to solve the Irish problem as it had stood in 1914, not as it stood in 1920. (p. 177)

...Lloyd George persuaded the Irish delegates to accept the idea of a Boundary Commission, and led them to believe that its eventual recommendations would be so critical of Ulster’s present boundaries that, if carried out, Northern Ireland would collapse and have to join up with the rest of Ireland. (p. 184)

The Anglo-Irish Agreement represented the acceptance by Sinn Féin that it had exhausted its capacity to fight the British, and the British government’s acceptance that it had gone beyond the legitimate powers of civilisation to impose stability. Neither side was satisfied – neither side deserved to be. (p. 189)

Conclusions: from Home Rule to Partition

The second half of the 19th century and the early 20th century includes a very significant number of events that is subject to interpretation depending on one’s sympathies. In my study and based on Beckett’s narrative, I have identified 293 different contents and measured the textbooks’ narrative against these.

I have evaluated the tone of the narrative used in the representation of 27 different persons, political movements or initiatives, some of which show sympathy with the Irish Nationalist or Ulster Unionists movements, or with the British Liberal or British post-World War One governments. From this I have calculated a differential support for the Unionist perspective, where 5 English or Northern Irish textbooks have a score of +5 or more (showing support for Unionism) and one Northern Irish textbook obtained a score of -5 (demonstrating criticism with Unionism). However, the ‘neutral’ score (defined as Beckett’s evaluation) in this analysis is somewhere between -2 to -5. On average, a differential 14-15% of the tone of English textbook narratives favour Unionism and 8% of Irish textbook narratives support Irish nationalist perspective. In Northern Ireland, Hodder’s differential support for Unionism is 9%, while Colourpoint is 6% against.

Among the 293 different contents 109 can be seen as historically correct arguments for one of the two points of view. By measuring the frequency of mention of the contents supporting the Unionist perspective and then comparing the result with the percentage obtained for contents supporting the Irish perspective, we can calculate a content depth bias. Here, English textbooks not specialised in Anglo-Irish history featured 27% of contents supporting the British/Unionist perspective and 17% of the contents for the Irish point of view, thus resulting in a content depth bias of 10%. In case of specialised English textbooks, the difference is 15% and for Northern Irish textbooks 10%. Junior Certificate Irish textbooks are very superficial over contents up to 1912 and much more detailed after. Thus, although they do not have a content depth bias in each of these periods, in total they feature 5% more contents related to the Irish perspective. There are 8 English or Northern Irish textbooks with a content depth bias over 25% and no Irish textbooks show a similar score.

There are 25 different contents among the 293 that consist of a doubtful narrative in favour of the British/Unionist perspective, either because they can be considered factually incorrect or because they relativize a British/Unionist wrongdoing. The average rate of inclusion is 10% across Irish and English non-specialised textbooks, 13% among Northern Irish textbooks, but 35% among English specialised textbooks. There are 7 English or Northern Irish textbooks with 7 or more doubtful contents.

The combination of the previous three different analysis allows us to identify 3 different textbooks which stand out in terms of bias and whose narrative has been explained in more detail as examples of bias.

Given the very long list of events included in this section, there are many examples of bias. In terms of British/Unionist bias, the following stand out: presenting the Home Rule Bills as irrational and not based on principles but on parliamentary gamble; embellishing the role Conservative politicians played in supporting Ulster Unionism; seeing as natural that Protestants can control Catholics but not the opposite; representing Unionists as freedom fighters and Irish nationalists as villains; celebrating the success of the UVF gun-running; positioning morally reproachable Unionist actions as a reaction to previous Irish Nationalist wrongdoings; backdating Irish violence by presenting Sinn Féin since its foundation as a party aiming for full independence and by claiming that the UVF started its activity in parallel with the UVF; assigning the responsibility for the failure to find a compromise to Irish Nationalists; representing the Anglo-Irish War (or War of

Independence) as terrorism; whitewashing the role of the British government during the Easter Rising and the Anglo-Irish War; hiding evidence of the Catholic majority in the counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh in order to avoid any questioning on the correctness of the border.

The beauty of having analysed so many textbooks is that for any biased interpretation I could find many contrary narratives in textbooks from the same side, thus also demonstrating that the narrative against which I have analysed the contents is correct. While there are many surprising attempts of indoctrination, no textbook is entirely one-sided.

For textbooks including an Irish nationalist narrative, my main complaint is the lack of depth in the description of the pre-1912 constitutional nationalism in Junior Certificate textbooks; omitting most improvements (e.g. land reform) carried out by the Liberal government of the UK, not even naming Gladstone. The Irish protagonists of this movement are missing as well from most textbooks and the extension dedicated to constitutional nationalism is the same as to revolutionary nationalism – which was a niche movement in that period. Therefore, although there are many more examples of bias in English and Northern Irish textbooks, the Irish narrative of the pre-1912 period gives the impression as if the British government did not do much to address the Irish question and to improve the situation.

5.9 Northern Ireland and The Troubles

Key conclusions:

- The tone of textbook narratives and their content depth is less biased in the representation of the Troubles than in the previously analysed period of Home Rule and Partition.
- However, there are many ‘myths’ about the responsibility of Irish Nationalists that still persist in British textbooks, more in those used in England than in Northern Ireland: on average 34% of these ‘myths’ are seen as valid in English textbooks and 20% in Northern Irish textbooks. A positive development in English non-specialised textbooks has been a reduction in the percentage of ‘myths’ considered correct from 41% to 29% after the Good Friday Agreement. On the other hand, the newest edition of several Northern Irish textbooks increased this share.
- The most significant bias in the representation of the Troubles is narrating it as a conflict between those wanting Northern Ireland to become part of the Republic and those who wanted to remain ‘loyal’ to the United Kingdom. This is incorrect because the conflict arose between those aiming to end sectarian discrimination and those who insisted in retaining Protestant ascendancy in Northern Ireland.
- The ‘loyal’ character of Unionists can be also questioned given their opposition to the 1974, 1985 and partly to the 1998 agreements negotiated by the British government aiming to find a peaceful solution, however, the description of this opposition is frequently missing from textbooks.
- Other ‘myths’ in the narrative of the Troubles include blaming the Irish Free State/Éire/the Republic of Ireland for alienating Northern Protestants by unlawfully changing the 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty in 1937, by being sympathetic to Nazi Germany in the Second World War and by not doing enough against the IRA during the 1956-62 border campaign.
- Discrimination of Catholics in Northern Ireland is sometimes narrated as an opinion, not a fact, and it is argued that there were also poor among Protestants.

- The civil rights movement is often seen as a potential cover for IRA terrorists. Many textbooks describe how the IRA was effectively non-existent before British troops started to intervene on the side of the Unionist government in 1970 (also mentioning that some claimed that IRA stood for ‘I Run Away’), however, they still insist that the IRA took over the civil rights movement already in 1968-69.
- Many textbooks blame the civil rights marches for the outbreak of violence without attributing agency to loyalist forces and the sectarian police force. Rioting sometimes seems to be concentrated on the Catholic side or equally on both sides, omitting contrary proof points such as the overwhelming share of Catholic families being thrown out from their homes.
- Loyalist paramilitaries are sometimes missing from the entire narrative of the Troubles, on other occasions they appear only after the Sunningdale agreement of 1973, ignoring the fact that the UVF was re-established already in 1966. Even when they are mentioned, their acts of violence often obtain much less protagonism than that of the IRA.
- In a surprising narrative, one of the textbooks incorrectly claim that the British army has been called to Northern Ireland in order to control Catholics, and other textbooks do not explain what caused Catholics to see the army as taking side in the conflict.
- The collapse of the Sunningdale Agreement of 1973 is sometimes lamented as a question of fate and destiny, without explaining that one specific side (Unionists) was clearly responsible for its failure.
- The fact that Sinn Féin was not allowed to the peace talks in 1996 before the IRA decommissioning previously – and that this requirement was contrary to the recommendation of the participating American negotiators – is missing from most textbooks narrating the end of the IRA ceasefire in the same year. It is interesting that this omission also applies to Irish textbooks, which in general do not show any sympathy with the IRA.
- Irish textbooks also fail to describe smaller-scale discrimination against Protestants, only mentioning the Catholic character of the Irish Free State/Éire.

Guiding narrative

The Troubles in Northern Ireland constitute an intriguing period of Anglo-Irish history, considering its origins in religious discrimination and the following civil rights movement and the fact that it included an armed conflict between two different paramilitary movements (or, better said, terrorist organisations) – with involvement of the British army – in the late 20th century in Western Europe.

For analysing the textbooks' tone and the historic correctness of their contents, I have relied on the narrative contained in McKittrick & McVea's *Making Sense of the Troubles* (2012), acclaimed for its neutrality and even-handedness. Similarly to the previous period analysed in this textbook (from Home Rule to Partition) it is not easy to summarise the relevant contents of the Troubles in a few lines. My summary, contained in the following 13 pages, is certainly long, but I believe the reader of this thesis – who might not know the history of Northern Ireland – should be able to first understand what happened, before considering any analysis on the textbook narrative. Having lived outside of Ireland my entire life – even if I have family connections there – I personally was surprised by many details which I have learnt both from textbooks and from McKittrick & McVea, as they challenged the narrative omnipresent in other countries, which describe the Troubles as a conflict of republican terrorism.¹⁶² I believe that the following pages could be a reasonable representation of what happened:

The way Northern Ireland was created in the 1920s 'lacked balance and was an almost guaranteed recipe for instability' (McKittrick & McVea, 2012, p. 299), given that 'for nationalists it infringed on their liberty; for Unionists it was a type of liberty but one that carried a price of eternal vigilance which allowed no political relaxation' (p. 306). Many Catholics considered Northern Ireland after its foundation as a temporary construction which would disappear soon (based on the promised Border Commission) and thus initially decided not to collaborate with it. Protestants – making up two-thirds of the new state –, in exchange, viewed Catholics as potentially subversive, and discriminated against them in political rights, jobs and housing, also based on their defensive attitude as a 'frontier community' (pp. 4-7)

¹⁶² In 1993, before finishing university and meeting my future wife, I have applied for a traineeship in an English-speaking country, but I excluded Ireland, based on what I had perceived as economic backwardness and a liking for violence. I was a student from an ex-communist country, thus I imagine others might have had even more biased experiences when learning about Ireland and Northern Ireland.

...Unionists... saw themselves as a frontier community facing vily and violent enemies, and backed by only half-hearted allies. ...they followed the model of their forebears who, moving from England and Scotland and given territory in a hostile land, developed a defensive attitude evident in the later Unionist slogans of 'No Surrender' and 'What we have we hold' and 'Not an inch'. ... politically they were fated to be eternally on the defensive. (p. 7)

The British encouraged them [the Protestants] to move to Ireland essentially as a garrison community for Britain's own defensive purposes... Centuries later descendants received a second endowment in form of the new state of Northern Ireland, which was conceived, designed and set up as a Unionist-controlled entity. (p. 291)

The measures of discrimination included the abolishment of proportional representation (PR) for both local councils and the Stormont parliament and instead the introduction of the first-past-the-post system, which – together with gerrymandering of council ward boundaries – led to nationalists losing half of the local councils they previously held (pp. 8-10). The main example was Londonderry, where 'around 7,500 Unionist voters returned twelve councillors while 10,000 nationalist voters returned only eight' (p. 9). Craig threatened resignation when the British government asked him not to abolish PR, but then Westminster backed out, establishing the model for abstention from intervening in Northern Irish matters (p. 11). Also judges and magistrates and members of the police force (B-Specials) were nearly exclusively Protestant and the police had wide-ranging special powers including internment without trial (p. 12). The discrimination also reached the civil service, about 10% of its lower ranks were Catholics, and there were no Catholics in the most senior jobs. Also in the private sector the better-paid jobs and entire industries (e.g. engineering and shipbuilding) were practically reserved for Protestants and Catholic unemployment doubled the Protestant equivalent (p. 13). Housing also became subject to discrimination, in the allocation of council houses, given that local council votes were limited to ratepayers and their spouses, which gave clear incentive in contested areas not to 'create' new Catholic voters. Adults who did not have an independent lodging and thus did not pay council tax, could not vote. This later enabled the civil rights movement to request 'one man – one vote' (p. 14).

The Orange Order agglutinated the different Protestant denominations, and 'became an integral part of the state' (p. 16). One of its main activities was the organisation of the commemorating marches of the Siege of Derry (1689) and the Battle

of the Boyne (1690), which were used to celebrate Protestant ascendancy and thus led to clashes between the different communities (p. 15):

One official report said: 'The celebration of that (Orange July) festival is plainly and unmistakably the originating cause of these riots.' It added that the occasion was used 'to remind one party of the triumph of their ancestors over those of the other, and to inculcate the feelings of Protestant superiority over their Roman Catholic neighbours'. (p. 15)

Orange marches became part of the fabric of Unionist government while at the same time nationalist parades were subject to severe restriction. The Twelfth of July celebrations, the climax of the Orange marching season, effectively became of ritual of state. (p. 16)

It was acceptable and part of the Unionist culture that senior politicians made statements against Catholics, for instance advising against employing them (p. 17).

During the Second World War, in 1940, Churchill offered de Valera to end Partition if it participated in the Allied war effort, which led to indignation in Belfast. However, Irish neutrality became a useful argument in the hands of the Stormont government to ensure British support after the end of the war, especially once Ireland became a republic in 1949 (pp. 26-27).

O'Neill as the new prime minister of Northern Ireland from 1963 aimed to introduce wide-ranging reforms: '[he] sought to change the entire tone of government, introducing the rhetoric of Protestant-Catholic reconciliation' (p. 30). He invited the Irish Taoiseach Lemass to Belfast in 1965, but this led to protest from hardliners, including Ian Paisley (p. 34): 'yet for a substantial minority of Protestants even these limited gestures seemed too much too soon, and too drastic a departure from Unionist tradition' (p. 35). The split among Unionists between reformers and traditionalists led to the rise of Paisley, who 'would grow from a semi-comical and apparently insignificant pantomime demon into a formidable figure in Unionist politics' (p. 36). McKittrick & McVea see his responsibility in 'not just articulating but also amplifying the deepest fears of many Protestants' (p. 39). The – in 1966 re-organised – Ulster Volunteer Force was the first paramilitary to kill during the Troubles, in that same year 1966. The police reacted quickly and arrested their members (pp. 40-41). Most Unionists were against violence, but many of them were also against O'Neill, leading already in July 1967 to several attacks against him and his followers (p. 41).

The civil rights movement had been started by middle-class educated Catholics, who became much more numerous given the educational reforms of the welfare state (p. 42). O'Neill's proposals seemed more a rhetoric than actually accomplished reforms after five years and the new economic investments were concentrated on the already better-off East, neglecting places like Londonderry for the establishment of the second Northern Irish university (pp. 44-45). NICRA (Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association) was established, influenced by the black civil rights movement in America, and it organised marches in order to make their demands known. Their aim was the elimination of different forms of sectarian discrimination (pp. 44, 46). The first march happened in August 1968, based on the issue of council housing, and a counter-manifestation was organised by the paisleyites. (pp. 46-47). The next march, on 5 October 1968 ended in the police beating peaceful demonstrators and it obtained widespread attention as it was broadcasted on the Irish TV (pp. 47-48). Many Unionists claimed that the IRA was behind the civil rights marches. This was true in the sense that IRA members also participated in the marches among many others (p. 50), but the IRA of the time was 'a left-wing pressure group agitating on issues such as housing' (p. 51) and even official documents concluded that they were not 'dominant or in a position to control or direct policy' (p. 51).

The situation made the divisions within the Northern Irish government clear, where the Home Affairs minister William Craig asked for intensification of the reprisals against demonstrators and at the same time O'Neill demanded concrete steps to show the Labour government in Westminster that they are addressing the needed reforms (p. 49). After the British Prime Minister Wilson threatened to cut off subsidies if no reforms are implemented, a five-point limited reform package had been announced in Belfast, but this led to O'Neill sacking Craig after the latter declared that Westminster had no right to impose any changes (pp. 53-55).

The following civil rights march – demanding further reforms, including 'one man-one vote' – was organised by People's Democracy, from Belfast to Londonderry and on 4 January 1969 at Burntollet Bridge they were ambushed by Loyalists, counting among them off-duty B-Specials. The events once again were broadcasted on TV (pp. 55-56). O'Neill set up a commission led by Scottish judge Cameron to investigate the causes and the conclusions presented later were highly critical of the Northern Irish government. (p. 56). O'Neill resigned shortly after bombings at utilities installations, which were attributed at the time to the IRA but were in fact carried out by the UVF with the objective

to force O'Neill out of office: 'O'Neill... was later to write that he was "blown out of office" by the bombings' (p. 57). McKittrick and McVea sentence that:

He [O'Neill] was the first Unionist leader to realise that Northern Ireland could not forever go on as it was, but he did not manage to convince Unionism as a whole of the need for change, or convince nationalists that he could deliver it. (p. 60).

In August 1969 the Apprentice Boys parade in Londonderry led to violent encounters between Catholics and Protestants on one hand and then on the other hand to the police to break through the Catholic barricades in the Bogside and after them came the Loyalists taking advantage – the situation looked more like a revolt (pp. 61-62). The riots extended to Belfast, and 1,800 families had to flee from their homes, of which 1,500 were Catholic, the equivalent to 5% of Belfast's Catholic population (pp. 63-64, 68). The Irish Taoiseach Lynch declared that 'the Irish government can no longer stand by and see innocent people injured and perhaps worse', but mainly the concrete steps taken were the establishment of field hospitals (pp. 67-68). The Northern Irish government requested the deployment of the British Army, as its police force reached its limits (p. 63). The army was welcomed by Catholics, in the same way as Callaghan, the British Home Secretary, who was involved in directing the Stormont government (pp. 64-65). As a result, the B-Specials have been disbanded and the disarming of the police force (RUC) was proposed. The Loyalist riots against these reforms led to the first RUC officer being killed (by Loyalists) during the Troubles. (p. 66).

Another consequence of the riots of the summer of 1969 was the re-organisation of the IRA. Nationalists felt that the IRA should have been there to protect them but this did not happen. The graffiti 'IRA – I ran away' summarised the feeling of many nationalists and this led to the split of the IRA between the previously dominant Officials, who were Marxists, and the Provisionals, who were republicans, before the end of the year; the latter taking up the role of the 'protector' of the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland (pp. 68-69):

The IRA stayed in being throughout Northern Ireland's history, though it remained tiny and ineffectual before its rapid expansion in the early 1970s. (p. 22)

The consensus in the Catholic ghetto backstreets was that an effective defence force was needed, and so a new IRA came into being. This new group may have emerged to defend the ghettos, but it would before long develop into an aggressive killing machine. (pp. 68-69)

On the Protestant side different vigilante groups were formed and there were several casualties among both sides already in 1969, starting in August, and more in 1970 (pp. 69-70). In July 1970 the initially good relationship between the Catholic community and the British army was poised by the Falls Road Curfew, in which about 20,000 people were ordered to remain in their homes for several days while soldiers searched for weapons and during the search damaged many homes and killed four (p. 71): ‘a senior civil servant recalled: “It is hard to remember any other incident that so clearly began the politicisation and alienation of a community” ’ (p. 71). This more aggressive involvement of the British army was the result of the government change in Westminster, Conservatives being now in charge (p. 71). In the following month the first two RUC officers died at hands of the IRA (p. 72).

In 1970 the newly formed SDLP (Social Democratic and Labour Party) took over from NICRA, led by Gerry Fitt and John Hume (p. 73).

In 1971 internment without trial was implemented, which ‘meant stepping outside the rule of law and abandoning legal procedures in favour of simply rounding up suspects and putting them behind bars without the benefit of trial’ (p. 77). The intelligence on which the arrests were based was outdated and many of the people arrested had no connection with the IRA. ‘Inhuman and degrading’ interrogation techniques had been applied and none of the initial detainees were Protestants (pp. 78-80)¹⁶³.

Sir John Peck, then British ambassador to Dublin, wrote later: ‘Internment attacked the Catholic community as a whole. What is worse, it was directed solely against the Catholics, although there were many Protestants who provided just as strong grounds for internment.’ (p. 81)

The security forces were manifestly geared to containing disorder from the republican side. Any British policy-maker had to recognise that if serious disorder came from the Unionist community there was, during the 1970s at least, no reliable instrument with which to contain it (pp. 298-299).

Internment generated further violence, as many Catholics ‘regarded IRA activity as a response to violence from the authorities’ (p. 81).

The official rhetoric had it that the time had come for ordinary Catholics to choose between terrorists and the men of peace, the security forces. The flaw of this projection

¹⁶³ From the initial 342 detainees none were Protestants and the first Protestant was only detained over a year later. In total 1874 Catholics were detained and 107 Protestants, until internment was in force in 1975 (Conflict Archive on the Internet (CAIN), 2022).

was that, at ghetto street level, the security forces looked not so much like men of peace as agents of a state intent on attacking their neighbourhoods. (p. 81)

There were many Catholic civilians killed by the army in the second half of 1971, and the army often claimed that they were armed. However, people in these neighbourhoods knew who were involved in the fights and who not, thus, the perception was that the army is not only killing innocents but denigrating them by claiming they were gunmen (p. 82). In December 1971 a Catholic bar in Belfast was blown up by the UVF, causing 15 deaths, but the authorities claimed it was the work of the IRA (p. 87).

On 30 January 1972, 'Bloody Sunday', during a civil rights march against internment, 14 people have been shot dead by the army in Londonderry. The army claimed that they came under intensive attack and the initial investigation by Lord Widgery was seen as a whitewash (pp. 88-90). However, the 2010 Saville Report established that the army was at fault¹⁶⁴ and Cameron said he was deeply sorry (p. 287). As a result of the shootings and the whitewashing attempt, the IRA experienced a surge in recruitment (p. 89) and it responded through many terrorist attacks (pp. 90-91). The British government considered many drastic options, including repartition, but the Northern Irish government insisted on internment being the solution. When the British Prime Minister Heath demanded the end of internment, power-sharing with Catholics and British take-over of Northern Irish security, Northern Irish Prime Minister Faulkner and his cabinet resigned and direct rule was introduced on 28 March 1972 (pp. 91-94). Paramilitary killings continued from both sides and 1972 became the year with the highest number of casualties of the Troubles (pp. 99-101).

Already in November 1972 the British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Whitelaw, defined the key ideas in search for a solution: power-sharing and a legitimate interest of the Republic in the running of Northern Ireland. These formed the base of any later negotiation (pp. 101-103).

In 1973 the IRA extended its bombing campaign to England, which had a significant political impact. Loyalist paramilitaries started to be interned and they also

¹⁶⁴ Only in 2010 did the Saville Inquiry establish that the shootings were unjustifiable, that none of the killed or wounded posed a threat of death or serious injury to the British Army, that there was 'a serious and widespread loss of fire discipline' and that the soldiers might have indefensibly believed that their targets were IRA supporters and 'so deserved to be shot notwithstanding that they were not armed or posing any threat of causing death or serious injury' (Saville, Hoyt, & Toohey, 2010, p. 57).

carried out many killings (p. 105). A referendum held on the question of whether Northern Ireland should join a united Ireland had been boycotted by all nationalists (p. 105). Based on Whitelaw's proposals, assembly elections were held, but the unionist vote was split between supporters and opponents of the power-sharing government and republicans did not take part in the elections (pp. 107-108). The moderate Unionist (UUP – Ulster Unionist Party) leader, Faulkner, secured narrow support from his party for the joint government with SDLP (moderate nationalists) and the non-partisan Alliance Party (p. 109). A following conference at Sunningdale in late 1973 between the British and Irish governments and the three Northern Irish parties participating in power-sharing government reached an agreement on the Council of Ireland, giving a say to Dublin on Northern Irish matters. Ireland declared that the majority of the Northern Irish population would need to consent any change in their position within the UK, which however was declared unconstitutional the next month (pp. 110-111, 115-116).

The new power-sharing government was finally established in January 1974 (p. 114). However, the IRA continued its campaign, loyalist killings also increased and only three days after the establishment of the government Faulkner had to resign from his party leadership role after his party's majority condemned the Council of Ireland (pp. 114-115). The new UUP leader joined other Unionist parties in their opposition to the Sunningdale agreement and the February 1974 general election led to their coalition, the United Ulster Unionist Council (UUUC), winning over 75% of Unionist votes (pp. 114-117). Being an election for Westminster and not Stormont, this did not imply a change in the power-sharing government, however, the UUUC considered the Northern Irish executive illegitimate and organised resistance, which ended in a massive strike led by the Ulster Workers Council (UWC) in May 1974 (pp. 118-119). The strike was supported by Loyalist paramilitaries, ensuring its success: 'it was an intimidation on a huge scale' (p. 119). Unionist leaders otherwise demanding no contacts with (IRA) terrorists were in close collaboration with paramilitary groups condemned for violence (p. 126). The UK government choose not to employ the army (pp. 120-122) as they considered that 'this was the Protestant people of Northern Ireland rising up against Sunningdale and it could not be shot down' (p. 123), leading to the resignation of the power-sharing government and the return of direct rule. The strike also led to British Prime Minister Wilson's 'spongers' speech' (quoted in *Section 2.3*) condemning unionists. In parallel, Loyalists

detonated bombs in Dublin and Monaghan, killing 25 and 7 people respectively (pp. 120-122).

In the aftermath of the strike, Unionists were only ready to accept the return to majority rule (p. 126) and the IRA intensified its bombing campaign in England, killing 21 in Birmingham, and 7 in Guildford and Woolwich (p. 127). Violence continued in the following years on both sides, however, the sectarian character of the UVF and UDA killings stood out for selecting civilians merely for their Catholic religion (pp. 133-135).

From 1976, the new Northern Ireland Secretary, Mason – who previously was defence minister – decided to focus on security measures and job creation, ‘concluding that a search for political agreement among the parties was pointless’ (pp. 138-139). This more hard-line approach led to a reduction in loyalist paramilitary activities as they considered the government is already doing enough to tackle the IRA (pp. 142-143). One of the new measures was to eliminate the special category status for paramilitary prisoners ‘motivated by a desire to change perceptions of the conflict from the colonial war of republican propaganda to that of a campaign against criminal gangs’ (p. 143). Internment ended already in 1975, but convictions increased due to both the application of torture techniques against paramilitary activists on both sides – who consequently incriminated themselves – and the courts consisting of a single judge instead of a jury (pp. 144-145, 152-153). Although officially never recognised as a torture, claims from both paramilitary sides led to ending these procedures (p. 153). On the republican side, also the INLA (Irish National Liberation Army) appeared, killing in 1979 Thatcher’s shadow Northern Ireland secretary. The IRA killed Lord Mountbatten when on holiday in Ireland.

John Hume assumed leadership of the SDLP and he considered – contrary to traditional republican thought – that the ‘root of the problem’ are ‘not the British, but the Protestants’ of Northern Ireland, therefore ‘partition was not the cause of division but a symptom of it’ and that therefore the main duty of nationalists is to address Protestant fears (p. 157).

The protest of prisoners in the ‘H-blocks’ against the elimination of their special category status (which de facto confirmed that they were political prisoners) became prominent when they switched their techniques from only wearing blankets (in practice from 1976), to a ‘no wash’ and ‘dirty protest’ (from 1978) and finally to two waves of hunger strikes (in 1980 and 81) (pp. 159-165). The IRA leadership tried to dissuade their prisoners from these actions, however they had little influence as there

were probably more IRA members in prison than outside (pp. 162, 165). The second wave of hunger strike was led by Bobby Sands, who managed to develop ‘an aura of victimhood and self-sacrifice’. During the hunger strike he stood in a Westminster by-election and narrowly won the seat for Fermanagh-South Tyrone, which demonstrated that although many Catholics did not support violence, they thought Thatcher was too inflexible with the inmates (pp. 165-167). The success of the election campaign convinced republicans to use Sinn Féin in the following elections and this was a key ingredient of the later peace process (pp. 167, 172): ‘they transformed Sinn Féin from little more than a flag of convenience into a political organisation with a life of its own (p. 183). After ten deaths, the hunger strike was called off and within days the British government conceded some of their demands (p. 169). Although republicans considered that the hunger strike had been defeated, ‘in effect it had achieved something much more potent: political status... in the eyes of the world’ (p. 171). Continued republican and loyalist terrorism meant that about 15,000 republicans were prisoners and about the same number of loyalists (p. 173). The IRA attempted to kill Thatcher when a bomb partially demolished the hotel where the Conservative Party conference was held in Brighton, killing five (pp. 188-189).

The rise of Sinn Féin in the aftermath of the hunger strikes led to both Irish and British governments to look for ways to reduce its influence and they came to the Anglo-Irish Agreement in 1985, which gave the Republic a say in Northern Irish matters, via an intergovernmental conference (pp. 186-189). This resulted in a protracted Unionist opposition in form of mass demonstrations and paramilitary activity, including a campaign against the police force, with more than 500 police homes being petrol-bombed (pp. 190-194) and an increase in the number of civilians killed during the following years (p. 204). However, the collaboration between the British and Irish government worsened as the UK delayed the implementation of the agreement and there were also open issues like the claims of miscarriages of justice (such as the Birmingham Six, the Guildford Four and the Maguire Seven) (p. 197), which only have been recognised as such much later¹⁶⁵.

The Anglo-Irish Agreement also shifted the paradigm for the IRA given that the ‘supposed imperialist’ oppressor (Britain) made this (for them) positive move unilaterally (p. 195). Nevertheless, the IRA also obtained a large arsenal from Libya and used it for

¹⁶⁵ The Guildford Four’s conviction was declared unsound in 1989, after 14 years in prison. The Maguire Seven’s sentences were quashed in 1991 (Wikipedia re. Guildford Four and Maguire Seven, 2024). The Birmingham Six’s sentences were declared unsafe and unsatisfactory in 1991, after 16 years in prison (Wikipedia re. Birmingham pub bombings, n.d.).

stepping up its threat in England and also established itself in Europe (pp. 198-199). A large setback for the IRA was the widespread global condemnation of its 1987 Remembrance Day bombing in Enniskillen, killing eleven civilians and the contrast to 'the almost superhuman display of Christian charity and forgiveness shown by Gordon Wilson', the father of one of the killed (pp. 200-201). Even the IRA members recognised this error: 'it allows the Brits to slot us into the category of terrorists and that's bad' (p. 201). 1988 brought the shooting of three IRA members in Gibraltar by the SAS when they were unarmed and attempting to surrender (p. 202) and in 1989 a Belfast solicitor who represented republicans, Pat Finucane, was murdered by loyalists (p. 205), in which case 'state collusion' between protestant paramilitaries and the security forces was proven later (p. 206) and even David Cameron apologised to the family (p. 288). In 1991 the IRA mortar bombed Downing Street when a cabinet meeting chaired by Major took place (pp. 206-207) and in 1992 the two bombs placed by the IRA in the City of London caused more financial damage than all previous activity in Northern Ireland (p. 211) and the attack was repeated against the Baltic Exchange in Bishopsgate (p. 214). Bombing against civilian targets also continued, in the same year two small children were killed near Liverpool which led to a huge peace rally in Dublin (p. 214).

In 1993 it became clear that between 1988 and 1993 Hume (SDLP) and Gerry Adams, leader of Sinn Féin, participated in repeated conversations (pp. 215-218). In 1990 the Northern Ireland secretary, Brooke, declared that 'the British government has no selfish strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland' (p. 208), prompted by Hume, who used this as an argument in trying to convince Adams that 'Britain was essentially neutral' (p. 218). In parallel there were also secret 'back-channel' contacts between the IRA and the British government, but they did not lead to any face-to-face meetings (pp. 220-221). In 1993 Hume and Adams issued a joint statement on the progress they made, prompting the British and Irish governments in December 1993 to issue the Downing Street Declaration, which advocated for the application of both concepts of self-determination and consent (pp. 222-223, 229). However, the violence of October 1993 nearly frustrated the declaration, as republican and loyalist killings followed each other (pp. 223-229). A tense few months later, on 31 August 1994 the IRA announced its ceasefire, followed by loyalists in October (pp. 232-234). This did not mean entire inactivity, and the IRA continued to 'punish' people considered responsible for crimes in republican neighbourhoods (p. 236). On the other hand, the British government was

suspicious of the ceasefire and delayed meeting Sinn Féin until May 1995. Even then, Major did not meet Sinn Féin, but yes representants of political parties linked to loyalist paramilitaries (pp. 236-239).

Former US Senator George Mitchell chaired the international body appointed to report on decommissioning. He proposed that decommissioning should happen in parallel to political talks. However, this had not been accepted by Major and Sinn Féin had not been admitted to peace talks. The IRA announced the end of the ceasefire and exploded a bomb in Canary Wharf, London in 1996. (pp. 241-245). In 1995 David Trimble became the leader of the Ulster Unionist Party, on a hard-line promise demonstrated in the handling of the Orange marches in Drumcree (pp. 240-241).

Breakthrough came only after the 1997 general elections in which Tony Blair became prime minister. He announced that Sinn Féin could enter the talks after a ceasefire was called, without previous decommissioning (pp. 250-252). The final IRA ceasefire was announced in July 1997 (p. 253). Smaller paramilitaries on both sides continued with killings, but on 10 April 1998 the Good Friday Agreement was signed, based on the ‘principles of power sharing and the Irish dimension’, also implying the change of the Irish constitution by removing the claim on Northern Ireland’s territory (pp. 254-257). In the following referendum over 90% of Catholics supported the agreement on both sides of the border but Unionist votes were split roughly 50-50 (leading to an overall majority of 71% for Yes in Northern Ireland) (pp. 258-259)¹⁶⁶. Not just the Ian Paisley’s DUP was against the deal, also many within the UUP (p. 258). However, violent opposition decreased after the shock of a Loyalist petrol-bombing in Drumcree and a ‘Real IRA’ bombing in Omagh, killing 29. (pp. 260-262). In 1998 Hume and Trimble jointly received the Nobel peace prize (p. 262). In December 1999 the devolved government was established, including two Sinn Féin ministers (p. 264). Although the government was suspended due to lack of progress on decommissioning, it was re-established in May 2000, and in June two international observers confirmed that the IRA dumped its arms (pp. 266-267). In 2002 the IRA stole confidential information from Stormont, which led to five years of direct rule from London – although also the British spied at Adams and McGuinness (deputy first minister) and loyalist paramilitaries still claimed more lives than republicans (pp. 271-275). Meanwhile, the DUP took over from the UUP as the largest Unionist party and Sinn Féin from the SDLP as the leading nationalist organisation

¹⁶⁶ Hayes & McAllister on the other hand estimate that 57% of Protestants supported the Agreement (2001).

(pp. 274-276). Thus, it was Paisley and Adams who had to agree on power-sharing. Paisley insisted on 'photographic evidence' of full IRA decommissioning, while Sinn Féin was against anything that could be understood as surrender (p. 277). In July 2005 a Protestant and Catholic cleric confirmed that they watched as three international commissioners decommissioned IRA's arms – which however was only much later followed by the UVF and UDA (pp. 279, 285). As a result, in 2007 power-sharing resumed after the St Andrews agreement, with Paisley as first minister and Martin McGuinness as deputy first minister (pp. 280-281).

Although many Englishmen saw themselves as impartial mediators between two 'unreasonable tribes', England shared the responsibility in setting up a biased system which gave unlimited power to one side – which later did not want to share it with the other side – and then by also committing mistakes like Bloody Sunday and internment (p. 299). The main figures of the conflict were John Hume, who convinced nationalists that 'it was honourable to engage in politics short of the nationalist ideal' (p. 294), Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness, who convinced the world that 'they really were in the business of leading republicanism away from the centuries-old tradition of armed rebellion' (p. 300), and Ian Paisley, 'regarded... as a symbol of bigotry and division' (p. 296), who in 2007 converted into sharing power with Sinn Féin, with 'a driving desire to conclude the Northern Ireland question before he died' (p. 301).

More than 90% of children still attend non-integrated schools, where they do not mix with the other religions, despite the alternative having been available since the 80s. (p. 305).

Of the 3,739 deaths of the troubles between 1966 and 2012, the largest group are Catholic civilians: 1,268 (34%), followed by Protestant civilians: 727 (19%), the Northern Irish police: 511 (14%), the British army: 505 (14%), Republican paramilitaries: 400 (11%), Loyalist paramilitaries: 168 (4%) and 160 other (4%) (p. Table 2). Of these, Republicans are responsible for 2,167 deaths (58%), Loyalists for 1,115 (30%), security forces for 362 (10%) and the remaining 95 (3%) are unclear (p. Table 3).¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁷ The number of victims is somewhat higher than in the CAIN Malcolm Sutton Index, which shows 3532 deaths from 1969 to 2001, of which 2058 were by republican paramilitary, 1027 by loyalist paramilitary, 365 by British security forces, 5 by Irish security forces and 77 by unknown forces (Conflict Archive on the Internet (CAIN), 2022).

Overall tone of narrative and content depth bias

In order to facilitate the analysis of textbook narratives, I have defined 135 different contents (events or their narrative) and their frequency of inclusion has been measured across textbooks dealing with the period. Of the 135 contents, 7 relate to the overall tone of narrative, from which once again we can calculate the differential support for unionism, in the same way as in the previous period. 86 of the contents support one or the other point of view and 42 are more neutral.

The 7 contents which relate to the overall narrative show much less divergence in case of this period than in the previous one. There is only one textbook which systematically depicts one side as positive, obtaining a score of +5 for net Unionist bias. This is *Britain since 1945* (Smith N. , 1990), which is supportive of the British and Northern Irish governments during the Troubles, does not refer to the Irish government, criticises both the civil rights movement and Irish Nationalists and uses a supportive tone in the characterisation of the main Loyalist figure, Ian Paisley. It does not mention the internment; thus it does not express any opinion about it. There are only 2 English textbooks with a score of +2, and two with a score of -2 (thus lightly supporting the Irish nationalist perspective) and 5 textbooks with a score of +1 and 5 with -1. The remaining 23 textbooks show a neutral narrative. Thus, the average of the 37 textbooks used in Britain dealing with the period is +0.2, very close to zero.

Northern Irish textbooks on average obtain a score of -0.5, thus they lightly support the Irish perspective. All of them are neutral in their narrative with the British, Irish and Northern Irish governments, and with Irish Nationalists, however, there are different interpretations of the internment (2 textbooks are critical, 2 include both supportive and critical narratives and 1 textbook is neutral), of the civil rights movement (2 supportive, one textbook both supportive and critical, 3 neutral), and of Loyalists (1 supportive, 5 neutral). One of the textbooks thus shows a net support of +1 for Unionism, 1 textbook obtains a score of 0 and 4 textbooks show a net support of -1 for Unionism, thus marginally supporting the Irish point of view.

Across Irish textbooks, the average is -1.4, based on one negative evaluation of the Northern Irish government and of the Ulster Loyalists (specifically Paisley) – both in the same textbook: *New Complete History* (Hayes C. , 2009) – and in all five textbooks being critical with the introduction of internment without trial in 1971.

Also in this period (similarly to the analysis of Home Rule and Partition), my guiding narrative, McKittrick & McVea's *Making Sense of the Troubles* (2012) would show a value different from zero: in summary, it evaluates negatively the Northern Ireland government, the introduction of internment and Loyalists (with a special focus on Paisley) and at the same time it is neutral with the British and Irish governments, the civil rights movement and Nationalists in general. Although it is highly critical with violence on both sides, it values the efforts made by Republican leaders to end violence. Thus, the Irish textbook *New Complete History* does not seem to differ from the guiding narrative in its tone of narrative.

The 86 contents which support a specific point of view can be classified in the same way as in the analysis carried out over the previous period. Thus, 55 contents support the Irish perspective, of which 33 are factually correct representations of the Unionist/British wrongdoings, and 22 are other actions that support the Irish position. 14 contents support the British perspective, of which 10 are recognition of Irish wrongdoings and 4 other contents supporting the British perspective, mostly showing British benevolence. The remaining 17 contents are doubtful contents supporting the British perspective, of these 10 are doubtful affirmations and 7 relativization of Unionist/British errors. Once again, in the analysed textbooks there were no doubtful contents supporting the Irish perspective. These could have been for instance related to the relativization of terrorist attacks carried out by the IRA, but no such narratives have been identified.

The content depth analysis carried out comparing the percentage of inclusion of the 55 contents supporting the Irish versus the 14 contents supporting the British/Unionist narrative however is much less relevant than in the previously analysed period. This is because there are many more contents (55) which support the Irish perspective and because the 14 contents which support the British/Unionist narrative are mostly related to the actions that the Irish Free State had taken in the interwar period and this lies outside of the scope of many analysed textbooks. Therefore, often only a few contents supporting the British/Unionist perspective are in the scope of the textbooks and thus the analysis is less meaningful. The averages by type of textbooks do not show bias in case of Irish and specialised English textbooks: Irish textbooks on average include 62% of the contents which support the Irish perspective and 64% of the contents which explain the British/Unionist perspective. Specialised English textbooks include 62% of both types of contents. Northern Irish textbooks show a small difference by including 53% of the

British/Unionist contents and 45% of the Irish contents, however, with the absolute number of the contents correctly supporting the British/Unionist perspective being so low, the difference is negligible. Across non-specialised English textbooks the difference is similar: they mention on average 20% of British/Unionist contents and 14% of Irish contents.

‘Myths’ in the representation of the Troubles

The analysis of the doubtful contents supporting the British/Unionist perspective is more interesting. On average specialised English textbooks include 44% of them, non-specialised English textbook 8%, Northern Irish textbooks 12% and Irish textbooks 6%. For the detailed evaluation of textbooks in terms of doubtful contents I have employed a new type of analysis. This consists of considering two or more contents together and based on the combined narrative of these contents to establish whether the textbook implies the validity of a ‘myth’. For example, one of the ‘myths’ is that the Irish Free State changed the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 unlawfully. In order to consider that the textbook implies the validity of this ‘myth’, it must have explained that the Irish Free State in 1937 changed its constitution and it should not have mentioned that the 1931 Statutes of Westminster allowed it to change unilaterally any law that the Westminster Parliament approved for its application in the dominions. The potential outcomes for the combination of the contents can be out-of-scope (the textbook does not cover the period in which the event happened), not treated (although the textbook deals with the period, the event is not mentioned at all), correct narrative (explaining that the myth is not true) and incorrect narrative (implying that the myth is true). The relevant result consists of the share of incorrect narratives from the total of correct and incorrect narratives (thus excluding the textbooks which have not treated these contents). 19 of these ‘myths’ have been considered. *Graphs 34 and 35* explain what these ‘myths’ are and how frequently their correctness is implied by textbooks. For this graph, I have grouped together English specialised and non-specialised textbooks as one category, given the sometimes very limited number of textbooks which deal with the content. I have listed the myths in chronological order for the ease of understanding.

Unsurprisingly, Irish textbooks mention these ‘myths’ with the lowest frequency, on average only 8%. Their most frequent incorrectness comes from making pupils believe that unionism widely supported the Good Friday Agreement, without mentioning that the

DUP was against it: 4 out of 5 textbooks forgot to include this content. Irish textbooks follow a traditional criticism with the IRA and Sinn Féin and thus they sometimes fail to mention points that could put into certain perspective their actions: the end of the IRA ceasefire in 1996 was preceded by the exclusion of Sinn Féin from the talks, and this could explain (although never justify) their renewed terrorist attacks. Only 2 out of 4 Irish textbooks that deal with the event explain the exclusion of Sinn Féin from the peace talks. Similarly, the fact the UVF was already active in 1966, several years before the IRA, is only mentioned in 2 out of 5 Irish textbooks and thus pupils could understand that paramilitary activity was initiated unilaterally by the IRA.

Graph 34: British-Unionist 'myths' told: 1 of 2

% of textbooks implying the validity of the 'myth' ¹	England	Ireland	Northern Ireland
• Irish Free State changed Anglo-Irish Treaty unlawfully	50	0	40
• Irish Free State sympathetic with Germany in WW2	50	0	0
• The Republic did not persecute the IRA during the Border campaign	50	0	40
• Discrimination of Catholics is their claim, not a fact	32	0	29
• Catholics in NI not worse off than poor Protestants	16	0	43
• Troubles between those who want independence and those who want to remain in the UK	29	0	0
• Protestant paramilitaries only established after IRA activity	80	40	40
• Civil rights movement was a cover for more extreme nationalists	56	0	0
• Civil rights marches directly to be blamed for riots	31	0	0

1. This analysis has been performed over 8 Northern Irish textbooks, 5 Irish textbooks, 6 specialised textbooks used in England and 31 non-specialised textbooks used in England. The % compares the number of textbooks which imply the validity of the myth with the total number of textbooks which either imply the validity or the incorrectness of the myth

Graph 35: British-Unionist 'myths' told: 2 of 2

% of textbooks implying the validity of the 'myth' ¹	England	Ireland	Northern Ireland
• All communities suffered equally during the 1969 riots	81	0	33
• Army sent in to control nationalist insurgency	7	0	0
• Catholics were against the army since their arrival	13	0	0
• Paramilitary violence one-sided: only IRA (Loyalists not mentioned)	19	0	0
• Internment justified and effective security measure	0	0	0
• Bloody Sunday deaths not the fault of the army	57	0	33
• Unionists not responsible for collapse of the Sunningdale power-sharing government	8	0	0
• Loyalists are loyal to the UK government (Anglo-Irish Agreement)	20	0	20
• IRA ended ceasefire in 1996 without any specific reason	83	50	50
• Unionism widely supported the Good Friday Agreement	50	80	50

1. This analysis has been performed over 8 Northern Irish textbooks, 5 Irish textbooks, 6 specialised textbooks used in England and 31 non-specialised textbooks used in England. The % compares the number of textbooks which imply the validity of the myth with the total number of textbooks which either imply the validity or the incorrectness of the myth

34% of these 19 ‘myths’ are incorrectly represented in textbooks used in England: a very significant share. The average is somewhat lower in specialised English textbooks (33% vs. 34% in non-specialised English textbooks), but the difference is so low that it seems the biased narratives are not based on the limited space available but are motivated by something more fundamental. In 10 out of the 19 ‘myths’ more than 50% of English textbooks which narrate the contents get it ‘right’, in case of 4 ‘myths’ half of English textbooks are correct and in case of 5 ‘myths’ more textbooks imply the validity of the ‘myth’ than those which explain its incorrectness. Northern Irish textbooks on average include 20% of these ‘myths’.

- The most frequent biases are not providing the explanation why the 1996 IRA ceasefire ended: the exclusion from peace talks (83%, 5 out of 6 textbooks); implying that all communities suffered equally the consequences of the 1969 riots by omitting to mention that Catholics were much stronger impacted (and thus Protestants committed many more hate crimes: 81%, 13 out of 16 textbooks); and that Protestant paramilitaries were only established after the IRA resumed its activity (80%, 8 out of 10 textbooks). It is interesting that in these cases only 50, 33 and 40% of Northern Irish textbooks include the incorrect narrative and that textbooks published by Hodder (which over previous periods often featured pro-Unionist bias) on average include less bias than those published by Colourpoint. Thus, Northern Irish textbooks from all overall sympathies seem to confirm that the correct version of these events is not the one told or implied by the majority of English textbooks.

- The next most frequent ‘myth’ in English textbooks might surprise us even more: 57% (4 out of 7) textbooks expressing an evaluation of Bloody Sunday make pupils believe that the deaths were not the fault of the army, but either of the demonstrators or that the circumstances are still unclear. In Northern Ireland one of three textbooks expresses a similar belief. It is interesting to observe that some of these examples of bias come from textbooks published after 2010, when the Saville Enquiry made the army’s responsibility clear: this is both the case of *Britain 1951-2007* (Lynch, 2015 (2)), an A-level textbook from England in its second edition from 2015 and the Northern Irish GCSE textbook *CCEA GCSE History Third Edition* (Madden & Clare, 2017). The latter Northern Irish textbook is a very interesting case, as the earlier version, from 2004 (Madden & McBride, 2004) – and thus published before the results of the Saville Enquiry were known – provided a more correct version of the events:

An official inquiry headed by Lord Widgery failed to provide a satisfactory conclusion to the events of what became known as Bloody Sunday, and a second tribunal was established in January 1998 to investigate the events of that day. (Madden & McBride, 2004, p. 128)

Source C. 'There would have been no deaths in Londonderry ... if those who organised the illegal march had not thereby created a highly dangerous situation in which a clash between demonstrators and the security forces was almost inevitable ... At one end of the scale some soldiers showed a high degree of responsibility; at the other ... firing bordered on the reckless ... None of the deceased or wounded is proved to have been shot while handling a firearm or bomb.' An extract from the Widgery Report into the events of Bloody Sunday. (p. 129)

This narrative can be understood as a confirmation that the original Widgery Report included some bias (although not clear where) and announced that a new investigation is taking place. We know that the original Widgery Report had been criticised as an attempt of whitewashing – as seen above partly blaming the organisers and not clearly condemning the killings –, but this is not clear from this textbook narrative. However, the 2017 version became worse: before reproducing the same quote it introduces the source material with the following sentence: 'an official inquiry headed by Lord Widgery failed to provide a satisfactory explanation, although it did establish that none of those who died had been carrying a weapon when shot (Source G)' (Madden & Clare, 2017, p. 160). All reference to the already concluded Saville Enquiry is missing, thus pupils will likely interpret this text and the same source material from the Widgery Report as a proof that the organisers were to be blamed. As the authors or editors had to make this adjustment between 2004 and 2017 after the publication of the Saville Enquiry, one can ask why a conscious decision had been made to omit the conclusions of such Enquiry, which completely change the perception of the reader about who was responsible.

This 2004 textbook is one of the only two textbooks which scored 0 for implying the validity of myths. However, the 2017 version includes 3 incorrect narratives. One of them is the example mentioned regarding Bloody Sunday, another one is the omission of the sentence included in the 2004 book on its page 100 that the Republic also persecuted IRA terrorists during the Border campaign and the third change is that while the 2004 version did not include the excuse that many Protestants also lived in poverty in Northern Ireland, the 2017 version includes this on its page 149. The problem with mentioning the

existence of poverty among Protestants is not that it would be untrue, but that in the context of describing the systematic discrimination suffered by Catholics it can give the impression that discrimination was not real, just imagined by Catholics. The existence of poverty among Protestants is not a rational argument against the existence of discrimination: discrimination does not mean that 100% of Catholics lived worse off than 100% of Protestants. Would any textbook argue that the civil rights movement in the US only claimed discrimination of the black minority, but that it was not real because there was also poverty among white people? Even with these three adverse changes, this 2017 textbook is still one of the least biased textbooks, only 3 out of 19 ‘myths’ (16%) are narrated incorrectly. Thus, the complaint is rather about the direction of the change between 2004 and 2017, especially when new evidence supports the opposite (as in case of Bloody Sunday).

- The fifth most frequent bias in English textbooks is claiming that the civil rights movement was a cover for more extreme nationalists: 56% of textbooks (5 out of 9) make us believe this version. No Northern Irish textbook tries to do the same.

- Half of all English textbooks (3 out of 6 textbooks) narrating the event imply that the Irish Free State changed the Anglo-Irish Treaty unlawfully – by describing its 1937 Constitution but not mentioning the Statutes of Westminster which allowed it to do so. The same proportion, 2 out of 4 textbooks, makes us believe that the Irish Free State was sympathetic with Nazi Germany during the Second World War. Also half of English textbooks (3 out of 6) appear to support the narrative that the Republic did somehow tolerate the IRA border campaign in 1956-62, omitting to mention that they also imprisoned IRA members. Also half of English textbooks (4 out of 8) forget to mention that the DUP and Ian Paisley were against the Good Friday Agreement, thus withholding important proof points about their stance towards the peace process. These ‘myths’ have also been supported by 40% (2 out of 5), 0%, 40% (2 out of 5) and 50% (2 out of 4) of Northern Irish textbooks, respectively.

The remaining ‘myths’ are mentioned by less than half of English textbooks, but this does not mean that their significance would be lesser:

- 32% (7 out of 19) of English textbooks narrate discrimination of Catholics as a claim not as a fact. In Northern Ireland it is 29% (2 out of 7). Considering that the

fact of discrimination had been recognised by the British government already in 1969¹⁶⁸, it would be about time to acknowledge the findings of this declaration as sufficient proof points. These narratives of ‘feeling discriminated’ appear sometimes in front of lengthy pages describing effective forms of discrimination, thus this initial positioning is even more incomprehensible. For instance, in the otherwise very reasonable *Northern Ireland and its neighbours since 1920* (Gillespie & Jones, 1995), which is the first cross-community textbook in Northern Ireland:

When Northern Ireland was created in 1920, the majority Protestant population wished to retain and strengthen the link with Britain. Over the following 50 years Catholics in Northern Ireland came to believe that they were disadvantaged within the state. (p. 31)

As the remaining 3 pages of the chapter are dedicated to the description of concrete examples of discrimination in allocation of votes, housing and jobs, the first sentence affirming the willingness of Protestants to remain part of the UK is completely out of context and the second sentence about the belief that there was discrimination is a sad attempt to reduce the severity of the undeniable facts presented in the following pages. One can do nothing else but ask if the author of this introductory paragraph was the same person as the one who wrote the rest of the chapter?

- 16% (3 out of 19) of English and 43% (3 out of 7) of Northern Irish textbooks claim that Catholics in Northern Ireland were not worse off than poor Protestants – I have already highlighted earlier the biased nature of this comparison when narrating the discrimination of Catholics.

¹⁶⁸ *Britain in the Twentieth Century, A Documentary Reader, Volume II, 1939-1970*, a reading book, includes as source material the Downing Street Declaration from 19 August 1969, which apart from assuring that the issue is not a revision of partition, reflects on the British military being sent to Northern Ireland ‘in order to restore law and order’ (Butler & Jones, 1995, p. 292) and refers at length to the required measures to ensure the end of discrimination. This part of the source makes it totally clear that discrimination existed, what it consisted of and that the UK government was fully aware of it.

5. The United Kingdom Government have welcomed the decisions of the Northern Ireland Government relating to local government franchise, the revision of local government areas, the allocation of houses, the creation of a Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration in Northern Ireland and machinery to consider citizens’ grievances against other public authorities which the Prime Minister reported to the House of Commons at Westminster following his meeting with Northern Ireland Ministers on 21st May as demonstrating the determination of the Northern Ireland Government that there shall be full equality of treatment for all citizens. Both governments have agreed that it is vital that the momentum of internal reform should be maintained.

6. The two governments at their meeting at 10 Downing Street today have reaffirmed that in all legislation and executive decisions of Government every citizen of Northern Ireland is entitled to the same equality of treatment and freedom from discrimination as obtains in the rest of the United Kingdom, irrespective of political views or religion. In their further meetings the two Governments will be guided by these mutually accepted principles. (pp. 292-293)

- 29% (9 out of 31) of English, but no Northern Irish textbooks describe the Troubles as a confrontation between those who wanted to remain in the UK and those who wanted independence. McKittrick & McVea make clear that this is not true, as the origin of the conflict lies in religious discrimination and the following civil rights movement. Later, many attempts to find solution failed not because of the republican wish to become independent, but because of the Unionist-Loyalist opposition to any solution which implied sharing power with the previously discriminated Catholic population. Even the final solution, the Good Friday Agreement, has been just about supported by a slight majority of Protestants. Therefore, this positioning of the conflict – which aims that a loyal and a rebellious faction of the population confronted each other – is probably the most screwed propaganda that found its way into a very significant share of English textbooks.

- 31% (5 out of 16) of English textbooks – all non-specialised – and no Northern Irish textbooks claim that the civil rights marches directly can be blamed for the violent confrontation with the police and the riots, without explaining government and Unionist interventions that actually prompted these results. For instance, in *A history of Britain from 1867*, a GCSE textbook, which in a highly simplifying way states that:

Disturbances took place at the end of 1968 and in 1969, when members of the [Civil Rights] association clashed violently with the ‘B’ Specials, part of the armed police force of Northern Ireland. (Martell, 1988, p. 253)

Even among textbooks which explain the government intervention and the Unionist disruption of civil rights marches, highlighting their role in the escalation of the conflict, there is still an attempt to show a level of doubt about the demands and legality of NICRA, and sometimes even directly blaming them to be a cover for the IRA early in the conflict – when the same textbooks later confirm that the IRA basically did not exist at that time. For instance, in *Questions in Irish history: Ireland since 1923. Politics or violence?*, a KS3 and GCSE specialised textbook from 1993, as the below text shows. Pages 37, 38, 39 and 41 narrate IRA connections with the civil rights marches as matters of fact. Later, pages 44 and 45 provide proof points that the IRA was not there yet when the previously mentioned events happened. In between, page 42 refers to the Cameron Commission Report (organised by the Northern Irish government) which confirms that the civil rights marches were legal but that they eventually could be used by republicans. So, what explains this truth-bending on pages 37-39 and 41?

Catholic-supported marches had always in the past been connected with nationalist claims, and many Protestants automatically assumed that the marches of the later 1960s were nothing more than protests by Catholics who wanted to end partition. Well-known Nationalist and IRA members could be seen at most marches which gave grounds for the view of some Protestants that the civil rights movement was little more than a new form of nationalist campaigning. Some Unionist groups branded them as disloyal citizens seeking to undermine the unionist ascendancy and counter-demonstrated whenever civil rights marches were held. Clashes between the opposing groups became inevitable. (Reid, 1993, p. 37)

William Craig, the Minister for Home Affairs, shared the belief of militant loyalists that NICRA was under IRA control and he forbade the march to enter the walled part of the city. (...) The events in Londonderry [5 October 1968] and the attention they received had a dramatic impact. Republicans jumped on the civil rights bandwagon. They added republican demands to those for civil rights so that Catholic moderates in NICRA were gradually pushed aside. (p. 38)

However, People's Democracy decided to go ahead with a march of their own... on 1 January 1969 they began a 75-mile march from Belfast to Londonderry, claiming it was to press the case for civil rights. Many Protestants and Catholics, however, felt that the march would provoke further incidents. They had some grounds for this view because in 1968 there had been a series of student-led demonstrations against established governments in America and Europe. In Paris they had brought the city to a standstill and nearly toppled the French government. NICRA refused to have anything to do with the march but militant unionists harassed People's Democracy along the route. On 4 January, near Burntollet Bridge, a few miles from Londonderry, the marchers were attacked with stones and bricks. That night in Londonderry there was an extreme unionist attack on nationalists. Many nationalists were convinced that the RUC had made it easy for the ambush and the night-time attacks to take place. When Lord Cameron reported on the events the following year he made the point that the police believed they had to face either the nationalists or unionists and that they had reason to fear the greatest risk was from IRA activities. (p. 39)

[After O'Neill's resignation in 1969] On the other hand, no reforms could satisfy militant republicans who were using the civil rights movement to challenge Unionist dominance. (p. 41)

The Cameron Commission Report. B3. The Cameron Commission on the Civil Rights Association. "...has so far been able to maintain its avowed policy of non-violent protests and agitation within the limits of the law... But there is an instrument, already constituted and organised, which could without any excessive difficulty be infiltrated by

those whose intentions are far other than peaceful and constitutional. We have already commented on the presence of IRA sympathisers and members within the Association and their acting as stewards on the occasions of marches or demonstrations." (From the Cameron Commission Report, 1969) (p. 42)

B2: The Cameron Commission on events in Londonderry "A number of policemen were guilty of misconduct which involved assault and battery, malicious damage to property in streets in the predominantly Catholic Bogside area ... and the use of provocative sectarian and political slogans." (From the Cameron Commission Report, 1969) (p. 42)

Twenty years later, Hestor McCarthy, a Catholic living in West Belfast, described the loyalist attacks of August 1969. Hestor McCarthy's account; "The police never entered the place, they just let them do it ... As for the IRA, they get the blame on many things but I can tell you they weren't there. There was no IRA. Those were just three letters." (The Sunday Tribune, 13 August 1989). (p. 44)

A statement from the new Provisional IRA ... (Irish Times, 29 December 1969). (p. 45)

Throughout 1970 the IRA recruited members and support in Belfast. Although they played a small part in the events in the Falls Road in June and July they gained the reputation they were looking for - as 'defenders' of the Catholic population. (p. 45)

- One out of 15 English textbooks (7%) states that the British Army has been sent to Northern Ireland in order to control Catholics: 'by August 1969 fighting between Catholics and the Protestant police was out of control. The British government stepped in and sent British troops to restore order' (McAleavy, 1999, p. 32) (*Conflict in Ireland. From origins to the peace agreement*, Schools History Project for KS3 and GCSE, specialised textbook). This interpretation stands in stark contrast with other textbooks which either tell us that they were called in to keep peace in general (10 textbooks) or to protect Catholics (4 textbooks): 'the stationing of troops in Northern Ireland, originally intended as a temporary measure to protect the Catholic community from Protestant attacks, was a critical milestone' (Butler & Jones, 1995, p. 291) (*Britain in the Twentieth Century, A Documentary Reader, Volume I, 1900-1939*, GCSE); '...the Labour Home Secretary James Callaghan, expressed his belief that military intervention was required by the British army to protect Catholic areas from attacks by Protestant mobs' (Murphy, Goodlad, & Staton, 2008, p. 285) (*Britain 1895-1951 and Ireland 1914-2007*, A-level specialised); or 'the official reason was to protect the Catholic population against Loyalist attacks. At first Catholics welcomed British troops as impartial or neutral peace-keepers'

(Doherty, 2001, p. 11) (*Northern Ireland since c.1960*, KS3 and GCSE, specialised textbook).

Although I am not sure if it can be concluded that the only reason for sending in troops was to protect Catholics from Loyalist attacks, the interpretation given above that the reason was the fighting between Catholics and the Protestant police force, is clearly factually incorrect and it gives the perception as if violence was one-sided, eliminating any hint of agency from the Protestant paramilitaries.

- One of eight English textbooks (13%) implies that Catholics were against the army since its arrival, when most textbooks confirm the opposite – as the previous quote also confirms.

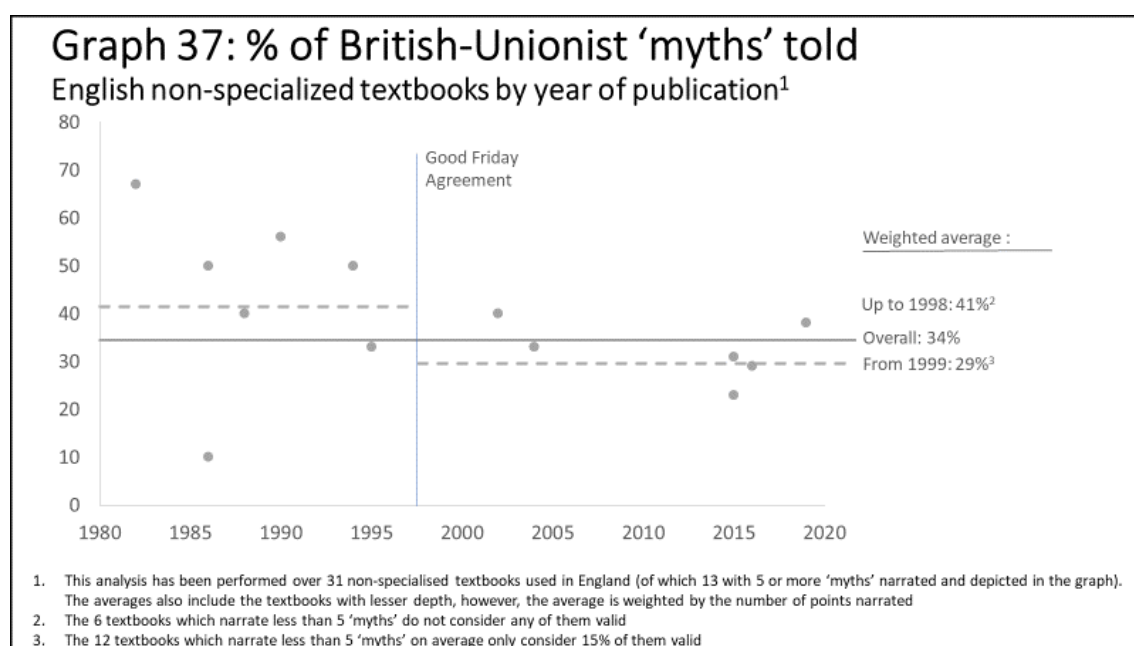
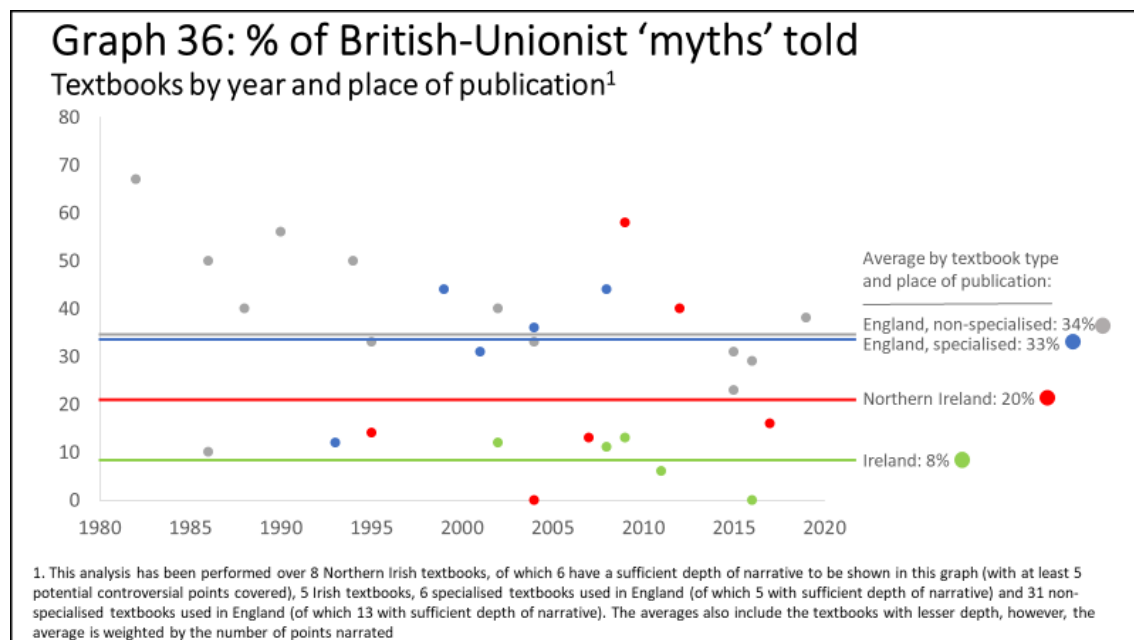
- Three out of 16 English textbooks (19%) make us believe that violence was a monopoly of republicans through the IRA by not mentioning the existence of similar Loyalist organisations nor their actions.

- Fortunately no English textbook justifies the implementation of internment without trial without mentioning its sectarian nature (only Catholics were imprisoned although violence happened on both sides) or that it failed to identify the rights targets of the newly formed Provisional IRA as the intelligence was outdated. However, two Northern Irish textbooks partially defend its implementation for there being no other option, even if later highlighting its shortcomings in terms of effectiveness and sectarian nature.

- One out of 12 English textbooks (8%) support the view that the collapse of the Sunningdale power sharing government was not because of Unionists. *Britain in the Modern World* (GCSE) does not name who was at fault, but both Unionists and Nationalist could be responsible: ‘since 1972 the British government has tried to get the Unionists and Nationalists to share power in Northern Ireland. These efforts have failed because of continued mistrust’ (Cloake, 1994, p. 72). In addition, another textbook (*Britain 1929-98* (Rowe, 2004)) provides contrasting narratives, we will see this example later in detail.

- Two out of ten English textbooks (20%) and one out of five Northern Irish textbooks dealing with the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 do not mention the vehement and prolonged Loyalist protests against it and thus contribute to the perception that Loyalists were not the cause of the lack of peace in this period.

Analysing the frequency of the ‘myths’ by textbook is also an insightful exercise. *Graph 36* shows the distribution of textbooks by year and place of publication. In this graph only textbooks which have treated a minimum of 5 ‘myths’ are included, either confirming its validity or the opposite.



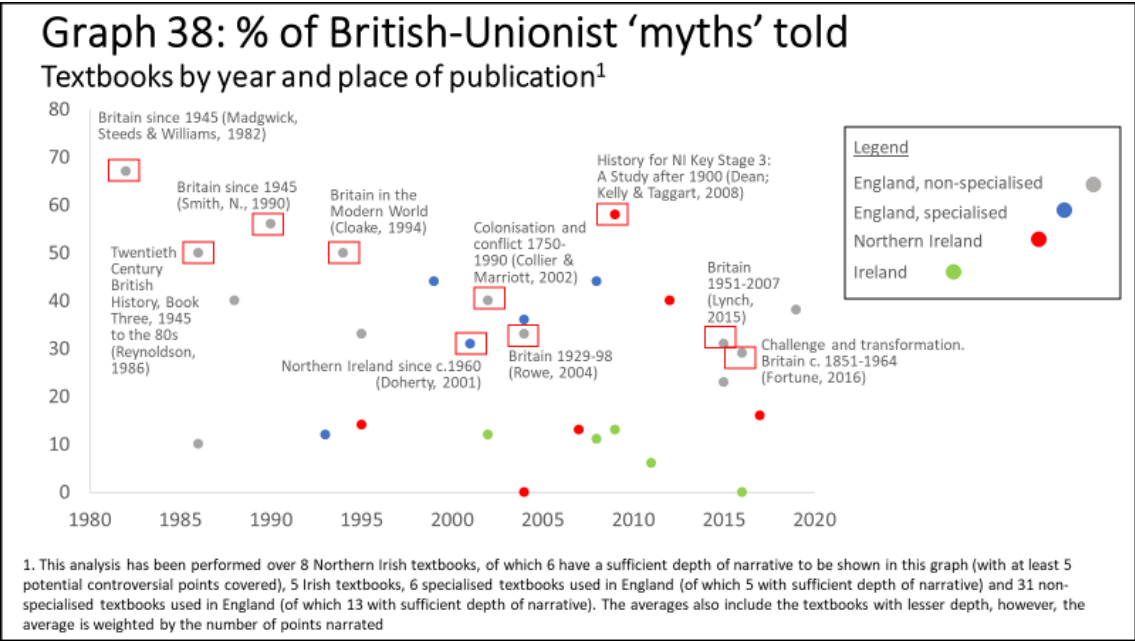
Graph 36 visualises how the grey points – representing non-specialised textbooks used in England – are generally above other colours, meaning that they on average featured more frequently narratives that claim the validity of these myths. The blue points – representing specialised English textbook – are generally concentrated in the middle of

the graph, having been written between 1999 and 2008, and narrating between 31 and 44% of the ‘myths’ as valid. Here the ‘outlier’ is a 1993 textbook – interestingly written before the Good Friday Agreement and even the IRA ceasefire – which includes the lowest share of biased narratives, only 12%. Red points – depicting Northern Irish textbooks – are more dispersed.

It is interesting to observe that the share of ‘myths’ narrated as valid decline over time in case of the grey points – showing non-specialised textbooks used in England. This can be more clearly observed in *Graph 37*, which zooms in on non-specialised English textbooks. Before the Good Friday Agreement, 41% of the ‘myths’ were considered valid, this percentage dropped to 29% after.

Detailed qualitative analysis of selected textbooks

Also in case of this period it is relevant to review the narrative of some of these textbooks in detail. *Graph 38* shows which textbooks have been chosen for this exercise, for including a high share of narratives in which the ‘myths’ appear as valid. As the graph also illustrates, for English and Northern Irish textbooks we can find examples from the same side of the conflict where a different evaluation of the events has taken place.



Britain since 1945 (Madgwick, Steeds, & Williams, 1982)

In *Britain since 1945*, a non-specialised A-level textbook from England (Madgwick, Steeds, & Williams, 1982), the major shortfall is depicting the IRA as the organiser of the civil rights marches and the failure of including any detail about what the protestant paramilitaries did. The existence of protestant paramilitaries is mentioned very briefly, while the deeds of the IRA are described at length. Also the civil rights marchers are seen as inconvenient disruptors, not as people who demonstrate against real discrimination – even if the facts of discriminations are recognised by the authors (although not all of them are described, e.g. property qualification for local elections, business vote). The Irish government is also subject to critique. The responsibility of the Ulster Workers' Union for bringing down the power-sharing Sunningdale government is explained, but there is no indication that the union was a unionist organisation, nor that protestant paramilitaries stood behind the organisation of the strike. This textbook supports six of the 'myths': a) the Irish Republic did not do enough to persecute the IRA during its border campaign; b) the Troubles were between those who wanted independence and those who were loyal; c) the Protestant paramilitaries were only established after the IRA; d) the civil rights movement was a cover for nationalists; e) civil rights marches directly can be blamed for the riots; and f) the consequences of the 1969 riots were not over-proportional among Catholics.

Britain since 1945 highlights the importance of history before explaining the direct reasons for the outburst of the conflict. Among these, a violent tradition of the nationalist movement is mentioned, without making a similar point about similar inclinations of Unionists. The text also makes a reference that Catholics welcomed power-sharing, without mentioning the Protestant position (refusal) about the same. Therefore, the reader would think that the long-term responsibility for the conflict lies with the Unionist politicians who perpetrated discrimination (explained in a previous paragraph), the Irish government for not doing enough to please the Ulster Unionists, and the Catholics of the North as a community which welcomed violence and lacked loyalty to Northern Ireland. In this text, no structural blame is placed on the Protestant community for supporting the discrimination and not accepting power-sharing:

The elements of conflict were clearly present in Irish history and its simplified interpretations, in the religious differences of the peoples of Northern Ireland, and in the

Republican Nationalism of the Catholics and of the Southern Irish. History was remembered because it seemed to be relevant to the present (...)

Religion was the form in which the conflict went on; the substance of the conflict was religion, nationality, discrimination (...)

A Catholic population which held to its own Irish nationalism. That nationalist tradition included a long historical memory, an admiration for martyrdom and no strong distaste for blood; and the technical, financial, and organisational capability to engage in sophisticated forms of violence. Surveys showed that between a fifth and a half of the Catholic population preferred reunification with the South. Few loved Stormont. But between these two positions, power-sharing was welcomed and direct rule came to be accepted.

The government in the South did little to conciliate the Protestant Unionists of the North. It established its formal independence, built into its constitution a special place for the Catholic church, yielded to Catholic influences in its family and medical policies, remained neutral in the war of 1939-45, and did less than it might have done to suppress the IRA and guard the border. (pp. 328-329)

The textbook explains the 'immediate causes of the outbreak', listing first the expectations unsuccessfully raised by the government of Terence O'Neill which ultimately caused insecurity in the Protestants; and the civil rights movement which is seen as 'demonstrators and disrupters rather than gunmen' (p. 329). The narrative then continues with 'the emergence of the "Provisional" wing of the IRA, a reborn revolutionary movement, impatient for action, and ready for violence' (p. 330) – which the authors claim to be related to the civil rights movements: 'the IRA was certainly active in both movements [People's Democracy and Civil Rights Association]' (p. 329) – and finally the self-generating violence.

In the description of the violence, mostly the civil rights marchers are blamed, but also the police. There is no action attributed to the Loyalist paramilitaries, when mentioned, these are impersonal 'was ambushed', the only mention of their existence is the list of the private armies in Northern Ireland at the end of the paragraph, narrating the situation after 1969. It is telling that when evaluating the actions of the civil rights movement, 'deliberately' crossing a Protestant area accounts as a major provocation: this interpretation implies that the US civil rights activists aiming for equality of the black population should have stayed in their neighbourhoods, without disturbing those who discriminated against them.

Violence, once it began, was self-generating. It began in October 1968 with a CRA [Civil Rights Association] march on Londonderry, planned deliberately to pass through a Protestant part of the city, and along a traditional Protestant route, in defiance of a government ban. There followed a chaotic battle, in which the police used batons and eventually water cannons at close range, while the marchers threw placards, banners and stones. It was all shown on television. An incident which might have been contained burst into civil war. In January 1969 a march organized by PD [People's Democracy] was ambushed, and later the police, overreacting to provocation, mounted an assault on the Catholic area of Londonderry, the Bogside (...) British troops moved in to restore order. But they faced not just a civil rights movement in conflict with the police, but an increasing civil war between four private armies, the Official and Provisional IRA, and the Protestant Ulster Defence Association and Ulster Volunteer Force. (p. 330)

It is worth to note that the emergence of the Provisional IRA in this narrative is not specifically dated, but the order of the paragraphs imply that it should have happened before October 1968. We know that this is not correct and that they were only established by the end of 1969.

This textbook only very briefly mentions Bloody Sunday, without any reference to the cause of the march (internment) and who killed the civilians (the army): 'the fighting came to a peak in 1971-2 with a tragic climax in Londonderry in 1972 – "Bloody Sunday" – when thirteen civilians were shot dead during a massive civil rights march' (p. 330).

On pages 330-331, the Sunningdale agreement and its collapse are explained. Although it is clear that the strike of the Ulster Workers' Council brought it down, it is not explained who they were and whether they counted with any political and paramilitary support (which they did, on the Loyalist side). With that, it is questionable whether the reader would be able to come to a correct conclusion about who was responsible for the collapse of the agreement, also considering that many references are made to Nationalist actions either before the agreement (boycott of the border referendum) or after (the Birmingham bombing). The portrayal of the Birmingham bombing is also relevant by the circumstance that the textbook has been published before it became clear that the convictions were incorrect and thus the authors felt the need to stress the personal circumstances of the perpetrators as 'Irishmen who had been living peacefully in the area for years' (p. 331), thus hinting at fanaticism.

The final evaluation of the period in *Britain since 1945* also makes clear that it considers that violence has been only perpetrated by the IRA, without mentioning Protestant paramilitaries. It recognises the existence of the two sides, but it seems as if the Protestants were only ‘bigots’ while the Catholics were ‘gunmen’. It is also questionable whether it can be considered that the IRA ‘brought down the Ulster government’, as the devolved government ended after Bloody Sunday, when reportedly the IRA has still been very weak; thus it should be rather said that the civil rights movement and its own incapacity to handle the situation made the Stormont government to fail.

The history of Northern Ireland from 1968 demonstrated the difficulties of opposing force by force within a policy aimed at pacification rather than conquest and unconditional surrender. A dozen colonial wars around the world had shown too that it is not possible to fight a civilised and moderate war against armed irregular forces. The ‘guerrilla’ or ‘terrorist’ is unlikely to lose a war fought on his own terms.

In Northern Ireland the security operation was particularly difficult. The British Army inherited the illegitimacy of the Northern Ireland security forces (...)

The IRA was remarkably successful in sustaining a campaign which brought down the Ulster government, and opened the whole question of its future status (...) Like many subversive movements the IRA had been skilful in provoking a response which they could denounce to sympathizers as tyrannical.

(...) The gunman-martyr faced the Protestant bigot. (pp. 331-333)

On a positive note, the text recognises the similarities with other colonial struggles. The question is, however, why the authors do not connect the Irish situation when describing the different colonial conflicts represented earlier in the textbook, which seem to be more sympathetic to the cause of those fighting against colonial oppressors? The following pages narrate the decolonisation of other regions and in them it appears Britain ‘did not fight at all’ to keep its colonies and that it benevolently educated them to become independent as part of the ‘white man’s burden’!

Britain shared with France and with Portugal the problem of what to do about colonies which had a substantial white settler population with influential political friends back in the mother country. The settlers wanted, naturally enough, but against natural justice and the tide of history, to retain control over the immensely larger native population. In the early years of empire the question was resolved in favour of the settlers, in Australia, in New Zealand, Canada and South Africa the natives were destroyed or at

least dominated. After 1945 the question was resolved in favour of the indigenous population, though not without struggle and bloodshed (...)

The British, by contrast, did not fight at all to hold on to the bigger or more important (economically or strategically) parts of the empire (...)

(...) the eventual independence of the colonies, dependencies and protectorates had always been a part of British imperial thinking. The preparation of the various parts of the empire for eventual independence through a process of economic and social development and of education was seen as an important aspect of the 'white man's burden'.

The steady but rapid growth of nationalist movements in various parts of the empire meant that in the long run it could only be kept in being by a policy of repression and murder on a massive scale, a policy that no British government of whatever political persuasion was ever willing to countenance, at least in the long term. The example of Britain in this respect affords a pleasant contrast to the short-lived attempts of France and Portugal to retain their colonies and the more sustained and successful efforts of Russia and China. (pp. 281-282)

Naturally, the above quotes did not withstand the changing standards of the last 42 years (e.g. 'white man's burden'), and one can also doubt that they were correct at the moment they were written (e.g. Britain peacefully withdrew). However, it is easy to see the logical parallels with the history of Ireland: a large settler population which wants to keep its power and the impossibility to fight the 'liberation' movements. Although the authors sustain that Britain (unlike France and Portugal) withdrew gracefully from its possessions, probably many Irishmen would have a different point of view about this. Maybe because Ireland obtained semi-independence already in 1921, much earlier in the twentieth century, it is not considered among the countries that left the empire?

Twentieth Century British History, Book Three, 1945 to the 80s (Reynoldson, 1986)

The Key Stage 3 textbook *Twentieth Century British History, Book Three, 1945 to the 80s* provides a very interesting simplified account of the Troubles. What is remarkable is that it makes clear that the conflict started with the civil rights movement in a quite friendly tone, however in continuation it completely omits the existence of Protestant paramilitary forces and their actions (against the civil rights marchers initially and later in the conflict as part of the fighting forces) and visualises violence as the result of only IRA-originated actions. The only example when victims of the British army are

mentioned is related to an accident and thus the book does not explain other significant examples such as the Falls Curfew or Bloody Sunday. This dichotomy between the clear sympathies of the author with the civil rights movement (and also other Irish nationalist aims in Books One and Two) and the one-sided representation of violence raises the question of whether any (self-)censorship has been applied?

Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association. Some Catholics joined together. They wanted to be treated fairly. They went on marches. They carried banners. They wanted jobs. They wanted decent homes. The marches were stopped by the police. Many people said that the Protestant police were violent to the Catholic marchers.

Street violence. There was more and more violence. Catholics fought Protestants. The police could not keep order. The government in Northern Ireland could not keep order. It was 1970. The British government stepped in. The British government sent soldiers to keep order. They were to keep order between the Catholics and the Protestants. Many Catholics and Protestants hated violence. They welcomed the British soldiers.

The Irish Republican Army. Sadly, the violence got worse. The Irish Republican Army stepped in. It was called the IRA for short. The IRA wanted Northern Ireland to join the rest of Ireland. Then there would be one Ireland. It would have nothing to do with Britain. That was its dream. But the rest of Ireland was Catholic. The Northern Ireland Protestants were afraid. They did not want to join the rest of Ireland.

More violence. Soon both sides fired guns. Soon the IRA used bombs. The IRA wanted the British soldiers to go. Quite quickly the sides looked like this: - Protestants and British soldiers, - Catholics and the IRA. The IRA attacked the British soldiers. The IRA made bombs. Sometimes the bombs blew up ordinary people walking along the street. But the British soldiers tried to keep the peace. But their roughness and toughness sometimes annoyed ordinary people. Ordinary people did not like soldiers with guns standing on the street corner. One day an IRA gunman was getting away. He was driving a fast car. A British soldier shot the IRA gunman. He shot him dead. The car went out of control. It smashed up on to the pavement. It killed three children. Many ordinary people were very, very upset. (pp. 49-50).

Britain since 1945 (Smith N., 1990)

The KS3 textbook *Britain since 1945* dedicates 2 pages to *Northern Ireland: violence and division* (pp. 44-45). This textbook has been earlier mentioned as the one with clear bias in the tone of its narrative for favouring the British-Unionist perspective and it includes five different ‘myths’. Although it recognises the discrimination against

the Catholics and the fact that the conflict started with the civil rights movement, it paints a picture as if the whole conflict became dominated by the IRA as early as 1969 and if Protestant paramilitaries joined only later (and not during the civil rights protests). We should also note the difference in the representation of Ms Devlin as ‘fiery’ and ‘expressing the anger’, when the Northern Ireland police is seen as ‘firmly resisting’ – a much more positive image.

Bernadette Devlin, a fiery, twenty-one-year-old civil rights activist, became their champion when she was elected to Parliament to express the anger of the Catholic community. This is what she had to say about the situation: ‘We will fight for justice. If it becomes necessary, we will simply make it impossible for any unjust government to govern us.’ The Northern Ireland authorities firmly resisted the mounting protests and the police reacted strongly, some said brutally, to stop demonstrations. As violence escalated in August 1969, the British army was sent in to keep order. In the same year the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA) began its campaign of terrorism to drive the British from Northern Ireland and to unite all of Ireland. (...) The horror of the violence deepened the divisions within Northern Ireland and strengthened the determination of both sides to secure victory. Protestant paramilitary groups joined the urban terrorist warfare.’ (*Smith N.* , 1990, p. 44)

Regarding the collapse of the Sunningdale agreement, this textbook – without blaming directly – uses a succession of sentences which gives the perception as if nationalists would have been behind the failure:

A solution appeared impossible and certainly the government would not accept these IRA demands: - British troops to be withdrawn by 1975. - Amnesty for political prisoners. - Inhabitants of all Ireland to decide the issue of Northern Ireland. (...) Between 1971 and 1974, the IRA conducted a campaign of attacks on the British mainland with bomb explosions in stores and pubs. The IRA could not succeed but neither could the government eliminate the terrorist threat, and the dreadful violence has continued for over twenty years. There have been attempts to share power amongst the two communities and later, in the 1980s, for the British and Irish government to work together more closely under the Anglo-Irish Agreement; yet it has proved impossible to reconcile the divisions at the root of the problem. (p. 45)

After the Good Friday Agreement it is easy to be wiser, however, this narrative does not reflect the reality about what happened. In the timeline summary, on page 57, it remarks in 1973 ‘IRA bombing campaign in London’, however there is no mention to the

largest bombing of the period, perpetrated by Unionists in Dublin in 1974. There is a short biography of Ian Paisley, explaining that:

Ian Paisley is a Protestant minister who is very outspoken in his defence of the union of Northern Ireland with the rest of the United Kingdom. He came into limelight in the late 1960s as a strong opponent of the rising protests by the Roman Catholics in Northern Ireland. (p. 55)

The text does not say the obvious: if he was an opponent of the protests, and the protests were against discrimination (as page 44 already confirmed), then he was in favour of discrimination. The text could have maybe also added his view of the Pope being the Antichrist and his pray to God for vengeance on Prime Minister Thatcher after the signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement in 1985 for being a ‘wicked, treacherous lying woman’. Probably this is not what the ‘very outspoken defence of the union’ means? Beyond irony, it is also important to highlight that the text positions him as an opponent of the Catholic protests, but it does not explain that his opposition started much earlier and was directed towards the reforms of Northern Ireland Prime Minister O’Neill.

Britain in the Modern World (Cloake, 1994)

Britain in the Modern World (GCSE) includes many specific examples of discrimination on pages 68-69, however, they are positioned not as a fact, but as a Catholic view. A quote also introduces the argument that poor Protestants lived in similar conditions. In contrast to the previous examples, however, this textbook recognises that the IRA was not behind the riots and proves this with the results of the official investigation from 1972:

Causes of the Troubles: conclusions. In 1972 The Report of the Tribunal of Inquiry by Justice Scarman, an English Judge, came to the following conclusion about the outbreak of the ‘Troubles’. ‘Neither the IRA nor any Protestant organisation planned the riots. They arose from a complex political, social and economic situation. The events of 1968-9 convinced many Protestants that Catholics were trying to end the links between Northern Ireland and the United Kingdom. The same events made Catholics believe that the police were their enemy. There were six occasions during these riots when the police were seriously at fault.’ (p. 71)

In an attempt to whitewash Protestant responsibility, over Sunningdale the textbook does not say who brought the agreement down ‘since 1972 the British

government has tried to get the Unionists and Nationalists to share power in Northern Ireland. These efforts have failed because of continued mistrust' (p. 72).

Interestingly, page 94 returns to an achievement of the Civil Rights movement, proportional representation, without mentioning them, and positioning this improvement as one of the examples of self-governance in the UK: '1973: Proportional representation introduced into Northern Ireland for the Northern Irish Assembly' – but again there is no mention that Unionists brought down the devolved Sunningdale power-sharing government shortly after.

There is no mention of Protestant paramilitaries, except for a quote from Paisley which implies that Protestants also practiced violence, although no Loyalist actions are explained at all. The text only refers to terrorism from the IRA.

If we cannot arrest the IRA and disarm them, they are going to kill us. We have not the right but the duty to kill them before they kill me, my family and others. The ordinary Ulsterman is not going to surrender to the IRA, or be betrayed into a united Ireland, or put his neck under the jackboot of Popery. Ian Paisley, Democratic Unionist Party, January 1982. (p. 67).

Colonisation and Conflict (Collier & Marriott, 2002)

In this KS3 textbook in the narrative of the outbreak of the Troubles events which should explain Protestant agency are frequently downplayed and instead the responsibility of Catholics is highlighted. For instance, in the textbook's wording, after recognising some of the forms of discrimination that Catholics faced, 'many Catholics became impatient' during the well-intentioned reforms of O'Neill and it was NICRA's demonstrations that 'provoked a violent reaction' (p. 231). Thus, one would believe that the side responsible for the Protestant violence against the peaceful demonstrations were the demonstrators themselves. A similar argumentation has been used by other contemporary discriminative regimes – in the USA or in South Africa – but in 2002 in the UK this sounds surprising! The textbook continues with explaining how Ian Paisley 'opposed giving in to Catholic demands'. An unbiased narrative should explain that Paisley effectively started his opposition before NICRA was even established and it was directed against the government of Northern Ireland, led by O'Neill. On the following pages, examples of both Nationalist and Unionist violence are explained, however acts of

violence perpetrated by the British Army are omitted: both during the Falls Road Curfew (which was a main catalyser for the (re-)establishment the (P)IRA), as well as Bloody Sunday (which then led to direct rule).

We hear about the collapse of the IRA ceasefire in 1996, but not that they have not been admitted to the peace talks before. We also learn about the Good Friday Agreement, but not about Paisley's and the DUP's opposition.

Britain 1929-98 (Rowe, 2004)

The introduction to the relevant chapter of the A-level textbook *Britain 1929-98* rightly explains the different interpretations and clarifies that objectivity is impossible. However, the following pages give the perception as if the text had been written in different moments, a first version clearly against Republicans, with pretended neutrality, but playing with proof points to cause the impression of Republican accountability. On the other hand, later pages introduce clarifications when it becomes clear that both sides can be blamed. An example is the narrative of the failure of the Sunningdale Agreement, page 142 gives the impression that both sides were to be blamed, but then page 145, when mentioning the Protestant opposition to the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement, also recognises that 1974 was similarly fault of Loyalists.

The definition of the word 'Troubles' contained in the different textbooks itself can show a high degree of identification with a specific narrative of the events. Already with the hindsight of the Good Friday Agreement, *Britain 1929-98* provides the following introduction, challenging previous definitions that considered that only the Republican/Irish Nationalist side represents a nationalist movement: 'the "Troubles" involved a clash of nationalisms, between Unionists and Loyalists on one side and Nationalists and Republicans on the other' (p. 137).

There is no mention of any specific forms of discrimination, the text 'the Nationalist Catholic minority lived in clearly demarcated districts and felt themselves to be trapped in a position of economic inferiority and political helplessness' (p. 139) falls very short of explaining the seriousness of the situation, as it was not just about who is in the government, but also equality of vote, equal opportunities in terms of employment and social housing. Even if the chapter summary of this textbook recognises that many relevant facts are missing, this textbook has arguably failed to provide the essential

perspective to understand the situation of discrimination which provided the base for the civil rights movement:

Many important events and individuals have been left out; many questions and debates have been left unresolved. The key to understanding Northern Ireland is not to know all its bewildering events in detail; rather, it is a matter of perspectives. (p. 149)

This textbook formally recognises the fact that the origin of the Troubles was the civil rights movement, which ‘was met by Loyalist violence’, however, by the amount of space it dedicates in continuation to describing the thoughts (and not yet actions) of the IRA, it leaves no doubt about who it considers to be the main actor in the sequence of the events:

The key pressure for change in 1968 came from the Civil Rights Movement. Opinion in Britain, mostly very indifferent to Northern Irish affairs, was quite easily persuaded, once it did become aware of the issues, by arguments in favour of equality of opportunity. The original leaders of the Civil Rights Movement were a long way from terrorists. They made reasonable demands. Moreover, the Civil Rights Movement, at first, was not purely Catholic and claimed to be non-sectarian. The Labour government in London, led by Harold Wilson, had more sympathy with civil rights and reform than with Protestant Unionism. In late 1968 and early 1969, the Civil Rights Movement was met by Loyalist violence and overtaken by counter-violence and the rise of the Provisional IRA. Why this happened is relatively easy to explain in terms of events and personalities; but it is impossibly difficult to reach any accepted conclusions as to who was to blame.

The Civil Rights Movement launched an effective campaign of marches and protests in 1968. At this time, the IRA was both weak and divided, and the onset of violence in 1969 caught the IRA unprepared. Its leader, Cathar Goulding, was regarded as obsessed with left-wing ideology. As the violence spread, so those IRA men who took a more traditional approach to the use of force gained more support. This was how the Provisional IRA came into existence, on the streets in 1969, even though the movement as it is known today did not formally emerge until January 1970.

Key person: Cathal Goulding (1922-1998) Marxist theorist who was the leader of the ‘Official’ IRA in the late 1960s. Impatience with his intellectual approach helped lead to the formation of the Provisional IRA. (p. 140)

The textbook narrative puts more emphasis on how the civil rights movement has been overtaken by the IRA instead of explaining in more detail what is meant by it being ‘met by Loyalist violence’ or by the words ‘as the violence spread’ (p. 140). Who were the people and political forces behind the spread of violence? The next page, 141,

provides a detailed account of the events in 1968-70, however, there is not one mention of who committed the atrocities against the civil rights marches: '1968 October: Violent incidents during the civil rights march in Derry' and '1969 January: People's Democracy march from Belfast to Derry attacked at Burntollet Bridge'. In contrast, when Catholics are to blame, they are named: '1969 (...) August: Londonderry Apprentice Boys march stoned by Catholics (...)'. The response is attributed to the government's defunct police unit: '...attacks on the Catholic "Bogside" by "B" Specials...'. And when the next action is carried out by Protestant paramilitaries, the author of the events is once again impersonal: '...violent rioting in Belfast against Catholic districts...'. Is this an innocent coincidence?

The textbook mentions several times that the responsibility for the outbreak of the conflicts is hard to define, as on page 140 '...it is impossibly difficult to reach any accepted conclusions as to who was to blame...' or in the introduction of the above list of events on page 141:

It is easy to set out the chronology of the origins of the 'Troubles', but interpretation of these events is obviously controversial. Was it a case of national grievances being manipulated by Republican extremists, or a violent 'Protestant backlash'? Was it simply a misjudgement of the situation by the British government and army commanders? At the end of this chapter there is an assessment exercise based on a range of sources about this controversy.

Despite the text being politically correct and leaving the verdict about the culpability open to the judgement of the reader, based on the facts listed above only a very few people would think that the 'Protestant backlash' had anything to do with it, as they have not read anything about what did the Protestants actually do during the start of the conflict; no attacks suffered by the civil rights movements or the Catholics are actually attributed to them in this textbook, only the Catholics, the IRA and the government appear as active authors of any action.

The reference to Bloody Sunday in *Britain 1929-98* is unsatisfactory for an A-level textbook dealing with the period in such a detail: it does not mention the reason of the march (internment without trial), or the attempts to whitewash the role of the army. It focuses first and foremost on the fact that the killings helped the IRA. This narrative is similar as if in any colonial fusillade (e.g. Amritsar in India) we would tell the story that

it actually helped the insurgents instead of putting the emphasis on the unjustness of killing unarmed civilians:

The most emotive event of these years was the killing of fourteen civilians when the British army fired on a protest march in Derry in January 1972; this polarised opinion and gave a spectacular propaganda victory to the IRA. (p. 142).

Britain 1929-98 uses a confusing technique to narrate the collapse of the Sunningdale Agreement of 1974. On page 142 the evaluation of the failure of Sunningdale appears first, leaving the verdict on culpability open as ‘parties on all sides’ and ‘extremists on both sides’ are mentioned. Only on page 143 can students read about what actually happened:

[In the main text] Although the Heath government came close to success in 1974 with the Sunningdale Agreement, which was a power-sharing government for all political parties in Northern Ireland. It was only in the 1990s that a meaningful peace started to become a realistic possibility. The Good Friday Agreement was very similar in its essence to what had been rejected in 1974. It may be that success was achieved in 1997 where it had not been in 1974 because parties on all sides had discarded their illusions and learned at last to accept reality. (p. 142)

The complex events of 1970-74 included a number of dramatic turning points, notably the launch and failure of internment in 1971, ‘Bloody Sunday’ in 1972, and the collapse of the Sunningdale Agreement in 1974. As usual, there have been conflicting interpretations of the failure to find a solution, of which the following forms only a small section: - ‘If only the army and the security forces had been given free hand.’ – ‘If only Heath had not called a general election at such a sensitive time.’ – ‘If only the Wilson government had been willing to face down Loyalist blackmail in 1974’. (p. 142)

It may be, however, that no solution was possible at that time because the essential partnership between the London and Irish governments did not yet exist and because the extremists on both sides still held illusions that it was possible to achieve outright victory. From 1974, the ‘Troubles’ continued in an established pattern of sectarian violence and conflict between the army and Republican paramilitaries, including a growing tendency to carry the ‘armed struggle’ to the mainland, as with the Birmingham bombings of 1974. (pp. 142-143)

[In a timeline titled *The search for a solution, 1970-4*] 1974 January: Power-sharing Executive established by the Sunningdale Agreement. February: Westminster general election during the miners’ strike; many successes for anti-Sunningdale

Unionists. May: Loyalist Workers' Strike organised by Unionist politicians and the UDA; collapse of the Power-sharing Executive and a return to Direct Rule. (p. 143)

[As a side-note] Key terms: (...) UDA: the Ulster Defence Association was the largest of the Loyalist paramilitary organisations. (p. 143)

The most remarkable feature of this narrative is that most of the relevant data appears, although the data points that students need to read in order to obtain information regarding the existence of a Protestant paramilitary and their actions – and those of Unionist politicians – leading to the collapse of the Sunningdale Agreement are included either in side notes or in the timeline, and are placed after the main text. The main text does not mention these and focuses on placing the responsibility on 'extremists on both sides'. It would be interesting to know what was the specific responsibility of the other extremists (e.g. the Republicans) in these events, as in these pages 142-143 no supporting data has been provided.

In the above example when mentioning the three potential explanations for the failure of Sunningdale: 'If only the army and the security forces had been given free hand. If only Heath had not called a general election at such a sensitive time. If only the Wilson government had been willing to face down Loyalist blackmail in 1974', the text only includes versions that blame the government. Knowing what has happened (and even this textbook explains it on the following page 143), would it not be more honest to actually name the most plausible reason, which was that most Unionists were simply not ready to share power in 1974?

The treatment of the Loyalist response to the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 on page 145 is a good example for showing that speaking clearly is possible, 'ex post' also recognising that the same responsibility also applied for Sunningdale:

The Anglo-Irish Agreement was furiously opposed by Unionists, both by Reverend Ian Paisley's hard-line Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) and by the mainstream Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) (...) there was widespread violence against the RUC Royal Ulster Constabulary (the police service of Northern Ireland) and the army by Loyalists. Like Sunningdale in 1974, the Hillsborough Agreement was blocked by Unionist backlash. (p. 145)

Therefore, one can ask, why to introduce equal-distancing seemingly open questions about who was to blame (as this book did in its analysis of the collapse of

Sunningdale), also confirming that no clear answer can be given, when a few pages later the author recognises that one specific side was responsible?

Pages 146-147 explain the events leading to the Good Friday Agreement, giving the due credit to the success of the conversations between John Hume and Gerry Adams, labelling it as an ‘unlikely partnership’, considering they were political enemies and that the IRA has tried to assassinate Hume’s predecessor as the SDLP’s leader. Following the tone of page 145, the narrative continues with the explanation that all depended on Loyalist reactions:

This process was always on a tightrope and there were dangerous interruptions by stalled negotiations and acts of violence. However, the key question behind all other questions was whether, this time, there would be an agreement that was not brought down by a Loyalist backlash. Predictably, Ian Paisley and the DUP were flatly opposed; but the UUP leader David Trimble, elected as a presumed hardliner in 1995, was able to carry the Agreement through. The Loyalist paramilitaries were persuaded, only just, to stick to the 1994 ceasefire although the IRA broke one down in 1996 only to be redeclared in 1997. (pp. 146-147)

Although the overall evaluation in the above text can in no way be accused of being too sympathetic to the Loyalist cause, rather the opposite, it would be an improvement to add to the narrative an explanation why the IRA ceasefire broke down and why it was re-established again: they were not accepted as negotiation partners, after the Canary Wharf bombings they were, unfortunately making clear to everyone that violence can achieve a stronger negotiation position.

Among the events which took place in the Republic of Ireland before the outbreak of the Troubles, its neutrality during the Second World War is expressed in doubtful terms, as if it was sympathy with Nazi Germany: ‘some older people had memories, often bitter ones, of the Irish Republic having remained neutral, in some eyes at least, “pro-Hitler” during the Second World War’ (p. 139).

Britain 1951-2007 (Lynch, 2015 (2))

Britain 1951-2007, a non-specialised A-level textbook, implies the validity of four myths out of 13 which have been treated in it and many other narratives we can object. The description of discrimination is less detailed than desirable and the author abstains

from confirming the existence of discrimination as a fact and says it was the complaint of Catholics ('...the Catholic complaint was... It was also said that...' (p. 96)). The story of the 1968-69 disturbances is told relatively briefly, in less than a page and the text blames both sides for it ('in 1969, disorder grew as protest and counter-protest invariably resulted in violence' (p. 97), without naming specific actions where Loyalist paramilitaries and the police force were to blame, prematurely referring to the events as a 'terrorist conflict between the nationalists and the unionists'. The existence of Loyalist paramilitaries is only confirmed on page 99, after the description of the fall of the Sunningdale government, 8 years after the actual re-start of the activities of UVF in 1966.

Over Bloody Sunday this textbook, published in 2015, five years after the Saville Enquiry, permits itself to confirm that 'the exact details of what happened and who was responsible remain disputed to this day', including a text which obviously had not been reviewed after 2010.¹⁶⁹

IRA's terrorist activities have a much more detailed coverage than the Loyalist equivalents (for the IRA pp. 98, 99, 100, 147, 148, 149, 173, for Loyalists only p.99), on the Loyalist side even the 1974 Dublin bombing is omitted. It is remarkable that the increased IRA terrorist activity is explained after the narrative of the establishment of the Sunningdale government, before the existence of the Loyalist strikes, thus – although specifically recognising Unionist responsibility for ending the power-sharing executive – the blame is spread across both communities for being against peace. The description of the strike is brief, without mentioning that it was supported by protestant paramilitaries nor that unionist politicians against the agreement won the majority of votes early 1974 – therefore demonstrating that the Unionist population was not ready yet for sharing power with nationalists.

The peace process leading to the Good Friday Agreement is explained in detail, however the author omits its beginnings in form of the Hume-Adams initiative and thus emphasises the agency of the British and Irish governments in the 1993 Downing Street Declaration.

¹⁶⁹ As a comparison, *The making of modern Britain, 1951-2007* provides a brief but clear summary: 'the Saville Enquiry reported in 2010 and found that the deaths were "unjustified and unjustifiable" and the British government issued an apology' (Hugh, 2015, p. 81).

Challenge and Transformation, Britain c. 1851-1964 (Fortune, 2016)

Challenge and Transformation, Britain c. 1851-1964 has been identified as one of the most biased textbooks regarding the previous period analysed in this thesis. As its scope finishes in 1964, before the outbreak of the Troubles, it only treats 7 different ‘myths’ and two of these are seen as valid. The first one relates to Irish neutrality during the Second World War, which is presented as a sign of support for Hitler and as a betrayal to the United Kingdom, even adding that Éire was expecting Hitler to win and thus to obtain Northern Ireland. The text also implies that de Valera maintained neutrality not as a matter of principle or due to a realistic assessment of the country’s capabilities and the wars it has suffered until 1923, but because he wanted to be sure to join on the winner’s side. Conversations with Nazi Germany, with which Ireland maintained diplomatic relations, happened, but also conversations with Britain, including the joint military preparations should Germany invade Ireland; however the textbook gives the impression of much closer collaboration with the Germans. The inclusion of a source material from David Gray, the American Ambassador to Dublin, as some kind of an independent observer, is also questionable, David Gray’s opinion that Ireland was secretly favouring Germany, was already known to contemporaries and de Valera requested his removal from office. The small differences of treatment in favour of the Allied are not explained: captured Allied soldiers were returned to the UK, while captured German soldiers were interned; Allied aircraft was allowed to fly over the territory of Éire in its approach of the airbases in Northern Ireland; or extensive intelligence cooperation with the British.

Interestingly, the author also makes the point that Churchill’s offer of Irish reunification was anti-democratic against Ulster (which is true), however the same moral assessment has not been made on the original terms of the partition, which could have been easily done. The related text could have also provided some explanation as to the reasons why de Valera rejected the offer (among others: immediate entry to war, however the unification is to be agreed between the governments of Northern Ireland and Éire over time). In the below text there is also a direct comparison of the role Northern Ireland played, in a clearly patronising tone against Éire. This comparison, however, is factually incorrect as Northern Ireland formed part of the UK and thus it was not its own independent decision to enter war, while this was the case of Ireland as a dominion. In

summary, too many half-truths or worse can be found in this narrative, all pointing into the same direction of depicting Éire as evil and Northern Ireland as faithful¹⁷⁰.

The position that Éire adopted during the Second World War ultimately damaged its relationship with Britain and with Ulster. When war broke out in September 1939, Britain was faced with a potential enemy on its western flank. Although Éire declared its wish to remain neutral, it was well-known in government and diplomatic circles that De Valera was in contact with Nazi Germany (...) The decision [regarding the Treaty ports] left Britain exposed and vulnerable to a possible German attack from the West. The British government made feverish efforts to strike a deal with the Irish Free State [sic] to abandon the idea of neutrality and support Britain against Hitler. To achieve this, Britain was even prepared to scrap the partition treaty and allow Ireland to re-unite with the north. The offer of a United Ireland was made to De Valera on 28 June 1940. There was little democratic discussion with Ulster; Craig was summoned to London and instructed to get on with sorting out the details. Craig was incensed and accused the British government of betrayal. He kept his head, however, and fed information back to the Government that De Valera could not be trusted, as he was already deeply involved with Hitler and the Nazis. Therefore, it was utterly pointless for Britain under those circumstances to unite Ireland (...) De Valera's greatest fear was of entering the war on the losing side (...)

Source 1. Adapted from the memoirs of David Gray, the American Ambassador to Dublin, who made a shrewd assessment of De Valera's strategy: 'The accumulating evidence supports the view that De Valera believed that Hitler would win the war and that in payment for keeping the Allies out of the Southern Irish ports, he would obtain Northern Ireland on his own terms. This would have enabled him to invoke his formula of exchange of populations, expel 800,000 Ulstermen and invite in an equal number of [Catholic] exiles.'

In December 1941, Churchill offered De Valera unity in exchange for support against Hitler. De Valera, however, continued to insist on Éire's neutrality. The result for Britain was that with Éire's refusal to allow the British navy to use Irish ports, there was

¹⁷⁰ A very different portrayal can be found in most textbooks. For instance, in *Northern Ireland since c.1960*, a monographic British textbook otherwise not very sympathetic with Ireland and the Nationalist/Republican movement, stating that Ireland's actions during the Second World War helped to improve the relationship with Britain:

Despite the neutrality of the Irish Free State during the Second World War, relations with Great Britain improved. German pilots who crash landed in Ireland were kept as prisoners until the end of the war and RAF pilots were quickly sent back to England. The RAF were also given permission to fly through Irish air space in their attempt to protect Allied shipping convoys. In 1941 fire engines and crews from Dublin were sent to Belfast following Luftwaffe air raids. Such acts of goodwill seemed to open up the prospect of better post-war relations. (Doherty, 2001, p. 5)

an estimated loss of 368 ships and 5070 lives. This left the British government with a poor view of Eire's behaviour, while Ulster had acted with loyalty and courage, hard at work in the Harland and Wolff shipyards replacing ships sunk by German torpedoes, and giving essential shelter to naval vessels. (pp. 235-236)

The narrative of Ireland becoming a republic is quite surprising, as it states that it was the British government who made this decision, thus not recognising the right of the Irish to do this themselves: 'finally in 1949, Attlee's government endorsed the partition through the Government of Ireland Act, which declared Eire a republic – the Republic of Ireland – with complete independence from Britain' (p. 233).

Challenge and Transformation, Britain c. 1851-1964's timeline ends before the start of the Troubles, however there are many references to the outbreak of the Troubles and its reasons. Although the narrative clearly states that the conflict originated from the non-violent movement to end discrimination of Catholics, which met with opposition from Protestant extremists, it also evaluates that the conflict in its essence was based on different ideas about territorial belonging:

Extract 1. (...) The Protestant two thirds of the population of Northern Ireland were so committed to remaining united with Britain, and the Catholic one third so committed to joining the Irish Free State (after 1949, the Republic), that all politics focused on this single issue... (p. 233)

Northern Ireland since c.1960 (Doherty, 2001)

Northern Ireland since c.1960 is a KS3 and GCSE textbook dedicated to specialised coursework on the Troubles. It dedicates ample space in its first pages of introduction to how the 2 states on the island of Ireland became so different, clearly assigning the entire responsibility to the Irish Free State. This list mentions many points that the author believes made the people of Northern Ireland to dislike the Irish Free State. Interestingly, the textbook does not include in this section any indication about what the government of Northern Ireland did at the same time, therefore it seems as if everything that happened in Northern Ireland was a logical reaction of a group of 'modern' people to the backwardness of the Irish Free State. Special attention needs to be paid in the below quote to the sentence related to the official history being taught in Ireland. The author complains about the fact that there was an 'official' history in Ireland, 'forced' on its schools, in which Britain did not appear as civilising force but as an 'imperial oppressor'

and that the Irish history narrative ‘celebrated violent acts against British rule’. In the author’s portrayal, independent nations do not have the right to celebrate their independence and how they achieved it, if that happened against the British. The text also refers to the Irish people’s belief that partition was temporal – without mentioning any evidence that would support that their belief had a basis (the British government’s messages during the negotiations of the Anglo-Irish Treaty) – thus easily creating the perception in the reader as if the Irish had some irrational irredentist desire to eliminate Northern Ireland.

The Irish free State saw itself as a largely agricultural and Roman Catholic nation. The Northern Ireland government saw itself as a modern Protestant and British state. They became very different countries with policies that deliberately set them apart from one another.

Many in the Irish Free State believed partition was a temporary measure and that unification would occur one day. However the policies introduced by the Free State’s government meant that Protestants in Ulster grew to fear and even despise the character and attitudes of their southern, Catholic neighbours.

In the Irish Free State, Gaelic, not English became the official language and a requirement for university places and entry into the civil service. Schools were forced to teach an official history of Ireland that showed the British as imperial oppressors and celebrated violent acts against British rule. The Roman Catholic Church was awarded a ‘special place’ in Irish society and given extensive powers in education, healthcare, government policies and censorship. (Doherty, 2001, p. 4)

Northern Ireland since c.1960 uses the ‘tactics’ of first showcasing the ‘grievances’ suffered by ‘us’ (the Unionists). In this case the Irish Free State’s actions were explained above, followed by a very brief summary of ‘our’ wrongdoings; the political discrimination of Catholics in Northern Ireland on page 5. In continuation, the textbook presents the detailed list of discriminations as grievances perceived by the civil rights movement, not as facts. Therefore – despite many details of discrimination also being mentioned in the textbook – the reader would not be sure whether these claims were true or not:

NICRA’s key grievances were (...) NICRA accused the Northern Ireland government of gerrymandering (...) Catholics believed council houses were unfairly allotted to Protestant families rather than allocated on the basis of need (...) NICRA also objected to what it saw as the preferential treatment of Protestants in employment. (pp. 6-7)

Against these claims of discrimination, the author also includes the opposing opinions of Protestants, arguing that there was no discrimination and the civil rights movement ultimately served the separatist nationalist agenda:

Source D. A Protestant housewife, speaking in 1969. It was all ‘the Catholics this and the Catholics that’, (with them) living in poverty and us lording it over them. People looked around and said, ‘What, are they talking about – us? With the damp running down the walls and our houses not fit to live in.’ (...)

Source E. Ian Paisley speaking in January 1969. ‘The civil rights people don’t believe in civil rights at all, they’re just a bunch of republican rebels, that’s what they are. Let’s be very clear about this, they have no time for law and order, they have no time for this country and they mean to destroy this country, and we mean to see that this country will not be destroyed.’ (pp. 7-8)

Northern Ireland since c.1960 summarises after the presentation of the claims of the civil rights movement and the counter-arguments of the Protestant community that although the civil rights movement did not want to ‘ignite sectarian divisions and nationalism’, it actually just did that (p. 8). Therefore, it seems as if the civil rights movement was responsible for both creating sectarian divisions (as if the discrimination only existed in their minds and by expressing their thoughts they have created the actual divisions) and the nationalist movement itself. This portrayal is also supported by a source material quoting Ian Paisley (see above), without any counter-argument from another source being presented, therefore leaving little doubt in the reader about the (lack of) usefulness/rightfulness of this movement.

The textbook treats the question of IRA’s connection with the civil rights movement in several places, however, it includes arguments both for and against. In favour of a strong connection, for instance, the transcript of an interview with Ian Paisley:

Interviewer: Who was behind civil rights in your view? Paisley: The Irish Republican Army, or at that time those who were dedicated to the views and objectives of that army. (p. 31)

Also, an extract from a UK government report on NICRA:

The membership was politically varied and undoubtedly included persons of known extreme Republican views and activities as well as members of the Northern Ireland and Liberal Parties. In addition, the membership is mostly Roman Catholic. (...) There is no doubt that the IRA has taken a close interest in the Civil Rights Association from its beginning. (p. 31)

Page 4 already provided a list of six key terms that should help to understand Irish history, which includes *Irish Free State*, *Unionist*, *Loyalist*, *Nationalist/Republican*, *the Irish Republican Army* and *Interment*. Therefore, it could provide the perception as if no Unionist/Loyalist paramilitary forces existed during the Troubles. There is also a bit of a mix-up in the definition of the IRA: ‘an extreme Republican and Nationalist paramilitary organisation. Formed by Michael Collins in 1919 and active until the late 1990s’ (p. 4). The disputable part is that in the early existence of the IRA (after its foundation by Michael Collins) it should not be defined as an extreme paramilitary organisation. It was the army of the proclaimed independent Irish Republic, and therefore one of the belligerents of the Anglo-Irish War. Also in this case we could draw parallels with other decolonisation movements: would anyone call the liberation armies of now independent countries ‘extreme paramilitary organisations’ (shall that be in Africa, Asia, North America or Latin America)?

The account of the beginning of the Troubles on pages 9-11 of *Northern Ireland since c.1960* is factually correct. Nevertheless, the author frequently attaches his personal interpretation to the events, making clear that he does not side with the civil rights movement: for instance regarding Austin Currie’s protest for the allocation of a council house to a single Protestant women instead of Catholic family with children (June 1968): ‘the incident suggested that the civil rights movement was always targeting Protestants and only ever concerned with Catholic interests’ (p. 9). So, with this critique, should have the anti-apartheid movement of South Africa be concerned also with discrimination of poor whites? Or regarding the Craigavon Bridge incident in Londonderry when marchers were beaten by the RUC (October 1968): ‘most of the marchers were Catholic and some were believed to be members of the IRA. Despite the ban (...), the organisers went ahead in an attempt to sustain the growing worldwide interest in Northern Ireland’ (p. 9). The first part of the claim, that some were from the IRA, is partially disqualified later by the same author, when he refers to the IRA’s situation 10 months later as ‘in fact the IRA lacked arms, membership and popular support at this time’ (p. 11). So, why the need to connect this civil march in October 1968 with the IRA and claim that it was a propagandistic move to sustain interest, if not so that the reader does not focus on the incorrectness of the police response? The author also narrates that Prime Minister Harold Wilson pressured the Northern Ireland Prime Minister to introduce reforms ‘to stop gerrymandering, to award council housing on need, and to begin considering reforms of

votes for homeowners and tenants' (p. 9). However, the wording of the purpose of the reforms once again dilates the author: 'aimed at appeasing the civil rights protesters' (p. 9). One need to consider that the word 'appease' in British history-writing is mostly used in relation to Chamberlain ceding to Hitler in Munich in 1938 and is traditionally considered a shameful moment of British history. Thus, the implication is that the author considers that the above reforms were ultimately morally incorrect, only initiated to stop a bullying political force (the civil rights movement).

As we have seen from the previous pages about the origins of the Troubles, it was not the IRA who started the conflict, but the fact that the civil rights movement was attacked by loyalist paramilitaries and the Northern Ireland police forces. Therefore, the narrative of the loyalist paramilitaries in the initial phase of the Troubles is of utmost importance to the understanding of the situation. However, textbooks often hide away the existence of loyalist paramilitaries. In some cases, their existence is not mentioned, appearing as if the conflict was only between the IRA and the Northern Ireland police / the British Army.

Northern Ireland since c.1960 dedicates over a page to the loyalist paramilitaries on pages 15-16. The remarkable point is that this is the first time the expression 'loyalist paramilitaries' is mentioned, and this section comes just after the section describing the IRA. In all earlier mentions of violent Protestant actions, other words such as mob or gang are used (January 1969: 'a Loyalist mob armed with sticks, stones and bottles began attacking the unarmed marchers' (p. 9), August and end of 1969: 'Loyalist mobs' (p. 11), August 1971: 'Loyalist gangs' (p. 12))¹⁷¹. As earlier explained, page 4 of this textbook already introduces the key concepts, among them the IRA, but fails to name any of the loyalist paramilitaries. When pages 15-16 name for the first time the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) and the Ulster Defence Association (UDA), the IRA has already been mentioned 33 times! This, considering that the same text confirms that the UVF had been re-established in 1966, already shows a level of bias.

¹⁷¹ The use of the word 'terrorism' has been avoided in the entire textbook, it only appears once in relation to the Loyalist paramilitaries (February 1992: '5 killed by Loyalist terrorists in a betting shop' (p. 17)) and three times in relation to the Nationalist paramilitaries (narration of a 'simplistic and misleading' Unionist opinion: 'use terrorism to achieve a united Ireland' (p. 8), another reference to Paisley's opinion 'selling out to terrorists' (p. 27) and a confirmation by the author 'this allowed the IRA to become possibly the most powerful terrorist organisation in the late twentieth century (p. 15). In addition, the word 'terrorism' is used twice without referring to any side ('suspected terrorists' (p. 4) and 'anti-terrorist operations' (p. 24)).

Therefore, even if the existence of the loyalist paramilitaries is acknowledged, a number of tools are used to minimise their role: a) only naming them much later in the narrative, when the readers already formed an opinion about the conflict (as explained above); b) arguing that they have been established only as a reaction to Irish nationalism¹⁷²; c) justifying their role by highlighting they were defending the union (which is questionable as the civil rights marches did not attack the union)¹⁷³; d) not calling them paramilitaries and giving the impression as if they were some ad-hoc organisations against the professional terrorist organisation of the IRA (as explained above, e.g. mobs).

A fact missing from this textbook is the reference to the high number of families (mostly Catholics) fleeing Northern Ireland due to the conflict. As there is a specific section on pages 16 to 19 about *The scale of suffering across the British Isles*, with many source materials, some reference to the forced migration would have been welcome. According to CAIN, an estimated 7000 people fled their homes, most of them Catholics leaving Northern Ireland entirely into the Republic of Ireland (Conflict Archive on the Internet (CAIN), 2022).

Northern Ireland since c.1960 narrates correctly the content of the Sunningdale agreement, the responsibility of Unionists for the failure, clarifying that 75% of Protestants was against the agreement and that effectively one of the Loyalist paramilitaries was behind the strike that brought down the power-sharing government. Nevertheless, it positions the agreement as an appeasement of Irish Nationalists: ‘Whitelaw ... hoped to appease the Nationalists by giving them some control over major decisions in Northern Ireland and allowing the Republic of Ireland a small say in the running of the country’ (Doherty, 2001, pp. 20-21), therefore effectively positioning the book against the correctness of the agreement.

Northern Ireland since c.1960 is one of the very few textbooks to refer to the miscarriages of justice that happened in the UK, condemning several Irishmen for crimes they did not commit, after the Birmingham and Guildford bombings. However, the author

¹⁷² ‘In response to the wave of Nationalist celebrations commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the 1916 Easter Uprising, the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) was revived.’ (p. 15)

¹⁷³ ‘Loyalist paramilitaries were dedicated to maintaining Northern Ireland as an integral part of the United Kingdom. They believed that they belonged to a long Protestant tradition of resistance against Catholic ambitions. Loyalists often claimed their origins as far back as 1690 when the Apprentice Boys of Londonderry resisted an invasion by the Catholic King James II.’ (p. 15)

adds the word ‘apparent’ in front of ‘miscarriages of justice’, when describing the Irish government’s complaints because of them. This is incorrect, as at the moment of the publication of this textbook in 2001 it was already well-known that both cases were factual miscarriages of justice as the sentences have been overturned in 1989 and 1991:

The Dublin government continually criticised Britain for apparent miscarriages of justice involving those accused of outrages, as occurred after the Birmingham and Guildford bombings in particular. (pp. 23-24)

In the narrative of the peace process leading to the Good Friday Agreement, this textbook mentions the end of the ceasefire, however it misses the important information that George Mitchell’s proposal was that the talks should go on in parallel with the decommissioning of arms and thus the arms decommissioning should not be a pre-condition for Sinn Féin’s participation in the talks. The side that did not accept this proposal was the UK government, which then led to the IRA to end the ceasefire. The author refers to this failure in the negotiations as ‘a compromise could not be reached’, without clarifying who did not agree to the proposal of George Mitchell. It is another instance where Republican accountabilities are named and shamed and Unionist accountabilities are spread across all sides or when the authors blame directly the Nationalists for them:

Further progress with the peace process negotiations was stalled by the IRA’s refusal to decommission (hand over) their weapons. Despite the intervention of US Senator George Mitchell, who was perceived as being an outstanding peacemaker and negotiator, a compromise could not be reached. As a result the IRA ended their ceasefire by exploding a bomb near the Canary Wharf building in London in February 1996 (pp. 25-26)

History for NI Key Stage 3: A Study after 1900 (Dean, Kelly, & Taggart, 2009) and other Northern Irish textbooks

As previously mentioned, the Irish textbook narrative of the Troubles does not show a significant difference between the two publishers Hodder and Colourpoint. Hodder on average considers 19% of the ‘myths’ true, while Colourpoint’s score is 23%. In the following paragraphs we will see the types of bias included in *History for NI Key Stage 3: A Study after 1900* (Dean, Kelly, & Taggart, 2009), a Hodder textbook, which features 7 narratives implying the validity of ‘myths’ and 5 narratives when the opposite is confirmed. It is important to observe that this is the Northern Irish textbook with the

highest ‘myth’ inclusion rate. Other Hodder textbooks feature a much lower figure. The previous KS3 textbook of Hodder, *Northern Ireland and its neighbours since 1920* (Gillespie & Jones, 1995) is much more balanced and it only sees 2 myths as valid while 12 are represented as incorrect. It is surprising that the 14 years between the two textbooks, which saw the conclusion of the Good Friday Agreement, arms decommissioning and a joined government between Paisley and McGuinness, did not lead to less but more sectarian representation of the past. I have already commented this phenomenon regarding the 2004 and 2017 GCSE textbooks, also published by Hodder, where the 2004 version – *History for CCEA GCSE* (Madden & McBride, 2004) – demonstrates the incorrectness of 17 different ‘myths’ (while two have not been treated) meanwhile the 2017 version – *CCEA GCSE History Third Edition* (Madden & Clare, 2017) – includes 3 narratives implying the validity of ‘myths’ and 16 when their incorrectness is explained.

The Northern Irish textbook *History for NI Key Stage 3: A Study after 1900* (Dean, Kelly, & Taggart, 2009) implies the correctness of seven different myths out of 12 topics treated. It describes how de Valera changed the Free State’s constitution on page 83, but it does not mention the Statutes of Westminster allowing him to do so. The same page also describes the IRA border campaign and that it failed due to the lack of support, but there is no mention that the Republic also persecuted the IRA.

Although this textbook describes gerrymandering objectively, even visualising the degree of injustice with a diagram of Londonderry, it refers to this discrimination as a feeling: ‘Catholics... felt that the Unionists wanted to exclude them’ – before describing actual examples of gerrymandering. As the examples prove, this was not just a feeling... (p. 82) Regarding housing and jobs, discrimination once again seems to be a claim: ‘by the mid-60s many Catholics began to make claims of discrimination against the Unionist government, especially in terms of allocation of houses and jobs’ (p. 84), but then follows with a confirmation that the discrimination was real. However, the book distances itself from the presented facts by narrating that also Protestant families had difficulties with jobs and housing: ‘by the late 1960s, the protests over housing focused mainly on Catholics but many Protestant families lived in overcrowded and very poor housing conditions too’ (p. 84). Thus, after reading this chapter, pupils would not be sure if discrimination was real or imagined.

Although this textbook recognises Paisley's opposition to O'Neill's reforms, ('Source 3. Protestant backlash. O'Neill's reforms were too much for Protestants such as Ian Paisley, who accused O'Neill of being "soft on Rome" ' (p. 87)) and it even mentions the re-organisation of the UVF in 1966 and that it participated in killings, it does not consider Unionism as an actor in the escalation of the conflict. Thus, when listing sources 2 to 7 on pages 87-89, looking into the possible causes of the 'outbreak of violence in 1969', students are only prompted to rank as possible causes 'Civil Rights marches, O'Neill's reforms, The arrival of the British Army, The revival of the IRA' (p. 87), but not the Protestant opposition (both rhetoric and violent) to the requests to end discrimination. This is similar as if Nelson Mandela would be held responsible for the outbreak of violence in South Africa during the apartheid, not those who imposed apartheid...

Although the textbook provides the most relevant facts up to 1970 (in the above-mentioned sources 2 to 7), its wording can also lead to doubts: the narrative of the civil rights marches in source 5 is started with sentence 'the NICRA began to organise marches to get publicity for their demands' (p. 88), which positions them as a propaganda tool. Thus, even if the following text describes the attack on the march by Unionists, NICRA also shares the moral responsibility: 'a march through Londonderry was attacked by police, and the People's Democracy March from Belfast to Derry on 1-4 January (above) [above the text there is a picture] was attacked by Protestants and off-duty B-Specials at Burntollet Bridge (p. 88). The description of rioting in source 6 hints at IRA involvement ('Unionists and police believed that members of the IRA were involved in the Civil Rights marches' (p. 89)) and there is no information about the fact that this proved to be an incorrect belief. The text continues with 'here, police charge rioting youths, August 1969. Attacks like this led to serious rioting, mainly in Belfast and Derry' (p. 89). As in the previous sentence only the IRA and the civil rights movement have been named, the reader would probably think that riots were perpetrated mainly by Catholics. There is no mention of the disproportionate impact of the riots on Catholic homes, which would prove the opposite.

The ongoing conflict from 1970 to 1998 is summarised on only one page (p. 90), succeeding in transmitting most relevant contents, however, it would have been desirable to also highlight that the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement received widespread opposition from Unionists and that the 1998 Good Friday Agreement was not supported by the DUP

(which by the time of the publication of this textbook was the main party in the Northern Ireland devolved power-sharing government). The glossary at the end of the textbook describes Loyalists as ‘in the twentieth century it came to mean people who were loyal to the British government, the Queen and the Ulster Unionist party’ (p. 105) – considering the facts that they were against many initiatives of the British government (end of discrimination against Catholics, end of direct rule, Sunningdale power-sharing formula, the Republic having a limited say through the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985, and also the Good Friday Agreement), this description seems a propagandistic support for Loyalism.

On the other hand, also this textbook includes many exemplary narratives, for instance it refers to the indoctrination in schools on both sides of the conflict in Northern Ireland:

Source 2. Extract from *No Surrender* by R. Harbinson, a Protestant describing growing up in a Protestant area. ‘Our schools drummed into us over and over again the Protestant story. Our ignorance of the Catholic world was profound. I for instance believed that Catholics existed only in parts of Belfast and nowhere else but the Free State and Rome itself.’ (...)

Source 4. An extract from a book called *the Price of My Soul* by Bernadette Devlin (who was a leading figure in radical student group called the People’s Democracy) describing her education at Catholic Grammar School in the 1960s. ‘We learned Irish history. We were all learning the same things, the same events, the same period of time, but the interpretations were different.’ (p. 85).

Irish textbooks

I have already written about the types of ‘myths’ featured in Irish textbooks, the most frequent being the omission of DUP’s opposition to the Good Friday Agreement. I have also mentioned that the rate of inclusion of contents supporting the Irish and British-Unionist perspectives is very similar (62 vs. 64%). However, it is also worth analysing specific aspects of Irish textbooks where they could show Irish nationalist bias. Specifically, first of all, whether they explain that the Catholic Church had a privileged position in the Irish Free State and later in the Republic. This is the case in all five analysed textbooks, both Junior and Leaving Certificate. The proof points for this include the original wording of the 1937 Constitution; the banning of divorce; a strict censorship

on moral grounds; the dropping of the Mother and Child Scheme after opposition of the Catholic Church which also led to the collapse of a coalition government; and a case study on the Eucharistic Congress in 1932. What these textbooks do not include are quotes from Éamon de Valera which justify certain level of discrimination against Protestants in the interwar period. Examples of these can only be found in Northern Irish textbooks:

Éamon de Valera: “Since the coming of St Patrick 1500 years ago Ireland has been a Christian and a Catholic nation... she will remain a Catholic nation.” (March 1935) (...)

Éamon de Valera: “I say the people of Mayo, in a country where I think 98% of the population is Catholic, are justified in insisting on a Catholic librarian.” (June 1930. A well qualified librarian had been sacked because she was a Protestant.) (...) Éamon de Valera: “A Protestant doctor ought not to be appointed as a dispensary doctor in a mainly Catholic area.” (June 1930) (Turner Johnston, 2010, p. 108)

Although the above examples clearly do not match the severity of the discrimination suffered by Catholics in Northern Ireland, it would add more balance and credibility to Irish textbooks to disclose the existence of these examples when narrating the discrimination in Northern Ireland.

Another potential bias in Irish textbooks would be to downplay the events of the 1932-38 economic war or omitting that it started because of the stop of land annuity payments, but once again, all textbooks narrate these contents.

Regarding the 1937 Constitution, Irish textbooks could ‘conveniently’ forget about the claim laid to the territory of the entire island of Ireland – also including Northern Ireland –, however, this is not the case and all textbook explain this change. However, only one of the five textbooks discloses that as part of the Good Friday Agreement the Republic of Ireland changed the wording of its Constitution in this respect.

Irish textbooks do not misuse propagandistically either events that could support a nationalistic agenda: a good example is Churchill’s offer to end partition if Ireland gave up its neutrality during the Second World War and supported the Allied. Three out of five textbooks mention this content, but without much emphasis, and explaining the reasons for its rejection by de Valera. Other key events which can be considered Irish grievances are also often omitted: the Falls Road Curfew, which effectively led to the strengthening of the IRA, is only included in one of the five textbooks. Also only one of the textbooks quote Harold Wilson’s condemnation of the 1974 Loyalist strike that brought down the power-sharing government.

Conclusions

On average about one-third of textbooks used in England support the validity of different ‘myths’ that consistently blame Irish nationalists for the Troubles. Among non-specialised English textbooks, the share of narratives considering (or by omission implying) these ‘myths’ correct declined since the Good Friday Agreement, from an average 41% to 29%. However, there are still many examples of bias: as mentioned in Chapter 4, only 5 out of 13 non-specialised textbooks published after 1998 explain the existence of the Good Friday Agreement, which should be one of the most celebrated events of the late 20th century in both Irish and British history. Often there is no hint of such agreement, of the previous discrimination of Catholics in Northern Ireland, nor of the civil rights movement and it seems as if the Troubles were only based on territorial claims by Irish nationalists¹⁷⁴.

Even in textbooks which treat the events in detail, it often seems as if discrimination of Catholics was only a claim and not a matter of fact; as if the IRA infiltrated into the civil rights movement right from the beginning using it as a cover (and forgetting to mention that the IRA was nearly non-existent when this happened); as if the civil rights marches directly led to riots without any agency from Loyalists and the sectarian police force; as if the riots would not have caused significantly more damage to Catholics; as if Protestant paramilitaries only emerged after the IRA was well established; as if the story of Bloody Sunday did not imply clear responsibility of the British Army, as if Loyalists shown steady support for the British government by not mentioning their opposition to the proposed solutions in 1974, 1985 and 1998. Loyalists in fact demonstrated a version of ‘a-la-carte’ loyalty, only accepting Britishness as long as it supported their wish to retain a degree of Protestant ascendancy in Northern Ireland. Textbooks frequently over-emphasise republican acts of violence in comparison to Loyalist violence, sometimes even completely ignoring the existence of Loyalist paramilitaries and only naming the IRA as the terrorist organisation of the conflict.

¹⁷⁴ For instance, in *Britain since 1930*, a KS3 book published in 2003:

These were troubled years, too. In Northern Ireland, there was violence between the Protestants and Catholics. Many Catholics wanted Northern Ireland to unite with the rest of Ireland, while most Protestants wanted to remain part of the United Kingdom. In 1969 British troops were sent to control the situation and have remained there ever since, but the violence continued. There were also bombings on mainland Britain. (Ross, 2003, p. 16)

Northern Irish textbooks on average are less biased than those used in England, however it is interesting to observe that several textbooks increased the number of myths told as valid in their later editions, published well after the Good Friday Agreement.

Irish textbooks, on the other hand – although they recognise the Catholic character of the Free State, Éire and the Republic – do not mention specific examples of (much lighter) discrimination against Protestants.

As we have seen from a series of examples, many people going to school during the Troubles would have read in their textbooks in the United Kingdom that the only side to blame were Irish Nationalists. We can only hope that the commentators calling the Irish ‘terrorists’ in some of the quotes reproduced in *Section 2.2* did not learn history from these books, as this would demonstrate textbooks’ potential to indoctrinate mutual hatred.

6. TEACHING THE HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF HUNGARY DURING THE HABSBURG EMPIRE: A COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY

6.1 Introduction – comparative case study

In the previous chapters of this thesis I have tried to provide an analysis about how Anglo-Irish history is being narrated in secondary school textbooks in England, Ireland and Northern Ireland. We have seen that there are ample possibilities to improve textbooks in order to ensure a deeper mutual understanding of the ‘other’ and its perspectives. An important question is how the conclusions compare internationally with other pairs of countries in similar situations. Even only considering Europe, there are many countries with a contested past. Among these, I have chosen the history of the Kingdom of Hungary during the period it belonged to the Habsburg Empire, for the following reasons:

- Despite the perception indicated by its name that this kingdom belonged to one ethnicity, the Hungarians, the Kingdom of Hungary was since its creation a multi-ethnic state, already its founder, (Saint) Stephen I highlighted in his political will the benefits of ethnic diversity: ‘for a country with one language and one set of customs is weak and fallible’ (Stephen I (Saint), c. 1027).
- After several calamities, especially in the 13th and 16th-18th centuries, the number of inhabitants of Hungary decreased significantly, making mass immigration of different ethnicities necessary (although – as we will see - there is no total agreement about all directions of immigration), making the ethnic mix of the territory even more complicated. Additionally, some of the immigrants received special privileges, while others did not.
- After 5 centuries of existence as an independent kingdom (although on several occasions in the 15th-16th centuries in personal-union with Poland and/or Bohemia), the Kingdom of Hungary between 1526 and 1918 belonged to the Habsburg Empire. During most of these 4 centuries, the country maintained a certain level of

autonomy and even can be considered a separate kingdom as testified by legislation, nevertheless - as we will also see -, the degree of this autonomy is also source of debate.

- During 145 years of the above 4 centuries, from 1541 to 1686, the Kingdom of Hungary had been split into three parts, one third being effectively governed by the Habsburg Empire (being referred to as Royal Hungary), another third was part of the Ottoman Empire (being referred to as the Turkish Conquest) and the remaining part became the semi-independent Principality of Transylvania (which paid tributes to the Ottoman Empire but sometimes also recognised the over-lordship of the Habsburgs). This lack of continuity in terms of territorial integrity allows for the existence of contested points of view.

- Several times during the Habsburg rule, there were large-scale uprisings by the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Hungary against the Habsburgs, with different aims: to ensure religious freedom (of Protestants); to enforce the observance of the laws of the kingdom which the Habsburg kings swore in the coronation ceremony to be uphold, but which frequently did not happen; sometimes to end a rule that they considered foreign (e.g. German); and to promote social and political progress when the Habsburg Empire was one of the main reactionary forces in Europe. These uprisings allow to make parallels with the history of Ireland, comparing the narrative of Austrian and Hungarian textbooks.

- Based on legislation signed as early as 1222 and 1351, the entire nobility was considered to form the same social class with the same level of privileges. It became known as 'Natio Hungarica', integrating nobles from all backgrounds and ethnicity. The 'Natio Hungarica' maintained its privileges also during the Habsburg era. The intent to convert this feudal estate of nobles (of originally different ethnicities) into the modern 'Hungarian nation' during the 19th century became the source of longstanding conflict between ethnic Hungarians and most other 'nationalities' of the kingdom, and this national conflict was ably used by the government of the Habsburg Empire for its 'divide and conquer' strategy.

- After the Compromise of 1867, the Habsburg Empire became a dualist monarchy, with Austrians and Hungarians as the two privileged nations. Other nationalities (apart from the special situation of Croatia) lacked political rights beyond individual freedoms. While the definition of 'nation' shifted from those who lived in the same state to a more ethnic-linguistic concept around 1870-1880 (Hobsbawm, 1992, pp.

14-24)¹⁷⁵, the dual monarchy did not adjust its structure, and there was a policy of Magyarization. The degree of discrimination suffered by the ‘nationalities’ and how much of the following assimilation was forced or natural is also source of debate.

- Croatia was in a sort of personal-union with the Kingdom of Hungary since the early 12th century until 1918¹⁷⁶. Despite the Hungarian-Croatian Compromise of 1868, the type of the past relationship between the two entities, its narrative and the exact borders also form part of historic debate.

- After World War I and the disintegration of the Habsburg Empire, the Wilsonian principle of self-determination led to the creation of new states and the redrawing of the region’s borders. The (new) states, which in the Versailles treaties obtained territories of the previous Kingdom of Hungary, were naturally interested in establishing their own narrative of the joint history¹⁷⁷. In case of Hungary all of its neighbours received some territories: Austria, Slovakia (Czechoslovakia), Ukraine (Soviet Union), Romania, and Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia (Yugoslavia). This also means that we can also compare the narratives between these countries: e.g. do Romanian and Serbian textbooks explain the history of the Kingdom of Hungary similarly?

Considering the above-mentioned circumstances, it is not sufficient to look into the history teaching of the period from the early 16th century until the end of World War I (the actual period of Habsburg rule in the Kingdom of Hungary) in order to analyse the

¹⁷⁵ Hobsbawm also tells the anecdote how in 1873 the International Statistical Congress approved a resolution to start measuring the question of language in censuses, and how the representatives of Austria-Hungary accepted it only reluctantly and under the condition that they would start measuring it only after 1880. (Hobsbawm, 1992, p. 43)

¹⁷⁶ This personal-union differed from the one between the Kingdom of Hungary and the rest of the Habsburg possessions (considering the period up to 1804) in the sense that the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia was considered a dependent unit; although it had its own feudal parliament (Sabor), the parliament of the Kingdom of Hungary (diet) could legislate for Croatia (e.g. the language law of 1844), while the Kingdom of Hungary was only dependent from the Austrian Empire from the establishment of the latter in 1804 until the Compromise of 1867 (and even in this period the Kingdom of Hungary kept its own institutions). Between 1526 and 1804, as no Austrian Empire existed, the connection between the different Habsburg realms was the person of the ruler. (Wikipedia re. Austrian Empire, 2023) (Wikipedia re. Croatia in personal union with Hungary, 2023). In this sense, and although its character changed over time, the relationship between the Kingdom of Hungary and the rest of the Habsburg realms was more similar to that of between Ireland and Great Britain during Grattan’s parliament (1782-1800), meanwhile the relationship between the Kingdom of Hungary and Croatia was more similar to the period in Ireland marked by Poyning’s Law of 1494 and the Declaratory Act of 1719.

¹⁷⁷ Berger includes interesting case studies from several European countries in the interwar period (2021).

potential biases, but it is also relevant to include the medieval period¹⁷⁸ in the scope and, in some cases, the ethnogenesis of the different nations.

Going beyond 1918 would be very interesting and intriguing, nevertheless, it would oblige to extend the volume of this study even further and it is not essential if the objective is to analyse how the history of the Kingdom of Hungary during the Habsburg Empire is being taught. The end of the Habsburg Empire can be considered to have happened in October-November 1918, as more and more of its nations declared their independence, however technically it ended by the peace treaties of 1919 (for Austria, in Saint Germain) and 1920 (for Hungary, in Trianon). Reviewing in detail the events surrounding the Trianon Peace Treaty and their narrative in textbooks would go beyond the scope of this research, however, it is important to consider some aspects of it – given the importance of this event in Hungarian historiography as one of the worst tragedies ever faced. Similarly, it is not an objective of this thesis to analyse the fate of the Hungarian minorities since the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire and whether their treatment has been the same, worse or better than those of the different nationalities living in the Kingdom of Hungary during the Habsburg Empire (both because of the extension this would require and also because it could easily lead to the perception of an ‘auction’ of degrees of victimhood, which could be perceived as a posterior justification for the oppression that happened many years earlier).¹⁷⁹

In terms of historic content, I have decided to focus on elements that are relevant to the different national narratives. Therefore, economic history is only treated insofar as it helps to explain the political events. Given the purpose of this analysis, there is an over-proportional focus on the history of ‘nationalities’ in the Kingdom of Hungary, however, I abstained from investigating the story of nationalities not relevant to the subject of this thesis (teaching history across the different neighbouring countries): Jews and Gipsies/Romanies.

¹⁷⁸ Naturally, considering the Middle Ages as some kind of expression of ‘national’ movements or interests would be premature and incorrect, as the whole system was based on the personal loyalty to the military leader of bigger or smaller territories and on the negation of the principle of nationality. Medieval armies usually consisted of a few hundreds or thousands of soldiers. (Jászi O. , 1912, pp. 48-54)

¹⁷⁹ However, even for an ‘outsider’ as Winder it is not complicated to see that the Habsburg Empire with all its evils was above the standards of the very complicated 20th century:

The great effort to shake clear of the Empire’s creaking feudal structures meant breaking through into a new world not of tolerance and equality, but of viciousness far greater than anything the old Austro-Hungarian rulers could have dreamt of. (Winder, 2013, p. 664)

6.2 Methodology – comparative case study

As a starting point, I have drafted a similar list of events of the history of the Kingdom of Hungary as the one prepared on British rule in Ireland, however it has proven clear after the first few weeks of analysis that it is largely superfluous because: a) the most important differences between the different national narratives concentrate on large-scale macro-events (e.g. did the Kingdom of Hungary even exist during large part of the analysed period); b) the number of available comparable textbooks does not enable a quantitative analysis; and c) it is difficult to create a joint narrative, driven by the divergence in the content of the textbooks. Therefore, it makes sense to evaluate the narratives contained in the textbooks based on a qualitative methodology which provides the sufficient flexibility to understand the differences. Although a guiding narrative has not been used actively in the analysis, as a reference I reproduce the list of events I have considered to be the most relevant for the topic, as *Appendix 6*. Given the highly contested nature of the history of the region and the different national narratives, in this personal narrative I have added a significant number of relevant references and quotes. In many questions it is possible to establish a plausible version of history, based on coinciding narratives on many sides, including international and supposedly neutral sources (even if specific countries might have a different perspective). Nevertheless, in other cases alternative narratives exist and textbooks therefore should aim to reproduce these alternative points of view or should not refer at all to the question.

There are two types of situations to consider in the analysis: a) the narrative of the Hungarian struggle within the Habsburg Empire for more autonomy / better respect of the existing rights, comparing Hungarian and Austrian textbooks; b) the narrative of the struggle of the ‘nationalities’ within the Kingdom of Hungary for more autonomy from the 19th century, comparing Hungarian textbooks with those of the other surrounding countries. For this second type of analysis, it is also relevant to consider how the conflict has shaped the representation of medieval and early modern history of the region in the different textbooks (and in the specific case of Romanian ethnogenesis also antique history), because these periods are used to justify the divergent points of view about the developments of the later periods.

Another difference in the research methodology in comparison to the one applied for the analysis of British rule in Ireland lies in the diversity of languages in which the relevant sources (the textbooks) have been published and thus the list of languages that could be considered for this study. For the first type of analysis described in the previous paragraph, the one of Hungarian and Austrian textbooks, I can rely on my knowledge of both languages, thus the original versions of the textbooks can be studied. For the second type of analysis, however, it is hardly feasible to study the original versions of the textbooks of all countries in scope, as it would require the working knowledge of five additional languages beyond English, Hungarian and German. Sadly, translations of these textbooks into English (or the other major European languages that I speak: German and Spanish) could not be localised. Nevertheless, a pragmatic solution was also available, without limiting in excess the validity of the research: most of these countries, namely Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania and Serbia, have a sizeable Hungarian minority and primary and secondary school history teaching is frequently offered in their native tongue. Therefore, it is feasible to analyse the History textbooks published for the Hungarian minority of these four countries as a proxy for the History textbooks for the majority ethnicity and compare then with Hungarian textbooks.

Nevertheless, there are two limitations regarding this methodology: a) the usage of translations versus specific books written for the Hungarian minority; and b) frequency of updates or completely new versions.

The second limitation, frequency of updates, only seems to cause trouble in case of Ukraine, where apparently Hungarian pupils still learn from history textbooks published in the last years of the Soviet Union, between 1987 and 1991.

The first limitation, whether books are a translation or have been specifically written for the Hungarian minority, is a more relevant concern:

- Slovakia is a very special case, where secondary school students (age group 14-16) of the Hungarian minority can learn from textbooks written in Hungarian in 2006-7, following a content specifically developed for them. The curriculum mostly includes the historic events which Hungarian historiography considers relevant, enriched by a few specific lectures which additionally explain the events highlighted by Slovakian historiography. These textbooks could be considered an interesting source for this research given their intent to accommodate both points of view (even though the

Hungarian component occupies most space). However, they are less useful as a source which explains the Slovakian perspective in the targeted comparison between the textbooks used by Slovaks in Slovakia (for which the Hungarian translation could be a proxy) and Hungarians in Hungary. Nevertheless, there are also textbooks for the upper primary school (ages 12-14) still from the period of socialist Czechoslovakia, which are pure translations into Hungarian.

- History textbooks for the Hungarian minority in Romania are pure translations from Romanian into Hungarian and therefore serve the purpose of this research, in order to allow for a comparison between Romanian and Hungarian narratives. However – as we will see in the more detailed analysis –, Romanian textbooks tend to be very limited in their content regarding long periods of regional history and therefore additional leaflets have been written and published which include the narrative of the events relevant from the perspective of the Hungarian minority in Romania (although still approved for school usage in Romania by the relevant authorities, thus supposedly not containing any narrative which would be completely unacceptable from a Romanian point of view).

- In case of Serbia, history textbooks are a translation from Serbian into Hungarian, where at the end of each book an additional chapter explains the events relevant from the perspective of Hungarian historiography. This additional chapter has been written by native Hungarians, and also in this case they have been approved by the relevant Serbian authorities.

- As mentioned above, in case of Ukraine, the history textbooks available in Hungarian are still from the period of the Soviet Union, and are a pure translation from Russian into Hungarian.

An additional consideration regarding the usage of translations into Hungarian is the exactness of the translation itself. Given the subject matter, in theory it could happen that the translation has been used either to smoothen or to enhance the misalignment between the two different narratives. The extreme of using the translation to enhance the difference seems highly unlikely as it is not clear who would benefit from such intention. The opposite, to smoothen the misalignment through the translation, is theoretically possible, however, the adjustments will probably be very small given the fact that the translation of these textbooks is specifically supervised by government authorities. The

adjustments could rather consist in the usage of specific terms (e.g. names of persons or geographic locations) that are widely used in Hungarian to describe these, but some of the neighbouring countries have their own versions of the same: the fact that these terms are translated into Hungarian in a history textbook for the Hungarian minority already shows a certain degree of alignment between the different contested narratives. For instance, one of the regional protagonists of the 15th century was John Hunyadi (in Hungarian: Hunyadi János, in Serbian: Sibirjanin Janko, in Romanian: Ioan or Iancu de Hunedoara), who is considered a hero in each country and it has been a source of conflict which ‘national’ identity can be attached to him, considering that his father came from Wallachia, receiving lands from King Sigismund of Hungary, he himself became military regent of the Kingdom of Hungary, voivode of Transylvania and led many battles against the invading Turks, among others successfully defending Belgrade in 1456 (Bidelaux & Jeffries, 1998, pp. 200-201) (the contemporary Hungarian name of Belgrade which in those days formed part of the Kingdom of Hungary was Nándorfehérvár). It might sound strange that calling a town in a Hungarian text by its Hungarian name could be considered ‘irredentist’ in itself, but it has been the case for long (see the magnificently entertaining book ‘Danubia’ by Simon Winder (Winder, 2013): in the contested history of the region it is sometimes easier for an ‘outsider’ to form a relatively objective view). In this chapter I have decided to use the English name of towns if they exist (e.g. Vienna or Belgrade), and if not, I mark them preferably by the name in the language of the country to which they belonged at the time when the events took place (which in most of the cases is Hungarian), also adding at least at the first mention the current official name (often Slovakian or Romanian) and the name in German (e.g. Kassa-Kosice-Kaschau or Kolozsvár-Cluj-Klausenburg).

In line with the methodology applied for the study of British rule in Ireland, I have focused on textbooks published in the last 40 years, since 1980¹⁸⁰. This time period is especially relevant for the selection of source materials, given that it allows to include textbooks published before the fall of socialist regimes in 1989. In some countries we can also observe additional changes in history teaching related to joining the European Union (Paraianu, 2005), thus it is important to compare textbooks from the 90s and early 2000s with those of the 2010s. Given the very different degree of patriotic indoctrination content in education as indicated in the already quoted *V-Indoc* dataset (Neundorf, et al., 2023),

¹⁸⁰ One of the textbooks had been published in 1979.

in my analysis I have compared against each other the textbooks published during the socialist era and separately, in a different analysis, the textbooks published in ex-socialist countries after 1989. As we will see in the next section about primary sources, not every age group in every country has been available pre- and post-1989. Therefore, in the comparison of socialist textbooks Hungarian (10 textbooks + 1 atlas), Czechoslovakian (3 textbooks), Soviet (3), Romanian (2) and Yugoslavian (1) sources could be considered. The analysis of the narrative contained in textbooks published after the fall of communism includes Hungarian (31 textbooks + 3 atlases), Romanian (12 textbooks) and Serbian (8) comparable sources (and also 7 Austrian textbooks). In addition, in each Slovakia and Romania two textbooks can be considered for additional insights as these have been directly written for the Hungarian minority, however, they do not represent the point of view of the majority ethnicity.

In addition to the textbooks, I have also considered the current national curricula, which are usually available in English translation. Although the level of depth of the national curricula is more specific than in case of England or Ireland, it remains at a relatively high level, thus their analysis only provides limited insights.

In case of both primary and secondary sources, when they are published in a language different from English, the translation of the direct or literal quotes has been provided by myself, from Hungarian or German.

6.3 Source materials – comparative case study

The most relevant primary sources for my research are textbooks and they have been collected in three different ways for my research: a) online versions of textbooks; b) search in libraries specialised in educational contents; and c) web search for used textbooks to purchase.

- Online versions of textbooks are available in Austria and Hungary for the last published versions of History textbooks. In Hungary these can be downloaded and in case of Austria they can be viewed on screen page by page, for purposes of review. Unfortunately, I was not successful in identifying online sources for textbooks of other countries in scope.

- There is a library specialised in educational contents in Hungary, the Országos Pedagógiai Könyvtár és Múzeum (National Educational Library and Museum). It conserves all textbooks used in Hungary and also includes some of the textbooks published in Hungarian and used by the Hungarian minorities in the surrounding countries. This library was the main source of my research regarding the history teaching of the Kingdom of Hungary, visited several times between October 2021 and February 2022. Károly Szabó, librarian of this institute, was very helpful in locating for me the relevant source materials and providing expert advice.

In addition, national curricula are available on the website of the Georg-Eckert-Institute, under the curricula workstation.

The full list of the 81 textbooks and 4 history atlases considered as primary sources can be found as *Appendix 5*. Some of the major characteristics of the analysed textbooks are summarised in the following paragraphs:

Hungarian textbooks

For Hungary, an ample selection of 41 textbooks plus 4 historical atlases could be collected for the 8 year groups extending from age 10 to 18. The age group 10 to 14, marked as years 5 to 8, traditionally has been considered as the upper primary school, meanwhile the age group 14 to 18 as the secondary school. The secondary school years have been traditionally marked as I-II-III-IV, however, the last editions of textbooks

already refer to them as classes 9 to 12. Since the 90s, secondary schools also have an alternative – less frequent – form, which consists of 6 or 8 years instead of 4 (starting at age 10 or 12) and there are also technical schools preparing for apprenticeships, where the contents in History are much more condensed. My analysis has focused on the 4-year secondary school and on the upper primary schools¹⁸¹. Hungarian textbooks over the last 40 years have been organised chronologically, the relevant period of 1526-1918 is covered in years 6-7 in the upper primary school and in years 10-11 (classes II-III) in the secondary schools. However, also the first and last years (5 and 8 in the upper primary school and 9 and 12 in the secondary school) can obtain relevant content for the formation of the Kingdom of Hungary (classes 5 and 9) and for the end of the Habsburg Empire (classes 8 and 12). Medieval history from the 11th to the 15th century belonged to years 6 and 10 during the socialist era and up to 2012, after it became part of the year 5 and 9 textbooks, which then also implied changes in textbooks for the following years. It is important to mention that history is a mandatory subject throughout the 8 age groups, although it is not obligatory to participate in a secondary school beyond the age of 16.

For each of these age groups, textbooks have been collected from different years of publication, also allowing an analysis of their evolution in the last 40 years:

- One of the last available versions in or before 1989, reflecting socialist ideology and historiography.
- In case of the secondary school textbooks, a version from the early 2000s. For the most relevant years 10 and 11 (II and III), I have tried to collect different versions.
- The version edited after 2012 when the new National Curriculum has been published.
- In case of years 5 to 7 and 9 to 11, also the last versions published in 2020-2022, when a major review of History textbooks started.

Therefore, I have considered 4 textbooks for age 10 (upper primary school, year 5), 5 textbooks for age 11 (upper primary school, year 6), 4 textbooks for age 12 (upper primary school, year 7), 4 textbooks for age 13 (upper primary school, year 8), 5 textbooks for age 14 (secondary school class I, year 9), 9 textbooks for age 15 (secondary school class II, year 10), 6 textbooks for age 16 (secondary school class III, year 11) and 4

¹⁸¹ Although, given the space constraints of the thesis, I have referred to examples from the secondary school, years 9 to 12.

textbooks also for age 17 (secondary school class IV, year 12). In addition, 4 history atlases have also been analysed.

From these 45 textbooks and atlases, 11 have been published in the socialist era (between 1981 and 1989).

Austrian textbooks

Austrian textbooks currently in use can be accessed in German on the webpage of the Österreichische Bundesverlag Schulbuch GmbH & Co. KG (www.oebv.at), for the purpose of review. This does not allow a temporary comparison between the current and historic versions of the textbooks, nevertheless, in case of Austria no such enormous systematic changes took place in 1989 as in the other countries considered in this chapter. In total, 7 textbooks have been considered, one per age group, from age 11 (year 6) to age 17 (year 12).

Slovakian textbooks

I was only able to localise a few textbooks for the Hungarian minority in Slovakia: for years 6 and 7 (year 7 split into two bands) of the upper primary school still from the socialist era (1982 and 1989), which are translations from the Slovakian original, and cover the period from 800 to 1939. For the 1st and 2nd year of the secondary school (years 9 and 10) the available textbooks have been published in 2006-2007, covering the period up to 1914, however, they have been directly written in Hungarian following the narrative of Hungarian historiography and therefore they cannot be used as a ‘Slovakian’ narrative of the joint history. In total 5 textbooks have been considered.

It is important to consider, as Otcenášová writes, that until the late 90s the old Czechoslovak textbooks had been used in Slovakian secondary schools (Otcenášová, 2019, p. 571).

Ukrainian (Soviet) textbooks

Only three textbooks could be collected for the Hungarian minority in Ukraine, all of them from the Soviet Union from 1987-91. All of them are translations of the

Russian original published between 1987 and 1989, approved by the Education State Council of the Soviet Union. Based on indications from Szabó, Károly, expert librarian of the National Educational Library and Museum in Budapest, no new editions have been published in Ukraine in the Hungarian language up to 2021. Although year 8 is apparently missing, year 7 ends in the 17th century and year 9 starts in 1640, therefore it seems that no relevant content has been missed. Year 10 ends in 1917, coinciding well with the time horizon of this study.

As these textbooks are translations from a Russian original written for the entire Soviet Union, it would be a bit pretentious (from a Hungarian perspective) to expect that Hungarian history is covered in detail. In fact – as we will see –, the mentions related to Hungary are very limited, however they still allow for some relevant conclusions. In total 3 textbooks have been analysed.

Romanian textbooks

As mentioned previously, Romanian textbooks for the Hungarian minority are translations, to which a few separate addendums have been written to reflect on additional aspects of the Hungarian history. One or two textbooks per age group could be localised either through the National Educational Library and Museum in Budapest, or via Internet-based bookstores, which are mostly from the 90s and 2000s, however for year 12 the only available textbook has been published in 1984¹⁸². Therefore, the sources available won't allow a detailed analysis of the temporary evolution of textbooks in Romania, which would have been highly interesting. Two textbooks, one for age 9 (year 4, published in 1981) and another for age 17 (year 12, published in 1984) originate from the socialist era. In total 16 textbooks have been reviewed, 14 of these are translations from Romanian and cover the age groups 9 (year 4) to 17 (year 12) and 2 are specific textbooks written for the Hungarian minority in Romania.

¹⁸² It is unclear if later textbooks for year 12 have not been translated into Hungarian or if they were simply not available in the consulted library or on Internet. As Szakács explains in her paper, textbooks for year 12 used to be the most relevant sources for teaching nationalist history:

This study is based on secondary school rather than primary school national history textbooks due to the fact that this last, 12th year of study, in which pupils are taught the “history of Romanians”, is supposed to offer the ‘fullest’ account of the officially sanctioned historical narrative presented in earlier times of study. Prior national history textbooks are designed for less mature students (8th graders) and thus are more likely to portray a simpler version of history, with more stereotypical images as pedagogical (cognitive) shortcuts. (Szakács, 2007)

Serbian textbooks

Textbooks from Serbia could be collected for each of the 4 years of the upper primary school and for the first two years of the secondary school. Unfortunately, the textbooks related to the 2 last years of the secondary school could not be located. The available textbooks have been published between 2002 and 2019, in addition to the 1979 edition for the first year of the secondary school (year 9). However, with the exception of years 8 and 9, only one textbook was available for each year. For year 8, I was able to access 3 different versions, from 2002, 2009 and 2019. Year 8 deals with contemporary history since the 1850s (in the 2002 edition) or since 1878 (in the 2009 and 2019 editions). For year 9, the two different versions come from 1979 and 2005. The 2005 textbook focuses only on the antiquity, while the 1979 textbook covers from the antiquity until the late 19th century (!), with a strong focus on social and economic history and the history of the labour movement.

As previously highlighted, textbooks for the Hungarian minority in Serbia are translations from Serbian, to which a specific last section has been added to reflect the additional content relevant to the Hungarian minority, already written in Hungarian. This has been the case in all textbooks published between 2002 and 2019¹⁸³, with the exception of those dealing with the antiquity (year 5 of the elementary school and year I of the secondary school from 2005), where the material ends with the Roman Empire and therefore no relevant ‘national’ content could be added. In my opinion, this methodology can be considered probably a ‘best practice’ among the different textbooks reviewed for this thesis, given that it allows students to learn the history relevant to both the country they live in and to their national traditions in a seemingly coordinated manner. Of course, it requires a certain level of agreement about the historical fact base, so that there are no obvious contradictions between different sections of the same book.

In total 9 Serbian textbooks have been analysed, from age 10 (year 5) to age 15 (secondary school year 2), of which one was published before 1989.

¹⁸³ In case of the 1979 textbook, the author of the chapter *The situation of the Hungarians, Southern Slavs and the neighbouring peoples in the Habsburg Monarchy during the first half of the 19th century* is a native Hungarian, but it is unclear if this chapter only had been added in the Hungarian edition. My hypothesis is that most probably this chapter is also included in other language versions as otherwise students would only learn about the early 19th century history of the Southern Slavs living in the Ottoman Empire (which is included in the following chapter), and nothing about Southern Slavs who lived in the Habsburg Monarchy.

Secondary sources

Secondary sources (together with the primary sources mentioned above) were also highly relevant in trying to create my personal narrative of the events, against which I could evaluate the different textbooks. Having been born in Hungary and having studied history in Hungary during primary and secondary school, I was very much aware that there could be a degree of bias in my accumulated knowledge, a certain predisposition to see the events in the light of Hungarian historiography. Hence, I have dedicated significant time to study additional sources to gather alternative points of view.

Initially I thought that it would be feasible to find synthesizing history books that look at the history of the region at depth, without having a special focus on one of its constituents. This also meant to be preferably written by someone who is free from the inherited bias that many people born in the region unfortunately demonstrate. Maybe surprisingly, the search for such books proved to be very difficult. The best examples I have found are *History of Eastern Europe: Crisis and Change* (Bidelaux & Jeffries, 1998) and – more from the genre of educational entertaining than an academic book – *Danubia* (Winder, 2013), narrating the history of the Habsburg Monarchy.

I have also used Wikipedia to learn about different narratives. My hypothesis was that the English version could provide a balanced story combining the different points of view. However, this was not necessarily the case, articles about Hungarian history often seemed to have been translated/transposed from Hungarian and/or visibly written by someone who represents the points of view of Hungarian historiography (which also includes recognising many failures and forms of discrimination e.g. see the article on ‘Magyarization’ (Wikipedia re. Magyarization, n.d.)).

Therefore, I have also read books written in the neighbouring countries, which narrate their history, without a comparative aim (e.g. *History of Slovakia* by Dusan Kovac (Kovac, 2011)). There are also relevant books written in Hungarian which focus on the history and situation of the ‘nationalities’ of the Kingdom of Hungary, written shortly before or after the fall of communism:

- Bellér, Béla: *A magyarországi németek rövid története* [A brief history of the Germans in Hungary], Budapest: Magvető Kiadó, 1981 (Bellér, 1981)
- Ács, Zoltán: *Nemzetiségek a történelmi Magyarországon* [Nationalities in the historic Hungary], Budapest: Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1986 (Ács, 1986)

- Szász, Zoltán: *A románok története* [History of the Romanians], Budapest: Bereményi Könyvkiadó, c. 1993 (Szász, c. 1993)
- Szarka, László: *A szlovákok története* [History of the Slovaks], Budapest: Bereményi Könyvkiadó, c. 1993 (Szarka, c. 1993)
- S. Benedek, András: *Kárpátalja története és kultúrtörténete* [History and cultural history of Transcarpathia], Budapest: Bereményi Könyvkiadó, c. 1993 (S. Benedek, c. 1993)

There are also two highly relevant books written by the Hungarian sociologist Oszkár Jászi at the beginning of the 20th century, who campaigned for more rights of the nationalities up to 1918, in that year he became minister for nationalities, and after the failure of democratic transition he emigrated to the United States of America where he became a university professor. The sympathies of his first book, published in 1912, can be showcased by the fact that it has been used during the Versailles peace negotiations as part of the accusation against the policies of the Kingdom of Hungary before the war. His second book, already written in 1929 in the US, is a magnificent hindsight into what went wrong:

- Jászi, Oszkár: *A nemzeti államok kialakulása és a nemzetiségi kérdés* (The Evolution of the Nation-States and the Nationality Problem), Budapest: n.a., 1912 (Jászi O. , 1912)
- Jászi, Oscar: *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929 (Jászi O. , 1929)

Another remarkable book which allows to understand both competing points of view is Demmel, József: *Pánszlávok a kastélyban* [Panslavs in the castle], 2014, Bratislava-Pozsony: Kalligram Könyv- és Lapkiadó Kft (Demmel, 2014), which narrates the story of a nobleman in the 19th century who had shared Slovakian-Hungarian heritage and supported both national movements. Demmel works for the Research Institute of the Slovakian National Council in Hungary.

6.4 A comparison of Austrian and Hungarian textbooks

Key conclusions:

- Austrian textbooks often treat ‘Habsburg Empire’ and ‘Austria’ as synonyms between 1526 and 1804, which feels as a type of foundational myth as ‘Austria’ before 1804 only referred to the two provinces of Upper and Lower Austria.
- The resistance of the Hungarian nobles to centralisation attempts are portrayed as negative and regressive movements – similarly to British representations of Irish rebellions.
- Similarly to how British textbooks explain Irish history, also Austrian textbooks omit many details about events related to Hungarian history, resulting in a narrative where the reasons for the Hungarian resistance are missing and the actions of the empire are often presented as progressive and benevolent.
- Austrian textbooks evaluate the French, German and Viennese revolutions of 1848 as progressive liberal movements, however emphasize the nationalism of the Italian, Bohemian and Hungarian revolutions of the same period, which however also shared the liberal agenda against the conservatism of the Habsburgs.
- Hungarian textbooks interpret the Compromise of 1867 as a just agreement, when the Austrian narrative emphasizes that the Compromise led to the justified rise of nationalism of other nations and thus to the end of the empire.
- Therefore, the collapse of 1918 is seen in Hungary as a disaster and as an inevitability in Austria. This implies a certain emotional identification in Hungary with the entity of Austria-Hungary and in Austria, with the Habsburg (and later Austrian) Empire. Austrian textbooks see negatively the national movements aiming for autonomy in 1848, Hungarian textbooks the same movements 50 or 70 years later.

In this chapter I will analyse how Austrian textbooks narrate the struggle of Hungarians within the Habsburg Empire for more effective autonomy/better respect of the existing rights. Briefly summarised, the main Hungarian narrative consists of

explaining that the Kingdom of Hungary – of which the Habsburgs became kings in 1526 – was a separate country from all others, with its own laws, legislative structure (the Hungarian Diet) and executive power. It also adds that (until the liberation from the Turks in 1687) Hungary could freely elect its ruler¹⁸⁴. Habsburg kings had to be crowned in order to exercise power and the coronation required an oath promising to keep the existing legislation and the territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Hungary¹⁸⁵. This narrative adds that throughout the centuries the Habsburgs repeatedly tried to centralise their empire, eliminating Hungary's autonomy, also favouring foreigners, and thus disobeying the Law. Against this the Hungarians had to stand up on repeated occasions, also being empowered by legislation from 1222¹⁸⁶. An additional grievance was the lack of religious freedom in a country of a majority Protestant population, leading to forced re-Catholicisation. The Habsburgs did not respect the territorial integrity of the Kingdom either, as they ruled Transylvania as a separate great duchy after gaining control over it in 1691. The Hungarians stood by Maria Theresa in 1740, thus saving the Habsburg Monarchy, and received little recognition for this. The process culminated in the Compromise of 1867 which required both sides to accept certain trade-offs, even if the agreement was disliked by most Hungarians for giving up too much sovereignty.

Although the above summary is based on hardly deniable facts, as *Winder* summarised the situation of Hungary in 1849: 'only history and legality [were] on its side' (*Winder*, 2013, p. 444). It is not difficult to also value the modernisation attempts carried out by some of the Habsburg rulers, which found widespread resistance in the Hungarian nobility fearing for their ancient privileges: one can ask the question if the Hungarians would have been better off economically in a more modern but less 'Hungarian' setup. It would be also incorrect not to appreciate the Habsburg's role in maintaining the previous borders of the Kingdom of Hungary (even if administering Transylvania as a separate duchy between 1691 and 1868) in a changing ethnical

¹⁸⁴ Not in practice, as the cost of maintaining the fortress system was about double as much as the entire income of the kingdom since the middle of the 16th century and thus it relied on financial support from outside (Szabó & Závodszky, 2002, p. 182).

¹⁸⁵ Which has been promised by each and every Habsburg king of Hungary, with the exception of Joseph II, who never did it, and with the important circumstance that in case of Franz Joseph it only happened in 1867 and not in 1848, which allowed him to repress the Hungarian revolution against the legislation already approved by his predecessor Ferdinand V earlier in 1848.

¹⁸⁶ The right of armed resistance has been granted by Andrew II in 1222 in the Golden Bull and it has been reinforced by Louis I the Great in 1351, although the Hungarian Diet renounced from it in 1697 and the Habsburg kings from 1705 issued an inaugural diploma at their accession to the throne, not accepting the resistance clause and allowing the King to his own interpretation of the Law, different from the one supported by the Diet.

landscape, where after the Turkish occupation Hungarians made up much less than half of the inhabitants of ‘their’ kingdom. Of course, it was also in the Habsburgs’ interest, as the base of their rule was the inheritance of the medieval Hungarian crown and the organisation principle of the territories at least until the French Revolution remained dynastical. However, Hungarians benefitted from this most clearly. The booming economy of this larger territory allowed a revival of the fortunes of the people living there during the second half of the 19th century, without which not much of the current beauty of Budapest (and of other towns) would have been built.¹⁸⁷ This larger economy also allowed strengthening the numbers of the Hungarian ethnicity as the towns which led the economic growth during the entire 19th century were concentrated in the centre of the country – where the share of Hungarians was the highest –, and thus the towns facilitated the assimilation of many other ethnicities, mainly Germans and Jews, but also Slovaks, much in the same way as it happened in the United States of America.

In continuation I will examine the Austrian narrative, which can be deduced from the analysed textbooks.

Austria or Habsburg Empire?

A relevant question in the series of Austrian textbooks is whether the Habsburg Empire can be considered Austria itself. The textbook for year 6 (age 11, *Zeitbilder 2*) mentions that ‘he [Frederic III and Maximilian I] put the cornerstone for the rise of Austria to become a great power at the start of modernity’ (Wald, Scheucher, Scheipl, & Ebenhoch, 2017, p. 83). On most occasions (like above: ‘...Austria to become a great power...’) the two concepts of Austria and the Habsburg Empire are treated as synonyms. This point would maybe require some explanation by the textbook authors, as elsewhere this series of textbooks indicate that Austria until 1804 only described the two provinces of Upper and Lower Austria¹⁸⁸ and only after that – due to the creation of the Austrian

¹⁸⁷ There is a highly entertaining narrative of how the luck of the Hungarians has changed, written in 1904 by – here the unsuspected connection between Irish and Hungarian history – Arthur Griffith, Sinn Féin’s founder. This narrative insists on the appreciation that the ascendancy of the Hungarians in the 19th century was based on their denial to accept the Habsburg attempts to reduce their sovereignty. Griffith puts this in perspective of the Irish situation and argues that Ireland should have done the same, and should not continue sending its delegates to Westminster, but should aim for a rearrangement similar to the 1867 Compromise (Griffith, 1904)

¹⁸⁸ For instance, page 45 of the textbook for year 10 (Age 15, *Zeitbilder 6*) includes a map showing the mid-16th century Europe with the names of territories within the Habsburg Empire: Austria, Styria, Carinthia,

Empire – the sum of the lands ruled by the Habsburgs (and only until the 1867 Compromise which changed the name again, to Austria-Hungary). There is no doubt that the branch of the Habsburg family in charge was considered ‘Austrian’ and that they governed their realms most of the time out of Vienna, capital of Lower Austria. However, equalling the entire landholding of the Austrian Habsburgs with ‘Austria’ before 1804 is questionable, especially in the part of the realm which had a different legal status and legislation and could be considered semi-independent, which was the case of the Kingdom of Hungary all the way through the entire period – even if it was a hereditary Habsburg kingdom since 1687. As an additional counterargument, in a book containing a large selection of reprinted maps of Europe between 1526 and 2001 in an increasing order by year of publication, the first time one can find the ‘Austria’ inscription above a territory significantly larger than Upper and Lower Austria is a map from 1805, issued in Vienna, on page 161 of such book. Previously, including the entire period of 17th and 18th centuries, ‘Austria’ appeared on the same level as Styria, Carinthia, Moravia or Bohemia, while the inscription ‘Hungary’ appeared with the same font size as Germany or Poland. The ‘Germany’ sign covers the entire Holy Roman Empire, also including Austria. In cases where different colours mark the different territories, the entire Holy Roman Empire had been marked in one colour (also including Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Moravia, Bohemia etc.) and the entire Kingdom of Hungary had been usually marked in a completely different colour (Plihál & Hapák, 2003, pp. 18-161). This is probably not surprising considering which of these units were kingdoms (Hungary or Poland) or empires (the Holy Roman Empire) and which were ‘mere’ duchies or principalities¹⁸⁹. When Austria becomes an empire on its own right in 1804, the denominations on the maps change accordingly.

In the textbook for year 10 (Age 15, *Zeitbilder* 6), 3 different lectures are dedicated to the creation of the Habsburg Empire and it uses both concepts Habsburg and Austria as synonyms: 16. *The enlargement of the Habsburg power base*, 17. *Austria becomes a great power* and 18. *Austria asserts itself as a great power* (Scheucher, Ebenhoch, Staudinger, & Scheipl, 2018, pp. 44-49). There is also a remarkable quote on

Tirol, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia etc. in a small print, in contrast to larger font regarding Hungary or Poland (Scheucher, Ebenhoch, Staudinger, & Scheipl, 2018, p. 45).

¹⁸⁹ Hence also the very careful wording of the 1723 *Pragmatica Sanctio* in the Hungarian Diet, as the Hungarian nobles wanted to avoid any perception that the ruler of a ‘lesser’ unit (an archduchy: Austria) structurally becomes the overlord of a ‘higher’ unit (a kingdom: Hungary), when the unity of the Habsburg realms is incorporated into the bill.

pages 46-47 which proudly refers to the borders of 1718 as when ‘Austria achieved its largest territorial extension’, making also here clear the identification of the Habsburg Empire with Austria already in this early period. The same perception can be found in the text describing the political situation after the Spanish War of Succession: ‘... four great powers (France, Russia, England, Austria) stood equally powerful against each other’ (p. 47) and on the map on page 48 titled *The conquests of Austria in South-East-Europe*¹⁹⁰. The maps on page 103 and 104 showing Europe under Napoleon and after the 1815 Vienna Conference refer to the entire Habsburg Empire as ‘Austria’ (this time correctly). On page 142, when the outbreak of the First World War is explained - therefore 47 years after the conversion of the Austrian Empire into Austria-Hungary - the book refers to the country as ‘Austria’ nine times and only twice as ‘Austria-Hungary’¹⁹¹.

In the textbook for year 7 (Age 12, *Zeitbilder* 3) a similar treatment of synonyms can be observed. The book illustrates the reign of Emperor Charles VI (1711-1740) as the period when the extension of the Habsburg Empire was the largest, under the title *The Habsburg Multinational State*, also adding that ‘the ruling family was the only connection that stuck together this heterogenous empire’ (Scheucher, Wald, & Ebenhoch, 2018, p. 24).

Original legitimacy of the Habsburg rule in the Kingdom of Hungary

As we have seen in *Chapter 2*, different regimes put a special emphasis on creating and maintaining a foundational myth. In case of the Habsburg rule in the Kingdom of Hungary, the original legitimacy was based on a marriage treaty. The textbook for year 10 (Age 15, *Zeitbilder* 6), on its page 44 tells the story of the different marriages leading to the enlargement of the Habsburg empire, also including the 1515 double marriage

¹⁹⁰ Interestingly, the only territorial divisions shown on the map within the territory of Hungary (marked with the ‘Hungary’ inscription) are the military frontiers and difference between the areas obtained in 1526 against those by the end of the 17th century. Although Transylvania was administered as a separate province, and also Croatia had a degree of autonomy, no inscription of ‘Croatia’ or ‘Transylvania’ can be found. Within the territories belonging to the Holy German Empire, the inscriptions are ‘Austrian lands’, ‘Bohemia’, ‘Moravia’ and ‘Silesia’.

¹⁹¹ There are also some ‘mistakes’ into the opposite direction: it is interesting to observe that the maps on pages 135 and 137, showing the Italian and German unifications, refer to the Habsburg Empire as ‘Empire Austria-Hungary’ in case of Italy (corresponding to 1859-66) and in case of Germany (corresponding to 1866 and 1871) with the name of each of the components of Austria-Hungary, when Austria-Hungary did not exist until 1867 and the only time when Hungary effectively did not have a special status within the Habsburg Empire was between 1849 and 1867, the same period to which these maps refer to (Scheucher, Ebenhoch, Staudinger, & Scheipl, 2018, pp. 135, 137).

treaty between Louis II of Bohemia and Hungary and Mary of Habsburg and between Ferdinand I and Anna of Hungary, which foresaw mutual male inheritance of the royal throne; even a graph is added with the family tree. The same graph and the text also explain that in 1526 Louis II died in the battle of Mohács and that Hungary and Bohemia became Habsburg territories. However, there is no mention of the fact that both countries were elective kingdoms and thus the nobles had the right to elect the king – certainly the marriage treaty was a highly impactful argument. There is also some confusion on page 45 regarding whether Charles V had any entitlement on Bohemia and Hungary: ‘Charles V had already transferred his brother Ferdinand the Austrian lands and the inheritance rights of Bohemia and Hungary at the beginning of his rule’ (Scheucher, Ebenhoch, Staudinger, & Scheipl, 2018, p. 45) – unfortunately the part related to Bohemia and Hungary is not correct, as Ferdinand’s inheritance right was based on his marriage which took place a year before Charles’ accession to power and Charles never had any rights to Bohemia and Hungary.

In the following years, the title of king of Hungary gave the Habsburgs the right (and obligation) to get involved in the regional politics of the area. This important aspect of the legitimacy of the Habsburg rule is often forgotten, for instance in the below text which explains that Ferdinand had to pay the annual tax to the Sultan as an ‘Austrian ruler’ (he had to pay this duty as Hungarian king and the Turks even kept their correspondence with the Habsburgs in Hungarian (Dr. Eperjessy, 1987, pp. 198, 209)):

In 1453 they [the Ottomans] conquered Constantinople. In the following decades the Ottomans subdued one country after another on the Balkans. They conquered Belgrade in 1521. After the victory at Mohács (1526) Hungary came - with the exception of a narrow land strip in the West - under Ottoman rule for nearly two centuries. (...) Ferdinand agreed to a peace with the Ottomans in 1562. The Austrian ruler had to oblige himself to an annual ‘voluntary gift’ of 30,000 gold ducats. Hungary with its capital city remained in the hand of the Ottomans. Although Ferdinand kept the title of a Hungarian king, he effectively ruled only over a narrow strip of Western Hungary.’ (Scheucher, Ebenhoch, Staudinger, & Scheipl, 2018, p. 45)

On the other hand, some maps reproduced in Austrian textbooks recognise the relevance of the entity of the Kingdom of Hungary in this period, even if Hungary did not exist anymore as a political unit: page 45 of the textbook for year 10 (Age 15, *Zeitbilder* 6) shows a map of Europe during the middle of the 16th century, focused on the Austrian and Spanish Habsburg possessions. The three different parts of Hungary can be seen on

the map, above them the inscription 'Hungary' in large font, in similar size as the inscription over Poland, Venice or the Ottoman Empire. Smaller print represents the principalities of Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia. Similar treatment has been applied also on the map on page 29 which depicts *The 'Holy German Empire' after the Thirty Years' War*. It shows the three different territories on what used to be the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, with the inscription 'Hungary' over it, however without much explication. Interestingly, the colour code applied to Royal Hungary is more akin to foreign countries than to Habsburg ruled territories (Scheucher, Ebenhoch, Staudinger, & Scheipl, 2018, pp. 29, 45).

Unification attempts and resistance

The unification attempts of the Habsburg Empire can be seen from both perspectives of modernisation and of assimilation. The analysed Austrian textbooks prefer the narrative of modernisation, showing little sensitivity towards the resistance against assimilation.

The textbook for year 10 (Age 15, *Zeitbilder* 6) does not explain as relevant context the content of the fights against the Turks after 1562 right until 1683, nor the impact that the 1664 'shameful' peace of Vasvár had on the Hungarian nobility, nor makes any connection between the counter-reformation and the movements of the Hungarian nobility. The first event treated after 1562 is the second siege of Vienna in 1683, where the Hungarian occurrences are shown as a disturbing background: 'In Hungary it came again and again to conspiracies of the nobles, as the Habsburgs wanted to rule absolutely also there over the Hungarian nobility. One of the insurgents asked the Ottomans for help against the Habsburgs' (Scheucher, Ebenhoch, Staudinger, & Scheipl, 2018, p. 46). This narrative does not mention the half-hearted earlier Habsburg efforts to fight against the Turks, nor the lack of religious toleration, which caused some of the 'conspiracies'.

The storytelling continues after the victory at Vienna with the following:

Prince Eugene conquers Hungary. The emperor this time wasn't content with fending off the Ottoman attack. He decided to start an offensive against the Ottomans. Thus, they were pushed back in constant battles. The Hungarian capital could be freed after nearly 150 years of Ottoman rule in 1686. Under the pressure also the Hungarian magnates

(=high nobles) had to renounce many of their privileges. Hungary became thus – as Bohemia in 1620 – a Habsburg hereditary monarchy (...) Through the peace of Passarowitz (1718) Austria achieved its largest territorial extension. (Scheucher, Ebenhoch, Staudinger, & Scheipl, 2018, pp. 46-47)

Although the above text is mostly correct, the direct comparison between the fate of Bohemia and Hungary is factually misleading. The same book earlier referred to the outcome of the battle of 1620 as ‘the Bohemian states lost any say in their land. The Kingdom of Bohemia became a Habsburg hereditary kingdom (until 1918)’ (p. 28). In Hungary the kingdom became hereditary, however, the nobility retained many of their rights – which was the cause of the ongoing confrontations with the Habsburgs and the source of many of their frustrations. In fact, in 1687 the Hungarian Diet ‘only’ enacted the hereditary succession of the Habsburgs and renounced its right of armed resistance against unjust rulers.

Page 48 explains the content of the *Pragmatica Sanctio* of 1713, highlighting that through this the hereditary lands became inseparable and that it allowed female inheritance, however, it does not explain that this legislation had to be specifically accepted for Hungary (Hungary had a completely separate legal system from the rest of the Habsburg lands), where the 1687 legislation allowing for Habsburg inheritance of the throne only included the male line. The situation provided the Hungarian nobility ample space to ensure that its special situation within the empire is recognised again. Nevertheless, page 49 dedicates a paragraph to the events unfolding after Maria Theresa’s coronation:

Maria Theresia in Pressburg [Pozsony/Bratislava] – Hungarian help. In this dangerous situation Maria Theresia escaped to Pressburg, the Hungarian coronation town. There the Hungarian nobility offered her military help in exchange for political concessions: the full respect of the constitution, the lowering of the taxes and the non-interference in the internal affairs of Hungarian landowners. (Scheucher, Ebenhoch, Staudinger, & Scheipl, 2018, p. 49)

The textbook for year 7 (Age 12, *Zeitbilder 3*) refers to the intent to establish a unified empire under the title *The Austrian Absolutism* (the text makes it clear that it refers to the entire Habsburg Empire):

Role model Louis XIV. As the French king, also Charles VI wanted to rule absolutely in his empire consisting of many nations. He tried to unify the administration of the empire

through the creation of central authorities in Vienna. In the Alpine countries and in Czechia he was successful. However, he found resistance in Hungary and in today's Belgium. There the nobility insisted on their old privileges. (Scheucher, Wald, & Ebenhoch, 2018, p. 24)

This text leaves the final outcome of the centralisation attempt unclear and – although the description is neutral – the reader probably feels more sympathy with the Habsburgs wanting to modernise their empire in the same way as Louis XIV did than with the Hungarian nobility ‘insisting on their old privileges’. Certainly, the need to reduce the complexity of the textbook due to space constraints does not help, however an unbiased narrative would probably explain that in the first year of his rule Charles VI agreed to the terms of the Peace of Szatmár ending the 8 years of the Rákóczy revolt (or freedom fight from a Hungarian perspective) and that this treaty confirmed the special situation of the Kingdom of Hungary in terms of laws, legislation and executive. In that way the ‘insistence on their old privileges’ could be looked at more sympathetically.

Page 93 of the textbook for year 7 (Age 12, *Zeitbilder 3*) lists many of Joseph II's reforms, however also explaining that not all reforms had success:

The emperor wanted to make from his many lands a state administered centrally from Vienna. Therefore, he introduced everywhere German as the official language. Especially Hungarians fought back against this measure. They achieved its withdrawal. Their official language remained Latin. In his decrees Joseph II took little consideration of the needs of the people and had to withdraw some other reforms as well. (Scheucher, Wald, & Ebenhoch, 2018, p. 93)

The last sentence puts the situation into a perspective not often seen: it is not obvious that the decree establishing German as official language was wise, considering the needs of the people (in this case, the Hungarians). Personally, I am not convinced either of the opposite (which is the opinion of Hungarian historiography); that the content of the language decree was a mistake. The economic benefit of creating a large German-speaking unified market in the Habsburg Empire would have been overwhelming and the world maybe could have been saved from the nationalisms of the area and thus of the First World War. Yes, the world probably would have missed part of the literature developed in the ‘small’ local languages (maybe they would have written in excellent German, as the Irish so successfully wrote in English), but the many benefits certainly could have outweighed the loss of so many national awakenings. Probably the main

mistake was the obligation by decree instead of showing the benefits of freely adopting German (which was anyway already progressing in Hungary).

Religious freedom

The year 7 textbook (Age 12, *Zeitbilder* 3) refers to the wrongdoings of the Counter-Reformation on page 13, regretting the expulsion of 4,000 Protestants from contemporary Austria to Transylvania during Charles VI and Maria Theresa (Scheucher, Wald, & Ebenhoch, 2018, p. 13). The title of the paragraph *Counter-Reformation in the Austrian countries* could cover both contemporary Austria or the entire empire, and while the following text could also refer to both, a map below shows only the current territory of Austria. Maybe it would have been better to also provide examples of the persecution of Protestants in other parts of the empire, for instance in 1674 all Protestant priests in Upper Hungary have been condemned to death and then as royal favour their punishment converted to serving as life-long galley slaves. Another important point of information could have been to highlight why the Habsburgs sent these Austrian Protestants to exactly Transylvania, which also formed part of the Habsburg Empire at the time: there since 1557 (thus much before Habsburg rule) individual religious freedom was observed for Catholics, Lutherans and Calvinists (and since 1568 for Unitarians), thus no Habsburg ruler could have aimed at any successful Counter-Reformation in Transylvania in the 18th century.

The textbook for year 10 (Age 15, *Zeitbilder* 6) dedicates ample space (pages 16-27) to the crisis of the church and the reformation. It also includes the story of the counter-reformation, also referring to Hungary: ‘until 1555 a large share of the population in the Austrian hereditary lands, in Bohemia and in Hungary changed over to the evangelical teaching’ (Scheucher, Ebenhoch, Staudinger, & Scheipl, 2018, p. 26), followed by the description of the process of re-Catholicisation in the Habsburg Empire and the limitations even nobles faced. However, the text also remarks that the situation in Hungary was different:

The Hungarians were granted their religious freedom already in 1609 due to the ‘Turkish danger’. The Protestants and Calvinists in the Austrian lands only received the right of free religious exercise in 1781 through the Toleration Edict of Emperor Joseph II. The evangelical church only received completely equal rights in 1961. (p. 26)

In any case, Emperor Leopold I offered Protestants in Hungary limited religious freedom already in 1681. They received in each county at least one plot for building a church. Through this, the emperor wanted to win Hungarians for a fight against the Ottoman Empire. (p. 160)

The above texts can easily lead to the perception that in the Habsburg-controlled Royal Hungary religious freedom existed and that it was granted by a benevolent emperor. This is far from the reality, first of all because armed resistance was required to reach the acceptance of the legislation by the Habsburgs (Bocskai uprising 1604-1606), second, because it was not based on the initiative of some kind of enlightened ruler, but on the request of the Hungarian Diet (a kind of parliament that existed in Royal Hungary, unlike in the hereditary Austrian lands). and third, because the Habsburgs frequently did not observe the law leading to effective discrimination of Protestants and forced re-Catholicisation and which resulted from time to time in new uprisings of the Hungarian nobility in the 17th and 18th centuries (among them the one just preceding 1681).

This book does not mention the special situation of Transylvania, only what happened in Poland after Stephen Báthory became king: ‘... a Transylvanian prince became king of the Polish-Lithuanian union. He assured religious freedom to the many Calvinists and Lutherans’ (p. 27). Much later, on page 160, there is a reference to Maria Theresa sending many Protestants to Transylvania, providing a debatable motivation: ‘in order to populate territories in the interest of the Habsburg government’ (p. 160).

Page 25 of the textbook for year 7 (Age 12, *Zeitbilder 3*) also misses the chance to highlight certain discriminations among nobles based on ethnicity during Charles VI’s reign: ‘Emperor Charles VI surrounded himself with counsellors who came from all parts of his empire. These rich nobles (e.g. Schwarzenberg, Liechtenstein, Prinz Eugen)... ‘ (Scheucher, Wald, & Ebenhoch, 2018, p. 25). As the list of names explains, most of these rich nobles and counsellors were German (and in case of Prinz Eugen: French). The Hungarian nobility was not frequently represented among them during the reign of Charles VI; certain change came only with Maria Theresa (who requested that also the Hungarian nobles establish themselves at the court).

The revolutions of 1848

Pages 98 and 99 of the textbook for year 7 (Age 12, *Zeitbilder 3*) explain the revolutions of 1848-49. It feels somewhat biased that in case of France, the German Bund and the Revolution in Vienna the book lists social and liberal measures as the objectives of the revolution, however, when summarising the ‘national uprisings of the Czech, Italians and Hungarians’ it clarifies that ‘the objectives of the uprisings was everywhere the creation of own independent (nation-)states’ (Scheucher, Wald, & Ebenhoch, 2018, p. 99). At least in case of the Hungarian revolution, this is not true: only after it became clear that the Habsburgs are not ready to keep the social and liberal legislation approved in April 1848 and militarily attacked the legal government of Hungary, and after more than 6 months of fights did the Hungarian Parliament proclaim the dethronement of the Habsburgs. Even if Kossuth might have had this in his mind much earlier, he was in minority for a long time: he was the only one in the first Hungarian government in power until the first Habsburg-orchestrated attack in September 1848, who did not prefer the maintenance of the union with the Habsburgs. The text immediately before this quote provides a description of the events of the Hungarian uprising, also with too many simplifications:

In the Hungarian part of the Monarchy the reformers demanded the introduction of the Hungarian as official and school language [not true as it already happened in 1844], the elimination of the privileges of the nobles and of the church, liberty for the peasants, freedom of press, of assembly and of religion. Many people in Hungary demanded the separation of Hungary from the Monarchy [the text does not mention the actions of the Habsburgs leading to this]. They proclaimed the republic and dethroned the Habsburgs. The Austrian Emperor asked the Russian Tsar for help [also a simplification, the first ask for help to the Russians and the involvement of Russian troops was 2 months before the dethronement]. The Hungarian revolutionary army was beaten with the support of Russian troops after bitter resistance. (p. 99)

The reader of these two pages could perceive that while the French, German and Austrian revolutions were progressive, the ones in Bohemia, Italy and Hungary were first of all nationalist movements against the integrity of the Habsburg Empire.

In the textbook for year 10 (Age 15, *Zeitbilder 6*) three pages are dedicated to the revolutions of 1848-49, projecting a generally positive picture, however also this book insists in the social and liberal demands of the revolution in Vienna against the national

characteristics in Italy, Bohemia and Hungary, for instance: ‘Lajos Kossuth, the leader of the Hungarian independence movement, strove for a total separation of Hungary from the Habsburg Empire’ (Scheucher, Ebenhoch, Staudinger, & Scheipl, 2018, p. 134) or ‘many Hungarians demanded that the relationship to the whole monarchy is restricted to a mere personal-union’ (p. 133).

Although the below text correctly highlights the national conflicts in Hungary, the reference to the Croats is rather cynical, given that they acted on Habsburg advice. The text below does not refer either to the active role of the Habsburgs to enhance and exploit conflicts between the nationalities. Also, the Habsburg intent to depose the Hungarian government and to dissolve the parliament appear as if they were somehow the consequence of the nationality differences and as if Ferdinand decided them in order to re-establish the legality. Rather the opposite is true.

Within the Kingdom of Hungary differences appeared between the Hungarians and the other nationalities. Especially with the Croats was the conflict sharpened. After failed mediation attempts Croatian troops entered Hungary and Ferdinand I declared the Hungarian government deposed and the Hungarian Parliament dissolved (...) Above all Hungary resisted the knockdown of the revolution. Mid-December 1848 imperial troops invaded Hungary. The Hungarian parliament declared therefore Hungary as an independent country (...) The imperial army could beat the Hungarian revolution finally with Russian help. What followed were an extremely bloody criminal court with many executions and the submission of Hungary under a centralised regime. (pp. 133-134)

Compromise of 1867, dual monarchy and national awakening

The 1867 Compromise is a celebrated event in the Hungarian historiography, ‘finally’ recognising again most of the historical privileges of Hungary within the Habsburg Empire and somehow proving that 1848-49 the Hungarians were right. From an Austrian perspective, there are three major aspects: a) it meant the end of the German absolutist supremacy by giving equal rights to Hungarians (which is not seen positively as it ended the Austrian Empire), b) by giving those rights to the Hungarians it animated the national movements of other nations within the Empire (which is what finally led to its collapse) and c) it meant the establishment of a constitutional order with a (somewhat limited) parliamentary democracy in both parts of the Empire which led to a strong

economic boom. The textbook for year 10 (Age 15, *Zeitbilder 6*) mentions all of these aspects in its narrative:

a) As background to the Compromise of 1867, the text criticises the centralisation after 1849: ‘a strong centralisation was targeted, without any consideration to the specificities of the many nations’ (Scheucher, Ebenhoch, Staudinger, & Scheipl, 2018, p. 164) and it describes how the attempts to create a federal constitution failed: ‘immediately resistance stirred among German liberals, who were oriented towards centralisation, and the Hungarians, who demanded their old constitution’ (p. 165). However, the final result (the Compromise) is described in a negative tone ‘giving in to the Hungarians’ (p. 166).

b) Pages 166 and 167 explain the conflict between nationalities, from which a clear conviction can be recognised that such conflicts were the direct and inevitable result of the Compromise, which made it unstable. In this interpretation the Compromise was not an agreement between the emperor and the strongest political force of the empire not in power (the Hungarian nobility), but rather a ‘donation’ by Vienna, unjustly favouring the Hungarians:

By giving in to the Hungarians, the Viennese Court wanted to keep the unity of the monarchy. However, the remaining groups of people ended up empty-handed. They were because of this very disappointed. They wished for a similar regulation as the one given to the Hungarians. Attempts that went into this direction were from their beginning thwarted by the German national and Hungarian forces. They feared the loss of their supremacy. Thus, the nationalities’ aspirations for emancipation developed very quickly into a battle for the power within the state. (p. 166)

c) Page 166 starts with a quote explaining that the defeat of Königgrätz against Prussia wasn’t a catastrophe - despite the overwhelming historical belief in Austria -, as it allowed a ‘permanently advancing democratisation process, the start of a political, economic and cultural boom and the beginning of the proverbial ‘golden ages’ of the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy’ (p. 166). The page shows a diagram with the constitutional structure of the dual monarchy, too. It also explains that the Compromise of 1867 was between the emperor and the Hungarian Parliament, as ‘the western half of the empire had at this time no constitution and therefore also no parliament’, in a rare recognition that constitutionalism in Hungary had comparably older roots than in Austria and that constitutionalism should not be always considered a sort of a rebellion.

The textbook of year 7 (Age 12, *Zeitbilder 3*) dedicates two pages (122 and 123) to the dual monarchy and its demise. This textbook's narrative rather focuses on the above point b), it treats the Compromise as an episode in the process of creating the nation-states, focusing more on the benefits of the 1867 constitution in Austria than on the actual workings of the dual state, and it also narrates the nationality fights and its final outcome:

This solution made Hungarians and Germans happy. Because they kept in their half-empires their privileges. All other nations felt passed over and disadvantaged. The disappointment led finally after the lost First World War to the disintegration of the Habsburg Monarchy (Scheucher, Wald, & Ebenhoch, 2018, p. 122)

Previously, pages 70-73 of the same textbook explain the existence of multinational states with the examples of the Habsburg Empire and the Osman Empire. Page 70 shows a map of the nationalities of the Habsburg Empire - marking the surface in the colour of the nationality which holds the majority in the region - and summarizes the main characteristics of Austria-Hungary before the First World War. Page 72 highlights the discrimination suffered in these counties based on ethnical or geographical origin, leading to lesser opportunities for 'better jobs at the court, the army and in the public administration' (p. 72). Probably the most remarkable is the recognition on the same page that '...latest in the 19th century the states with many nationalities within their borders could be considered obsolete. The people wanted their own nation-states'. In this sense the text also adds that 'in order to avoid revolutions, the rulers decided to implement reforms. In the Habsburg Empire Austria received a constitution and Hungary the domestic independence', continuing the narrative with the disintegration of the great empires after the end of the First World War.

In contrast, Hungarian textbooks consider the Compromise more as an end-result, based on the negotiation of the two forces, where also the 'receiving end' (the Hungarian nobility) had a strong negotiation position and it was not unified in the acceptance of the terms, feeling that they were falling short in comparison to their ancient rights. Apart from these doubts – whether the Compromise did require giving up too much of the old constitution – Hungarian textbooks consider it a relatively stable and just structure, dedicating ample space to the description of its working and achievements, even if recognising the lack of popularity in both the Austrian and Hungarian public opinion. The Hungarian narrative does not give much emphasis to the underlying structural tension of

the dual monarchy, which maintained a privileged position only for Germans and Hungarians, even if mentioning Kossuth's opposition to the Compromise partly because of this. The tensions for the Hungarian textbooks lie in the fact that the symmetrical political structure was in contrast with the centralised army. In this narrative, there are no doubts that those territories of the Kingdom of Hungary, where the majority of the population was not Hungarian-speaking, should naturally also be ruled from Budapest. Thus, the nationalities' aim to achieve equal rights is often interpreted as some kind of a nuisance trying to 'spoil the party' (see *Appendix 7* for detailed quotes on the view included in Hungarian textbooks, across a few examples from 1996 and 2001).

Both Austrian and Hungarian textbooks frequently reproduce the nationality map of the dual monarchy. This is the case of *Zeitbilder 6* on page 167, and of *Zeitbilder 3* on page 70.

For Hungary, out of the 8 textbooks covering the period only two (Ujvári, 1996 (1)) and (Dr. Helméczy, 1989) do not include such a map. Similarly, all of the four historic atlases published in Hungary reproduce a similar map as well (Kartográfiai Vállalat, 1986, p. 34) (Cartographia Kft, 1998, p. 65) (Katona, 2017, p. 51) (Katona, 2019, p. 37). Differences can be observed however in two aspects: first, whether the maps only show the majority ethnicity in the specific area or if they also include an indication of mixed nationalities in the same area, potentially also reflecting the share of the majority ethnicity; and second, an indication of whether the area was sparsely populated.¹⁹²

¹⁹² This second feature (marking the areas with very low population density in blank) was one of the features of the map presented by the Hungarian delegation to the peace negotiations after the First World War – showcasing the results of the 1910 census – with a large share of the mountainous areas mostly (but sparsely) inhabited by Slovaks and Romanians marked in blank; thus giving it the name 'red map', corresponding to the overwhelming red colour representing the Hungarian ethnicity (Teleki, 1920). Current maps use this feature much less: the 1986 and 1998 atlases only mark a very few areas as 'uninhabited territory' and the 2017 and 2019 atlases do not leave any area blank in case of the 1910 situation (yes in much earlier versions, corresponding to the end of the 15th century, 1720 or 1787 (Katona, 2017, pp. 23, 37)). Among the textbooks, only two recent ones, published in 2018 for year 7 and year 11 (3rd class of the secondary school) mark these areas in blank (Cieger, Zeidler, Bartos, Kojanitz, & Légrádi, 2018, p. 101) (Borhegyi & Paksa, 2017, p. 80). Regarding the question of relative vs. absolute majority, the 2017 and 2019 maps of 1910 show 3 degrees of shading for each nationality, depending on whether the majority nationality had between 20 and 49%, between 50 and 80% or above 81% share from the total population, a solution only applied in these editions. The atlas of 1986 and the year 7 textbook of 1981 use striped areas of several colours to show the mixed character of an area (Kartográfiai Vállalat, 1986, p. 34) (Devecseri & Kislaki, 1981, p. 180). The 1998 version of the atlas shows the mixed areas with irregular dots for the minority ethnicity, which is a rather unfortunate solution as it might give the perception of being majority language islands (Cartographia Kft, 1998, p. 65), a similar solution is used in five out of the six textbooks that reproduce a map.

In comparison, the Austrian textbook *Zeitbilder 6* shows only the majority nationality, without adding a shading for their share from the total population. It adds small regular monocoloured dots to mark mixed territories, which however does not provide much information regarding which are the other nationalities living in the same area. Also, the actual language islands with a majority population different from the surrounding area are not visible. *Zeitbilder 3* shows the same map, however without the regular monocoloured dots and including the language islands. In general, considering the level of detail of the representation, it can be clearly perceived that the question is more relevant to Hungarian textbooks than to the Austrian ones, especially in the last editions.

First World War and dissolution

Austrian textbooks narrate the First World War and the dissolution of the Habsburg monarchy with considerable distance. For instance, page 124 of the year 7 book (Age 12, *Zeitbilder 3*) summarises the causes for the First World War, explaining Franz Ferdinand's plans for increasing the rights of the Slavs and the confrontation with Russia in the Balkans:

The assassination of Sarajevo in 1914: The Austrian heir to the throne was specially hated by the Serbs. He planned to give the Slavs similar rights to those that the Hungarians already had since the Compromise. With that the Serbian Kingdom's plans for a national great empire would have been foiled (...) The nationality issue also played a big role in Austria-Hungary. Above all the Serbs, but also the Italians and Romanians living in the Habsburg Monarchy demanded to join their nation-states (...) Austria-Hungary had annexed the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was occupied since 1878. Especially Russia felt provoked by this. It saw itself namely in the role of a protective power of all Slavs on the Balkans ... (Scheucher, Wald, & Ebenhoch, 2018, p. 124)

Page 125 continues with the actual beginning of the war, also including a quote about the responsibility for starting it. In this textbook, similarly to the point of view represented by the central powers at the end of the war, the focus is on the tragical coincidences which led to the war¹⁹³, without judging that only one side is responsible for

¹⁹³ This opinion is also shared by Martel in his 2014 book *The Month that Changed the World. July 1914*, in which he analyses over 484 pages the actual diplomatic exchanges that took place (Martel, 2014)

it (which is the known content of the peace treaties). Page 135 provides two further quotes from historians about shared responsibility for starting the war.

End of July Emperor Franz Joseph demanded in an ultimatum that Austrian officials can participate in Serbia in the investigations of the Sarajevo assassination. Serbia refused this. Many people in Austria saw the Serbs as a danger for the existence of the Monarchy. Therefore, they wanted to use the opportunity to solve the Balkan question in a war against Serbia. Germany assured the Austrian emperor of its full support. On 28th July Austria declared war on Serbia.

The chain reaction. The hope that Russia would not interfere was not fulfilled. Russia mobilised its army in order to support Serbia. This started the chain reaction ...

The Australian history researcher Christopher Clark about the question who is responsible for the outbreak of the First World War: All sides have armed for a conflict. But none of the great powers had (...) plans for a war against another great power. Under specific circumstances of course all governments were ready for battle (...) The problem in July 1914 was that the people in charge on both sides thought that the enemy strived for war. And that they were ready to accept the war. The tragic of this year is that no one said: we do not want the war, even when the opponent wants it. (In *GeoEpoche*, 1914, 02/2014) (Scheucher, Wald, & Ebenhoch, 2018, p. 125)

Pages 130-131 explain the peace treaties closing the First World War, however apart from confirming that the losers (Germany, Austria and Hungary) did not have the right to have their say at the peace negotiations, and showing the border changes on a map, the text focuses more on the effects of the treaties on Germany and the Near East. For Vienna the peace treaties ended nearly 400 years of existence as the centre of a great power, and it also 'lost' many people of German ethnicity to the neighbouring countries, thus it could be explained if it the book was treating the events with more detail and maybe even with some regret. In comparison with Hungarian textbooks it is a welcome sign of maturity that there are no such contents and – as the already quoted page 122 explains it – the dissolution of the Habsburg empire and the formation of independent nation-states are treated as an inevitability.

The textbook for year 8 (Age 13, *Zeitbilder 4*) dedicates a chapter to 100 years of the Austrian Republic, explaining how it became a republic after the First World War, highlighting the fact that many German-speakers were left outside of the new border:

Many German speaking territories went to the successor states of the Danube Monarchy: the Sudeten to Czechoslovakia, South Tirol and the Kanal Valley to Italy and South Styria

to Yugoslavia (...) All parties expected a unification with Germany. Because no one thought that the small Austria would be viable. (Ebenhoch, Kronberger-Schmid, Scheucher, & Wald, 2019, p. 58).

In the upper school equivalent of year 11 (Age 16, *Zeitbilder* 7), a much more detailed description of the events is provided; the main characteristics of Wilson's 14 points; the fact that only France, the United Kingdom, Italy and the United States participated in the decisions and that the losers did not take part at all in the negotiations; the interests of each of the 4 winning powers; the details of the treaties with Germany, Austria, Hungary and Turkey; and the reactions to the treaties, including the revisionist policy leading to Hitler. However, no nostalgia can be perceived in this book either regarding the loss of the previous empire. The content describing the impact of the treaty for Hungary could be seen as more drastic in comparison to the one for Austria:

Treaty of Saint-Germain with Austria: - Recognition of the successor states; - Cession of German speaking territories in Sudeten, as well as in Bohemia and Moravia, South Tirol, parts of South Styria, the Miess Valley in Carinthia, Seeland and the Kanal Valley; - Prohibition to join the German Empire; - Disarmament to a professional army of 30,000 soldiers

Treaty of Trianon with Hungary: - Cession of about 70 per cent of the territory to the Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Romania (Staudinger, Ebenhich, Scheuer, & Scheipl, 2019, p. 11)

There is an interesting task on the same page students are given: they are asked to compare the clauses of the peace treaties with the 14 points of Wilson and to explain 'which provisions of the Versailles Treaty show the French demands' and 'why the losers described the arrangements as a "dictated peace"'.

Page 36 of the same book uses the same argument found in the textbook for year 7 (Age 12, *Zeitbilder* 3): 'many residents, who used to live in a great empire, doubted the viability of a newly created small state', repeated on page 38 as well. Page 38 also shows a detailed map with all the territories 'German Austria' claimed because of their German-speaking majority, where referendums took place (both Carinthia and the area around Sopron-Ödenburg) and which territories were 'lost without referendums'. Page 39 provides a detailed description of the 'battle for the state territory', with a paragraph dedicated to the case of Sopron, which however does not fully recognise the results: 'the Austrian side doubted about the correct execution [of the referendum]. It resulted in a majority for Hungary. In January 1922 Ödenburg was officially handed over to Hungary'.

There is also some confusion in the chapter summary on page 52: ‘Hungarian troops and the Austrian police battled for Burgenland – and it came to Austria. The area of Ödenburg (Sopron) felt after a referendum to Hungary’. The text gives the impression as if there would have been regular Hungarian army troops battling for Burgenland, which was not the case. The Hungarian government withdrew from the entire Burgenland, however in the area of Sopron Hungarian paramilitary forces started to operate. The result of the activities was the referendum in the area of Sopron.

The same event is also treated with a small bias in case of the textbook for year 8 (Age 13, *Zeitbilder 4*): It explains the (for Austria) successful results of the South Carinthia referendum, but does not mention that there was also a plebiscite in case of Sopron (Ödenburg) on the Hungarian border, ending with the town remaining in Hungary. The lack of comparable detail is somewhat surprising given that the process leading to the plebiscite was similar in a sense that the population took an active role in making sure the referendum took place and also by the fact that many people voted against their ethnicity in both cases (e.g. many German-speakers voting for Sopron remaining part of Hungary)¹⁹⁴:

In the bilingual South Carinthia, a plebiscite was planned. In spring 1919 Yugoslavia occupied South Carinthia and claimed sovereignty over the territories populated by Slovenians. Nevertheless, the defensive fight of the population of Carinthia was successful. The referendum on 10th October 1920 resulted a 59% vote for Austria. Many Slovenes of Carinthia voted for remaining in Austria. Burgenland. The mostly German-speaking West-Hungary came only 1921 to Austria, although without Ödenburg (Sopron). The new capital of the new federal state of Burgenland became Eisenstadt. (Ebenhoch, Kronberger-Schmid, Scheucher, & Wald, 2019, p. 58)

On the other hand, in the textbook for year 9 (Age 14, *Zeitbilder 5*), when the history of each of the federal states is explained, in the part referring to Burgenland, a very factual description makes it clear that it wasn’t always part of Austria, not even inhabited by Germans. As we will see later through the examples of other countries, this recognition of not having been the first settlers in a territory or not having owned it for a long time, is not frequent in the national narratives:

¹⁹⁴ There were 15,022 Hungarians, 17,318 Germans and 1,592 other nationalities in the town of Sopron in the 1910 census (Magyar Királyi Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1912, p. 35). In the 1921 plebiscite, across all participating villages; 65% voted for remaining in Hungary and 35% for joining Austria and in the town of Sopron itself 73% voted for remaining in Hungary (Wikipedia re. Sopron referendum, n.d.)

The contemporary Burgenland was part of the Roman province Pannonia. After the Migration of the Peoples it belonged to the Avar Empire. After that it became part of the Hungarian realm of power. Approximately from the 11th century Germans settled and in 16th and 17th centuries Croats immigrated. The contemporary Burgenland was for a millennium part of the Kingdom of Hungary. In 1921 it came to the in 1918 newly established Austrian Republic as 'Burgenland'. (Scheipl, Scheucher, & Ebenhoch, 2017, p. 175)

Summary

In the review of Austrian textbooks – regarding the representation of the Hungarian struggle within the Habsburg Empire for an effective autonomy – a number of relevant differences have been found, which can be understood as examples of bias:

- Austrian textbooks use synonymously the name 'Habsburg Empire' and 'Austria' also between 1526 and 1804, thus providing some kind of national justification back to the 16th century, based on the glory of the expanding Habsburgs, when in effect Austria only represented the two provinces Upper and Lower Austria and the connection between the different realms was only the ruler, not a unified country. This changed in 1804 by the proclamation of the Austrian Empire and Austria remained the name of the realm until 1867, when it became Austria-Hungary.

- The special situation of Hungary within the Habsburg Empire is treated ambiguously throughout the textbooks. Although there are several references to this fact, they rather come as a complaint for the stubbornness of the Hungarian nobles wanting to keep their privileges. The incorrect perception of the reader will probably be that Hungary formed part of something called 'Austria' throughout the period against which the Hungarians frequently, regrettably and unsuccessfully rebelled.

- The religious discrimination of Protestants is presented as if it only impacted the territories outside of Hungary and as if Hungary would have 'received' some kind of privileges from the benevolent Habsburg ruler. This is not correct; for the existence of discrimination and forced Catholicisation also in Hungary; for how the relative tolerance has been achieved (not by the initiative of the ruler); and for how the Hungarian nobility continued to fight for the observation of religious freedom, being one of the reasons of the above frequent rebellions. Another reason for the Hungarian

nobility's discontent was that until Maria Theresa they were often excluded from office in the court, a fact not represented either in the Austrian textbooks.

- There is a bias in the narrative of the revolutions of 1848-49: when it is the French, German or Viennese revolution, they are seen as progressive liberal movements, the Italian, Czech and Hungarian revolutions are presented as not so positive nationalistic initiatives (as they went against the Habsburg Empire). Also the actions of the Habsburgs during 1848-49 are whitewashed, giving the perception as if they were acting in order to preserve the peace among the nations of the empire.

- Austrian textbooks depict the Compromise of 1867 as a favour given by Austria to the Hungarians, instead of considering that it was a necessary agreement to keep up the empire, and that it was achieved based on negotiations where both sides had to give up some of their demands (hence it is a compromise).

- Austrian textbooks provide a partial description of the referendums which established the current Austrian borders, by highlighting the Austrian success in the plebiscite against the Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom, while either remaining silent about the referendum in the area of Sopron or providing a simplified and misleading narrative.

On the other hand, Hungarian textbooks narrate the end of the dual monarchy with a much higher degree of emotional connection, with a feeling of nostalgia, while Austrian textbooks are capable of distancing themselves from the multi-national empire at this stage (as we have seen, not yet in 1848-49 or in 1867). Austrian textbooks demonstrate a high degree of maturity by recognising the inevitability of the collapse due the intrinsic inequalities among the different nations living in the monarchy, while Hungarian textbooks give the perception that the end of Austria-Hungary could have been avoided if some unlucky events do not happen. In the Hungarian narrative the nationalities' demands often appear as disturbing nonsense, while they are recognised as just in Austrian textbooks.

With this, a reasonable hypothesis is that each of the two nations mourn the moment of losing power in comparison to the age they consider glorious: in case of Austria this happened in the middle of the 19th century and in case of Hungary in 1918. Hence the different attitudes towards 1848-49, 1867 and 1918. Similarly, they have a strong emotional attachment to their 'moments of glory', for Austria the early 16th century, 1683-1697 and 1804-1815 and for Hungary 1848-49 and 1867.

6.5 A comparison of socialist textbooks

Key conclusions:

- Socialist textbooks varied significantly between countries with a nationalistic education ideal and those much more multicultural.
- Among the multicultural textbooks Yugoslavia stands out, celebrating progressive achievements of other nations and criticising their own nationalism if it was against progress.
- Hungarian textbooks are based on an ethos of regional cooperation, emphasising the similarities with other neighbouring countries, condemning Hungarian attempts to conquer some of them, but at the same time they show certain pride in Hungary's national past and depict other nationalities who lived in the kingdom more as objects and less as subjects with their own legitimate aspirations – except when it already became too late, after the end of the First World War.
- Textbooks from Romania, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union showcase a more mythical representation of the past, based on the four dogmas of 'ancientness, continuity, independence, and unity'. The most extreme case is Romania, where textbooks are completely based on the national master narrative and everything else is omitted.
- Czechoslovak history textbooks already include a more holistic representation of the chronology, however, they are intrinsically critical with other nations and also use certain tactics to create the perception as if their own nation was more ancient, independent and united as the neighbour.
- Soviet textbooks put emphasis on the Slavic identity, but celebrate the Rus of Kiev as an ancient, continuous, independent and unified entity. In this attempt, they also adjust the borders of the time in textbook maps to underline this message.

Despite the aim of internationalism¹⁹⁵ propagated in socialist-communist¹⁹⁶ ideals the reality of many socialist countries hid strong nationalism under a layer of internationalist slogans. The level of patriot indoctrination contents in education can be highlighted by the high scores many of these countries received until 1989 in the V-Indoc dataset (see *Section 2.3*): Romania, Poland, Soviet Union all scored above 0.8 in a scale of 0 to 1 and Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia were around 0.7. Hungary obtained a score of approximately 0.4, below the world average¹⁹⁷ (Neundorf, et al., 2023). *Section 2.3* already included references to many scholars who analysed the particular situation in Romania during Ceausescu, among them both Paraianu and Corduneanu referring to ‘ancientness, continuity, independence, and unity’ as the invented traditions or dogmas of Romanian historiography of this period (Corduneanu, 2003) (Paraianu, 2005). The contribution of my research to this scholarly debate should not be the repetition of the already described arguments against the nationalistic indoctrination of Romanian textbooks in particular, but a transnational comparison across the socialist countries. As already introduced in *Section 6.2*, this comparison of socialist textbooks analyses Hungarian (10 textbooks+1 atlas), (Czech)Slovakian (3 textbooks), Soviet (3), Romanian (2) and Yugoslavian (1) sources published before the transition to democracy in these countries.

Figure 3 summarises the main findings of this international comparison. The most relevant point is that Paraianu’s description of four dogmas in Romanian textbooks: ‘ancientness, continuity, independence, and unity’ (Paraianu, 2005) are also applicable to the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. History textbooks from the socialist-communist era of these three countries (Romania, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union) seem to highlight that the nation of the given country is ancient (and more ancient than the

¹⁹⁵ I must confess that going to school in Hungary in the early 80s I felt very proud of this feeling of international belonging – I still remember going to a pioneer camp, singing the *Guantanamo* and celebrating the common belonging to a wide group of countries ‘on the right side of history’.

¹⁹⁶ I will be referring to the political system of these countries as socialism, although often it is called communism. This is based on the narrative of what I often heard in Hungary during the 80s: ‘we live in a socialist country, and we are building the communism, but we have not achieved yet that degree of development’.

¹⁹⁷ Again from personal experience, in socialist Hungary nationalism was a taboo. Maybe because of the strongly irredentist policies of the inter-war period, and considering that it led to siding with Hitler, the regime made the condemnation of nationalism one of its flagship achievements. Mentioning the existence of Hungarian minorities in the surrounding countries and their treatment was not just politically incorrect, but potentially also dangerous – you better whispered any comment about this topic. During my school years, wearing a tiny red-white-green cockade on 15 March, following the tradition of the 1848 revolution, was not any more a defiance; it represented a revolution against the reactionary Habsburg regime and a limited manifestation of national spirit.

neighbouring countries), that it has been inhabiting the territory of the current nation-state continuously (and that in case of neighbouring countries such continuity cannot be demonstrated), that the nation has always enjoyed some kind of independence (forgetting about periods when this wasn't the case or stressing that there was some kind of independence in form of autonomies) and that the nation was always united (and when this wasn't the case politically, the authors claim that it did happen in cultural or economic terms)¹⁹⁸.

Figure 3: Very different degrees of nationalism in Socialist textbooks

Multiculturalism in textbooks			Nationalism in textbooks	
<u>Yugoslavia</u>	<u>Hungary</u>	<u>Soviet Union</u>	<u>Czechoslovakia</u>	<u>Romania</u>
• Illustrates historical developments with examples from most European countries • Outspoken aim to learn about each other's historical past • Positioning nationalism as a Europe-wide phenomenon in the 19th century • Critique for 'own' nationalism (e.g. role in 1848-49 and after 1918) and praise for other nations' national movements if they were progressive (e.g. Hungary in 1848-49)	• Highlights the similarities in the development between Poland, Czechia and Hungary (in the Middle Ages, against the Turks and the Emperor) • Recognition of the glories of neighbouring countries • Non-celebratory and even critical narrative of conquests beyond the borders of the historic Hungary • The semi-independent Transylvania is clearly seen as the protector of Hungarian interests • Although recognizing their existence and role, little attention is paid to the minorities • The 1867 Compromise is seen as justified, although recognising the aims of the nationalities	• Emphasis on Slavic identity • Maps suggest larger and more unified Kievan Rus • Excuses the Russian people of the Tsarist intervention in 1848 • Although condemns all sides as imperialist, portrays Germany as an aggressor against a more benevolent Russia in WW1	• Holistic chronology, also narrating the Kingdom of Hungary • Although it is clear that the 'others' were bad • Some confusion about statehood continuity • Intrinsically critical with others' national movements • Denial of nationalities' agency, except for Ukrainians	• National rhetoric in epic style • Only focus on events which support the national master narrative • Suggests statehood continuity throughout history • Omission of not so glorious past • Appropriating heroes of shared background • Denial of existence of nationalities

Paraianu's description of four dogmas in Romanian textbooks: 'ancientness, continuity, independence, and unity'¹, also applicable to the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia

1. Paraianu, R. (2005, November 11). The history textbooks controversy in Romania. *Eurozine*. Retrieved July 11, 2021, from <https://www.eurozine.com/the-history-textbooks-controversy-in-romania-3/>

Yugoslavia

From the socialist period of Yugoslavia, only one History textbook published in Hungarian could be obtained, for the first class of the secondary school (Gacesa, Perovic, Popov, Rakic, & Csehák, 1979). This textbook shows an unparalleled multicultural respect among all analysed textbooks from this period. It illustrates historical developments with examples from most European countries, shows an outspoken aim to learn about each other's historical past, positions nationalism as a Europe-wide phenomenon of the 19th century without blaming any specific country for it, criticises the country's 'own' nationalism (e.g. role of Croats and Serbs in 1848-49 and of Serbs in 1918) and praises other nations' national movements if they were progressive

¹⁹⁸ It is not easy to find clear proof points either for or against cultural and economic integration of a region with another region many centuries ago, even less to 'rank' with which neighbouring region did the area have the most connections.

(e.g. Hungary in 1848-49)! However, page 154 clarifies that the Serbo-Croatian original of the textbook probably was specifically written for the autonomous region of Vojvodina, where many different nationalities live since the early 18th century. Therefore, we cannot automatically extrapolate the conclusions from the analysis of this textbook to the entire territory of Yugoslavia. The following detailed contents of multicultural awareness should be mentioned:

- When describing social, economic, cultural or political changes, the textbook narrates the experience of different European countries of the time, both in the Middle Ages and in the 18th-19th centuries: peasant wars (p.52), universities (p.53), impact of the French revolution (p.79), absolutism (p.83), population growth (p.117), state of agriculture and industry (p.118), railways (p.120), constitutionalism of the monarchies (p.126), national and liberal political movements 1830-1848 (pp.131-132)¹⁹⁹.

- The textbook emphasizes an outspoken aim to learn about each other's historical past (here is where the specific reference to Vojvodina is made):

At the end of the 18th century the suppressed nations' national movements unfolded in the Monarchy. The liberal nobility, the bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia were the members of these national movements. These national movements did not aim to topple the Habsburg Monarchy, they only demanded internal political and cultural autonomy. (...) We will separately deal with the national movement of each nation which live in today's Vojvodina. It is important that we know each other's historical past.' (pp.153-154)

- The authors also position nationalism in the first half of the 19th century as a Europe-wide phenomenon, mentioning Herder, Fichte and Mazzini, and clarify that they sought both national and liberal revolution and that they considered national liberties as a step towards a universal human community. The textbook does not represent some nationalism as good, and others, as bad (p.138).

- The national awakening process across the nations of Yugoslavia is described narrating all nationalities, and the first to mention is the movement of Hungarians (which happened chronologically first), in a sign of surprising maturity:

¹⁹⁹ For the Middle Ages references are made to France, England, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Austria, Poland and Czechia. For the 18th-19th centuries, to England, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, Sweden, Germany, Austria, Hungary and Russia, sometimes also to Portugal, Spain, Ireland, Switzerland, Poland, Turkey, and Denmark.

Essence of the national movements of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia. In our country, the capitalist transformation started at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries. The Yugoslavian nations and nationalities never had a unified and independent state during the modernity, which would have made it easier to convert them into nations. In essence they were subjects of two large empires, the Habsburg and the Turkish empires. Because of this, the national liberation movement started together with the emergence of capitalist production and of the national bourgeoisie. First, in the Habsburg monarchy. The first uprising of the Hungarians against the Habsburgs was the kurutz movement. The war of independence led by Ferenc Rákóczi II lasted from 1703 until 1711. (...) These first national movements made the way free for the revival of the national culture and awakened the national self-consciousness. At the beginning of the 19th century also the ideas of the French Revolution impacted our peoples, insomuch as the Hungarian Jacobins in the 1790s wanted to create a Hungarian republic independent from the Habsburgs. The national self-consciousness of Slovenes, Croatians, Serbians of Hungary, Romanians and Slovaks started to awaken at this time and their national movement unfolded. The national revival movement of the Hungarians reached such an extent during the first half of the 19th century, that they proclaimed the dethronement of the Habsburg dynasty and the establishment of the Hungarian republic during the revolution and war of independence of 1848-49. (p.201)

- There is a clear criticism of Serbian nationalism after 1918:

The first phase of the struggle to unify the Southern Slav peoples and to find a solution to the national question finished in 1918, when the Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom was established. The Southern Slav peoples had been freed from foreign rule, but the national question had not been solved. The power had been concentrated in the hands of the Great-Serbian bourgeoisie. (pp.201-202)

The textbook also includes a detailed description of who was in power in the different parts of the Habsburg Empire, and this narrative stands very close to what Hungarian textbooks consider. These paragraphs clarify the ‘sandwich’ situation of the Hungarian nobility, being dependent from Austria, but also oppressing other nationalities; the fact that there was something that we can consider Hungary within the Habsburg Empire and that it included Slovakia, Vojvodina, Transylvania, Croatia and Slavonia (the latter two having an autonomy); that the nobility of other nationalities considered that they belonged to the Hungarian nobility; and that the Habsburgs cleverly played against each other the different nationalities:

In the multinational Habsburg Monarchy, the German nobility ruled over the suppressed Czech, Polish, Italian and Slovene peoples. Although even the Hungarian nobility was dissatisfied with its situation within the monarchy, because – even if it was the ruling class within Hungary, and it suppressed the Slovakian, Romanian and Serbian people and in addition, it did not treat well the Hungarian people either –, they were not content with the centralised absolutism which had been introduced by the ruling dynasty and their central administration. (p. 152)

In the Habsburg-monarchy the Austrian nobility and bourgeoisie were the ruling class. In Hungary and Croatia, the Hungarian and Croatian nobility and bourgeoisie were also a ruling class, although from many perspectives they were subordinated to the Austrian ruling classes. In the Habsburg-monarchy the feudalism hold firm. Against the feudalism not only the Germans fought, but also the Hungarians, Croats, Poles, Italians etc. The progressive forces of all peoples wished the fall of the political system created by Prince Metternich. (p. 205)

Upper Hungary (today Slovakia), today's Vojvodina, Transylvania, Croatia and Slavonia belonged to Hungary. In Hungary, the Hungarian nobility was in power, while the nobility of the other nations living here was very small and they professed to belong to the Hungarian nobility. The nobility of Croatia and Slavonia were an exemption, as they had a significant role in Croatia and Slavonia. These countries received autonomy still in the middle ages. (p. 152)

...the national movements did not find the way to each other, which the Habsburg dynasty used cleverly for its own political purposes, which in essence was 'divide at impera'. (p. 157)

There is clear praise for the 1848-49 Hungarian revolution, based on its progressiveness, effectively ending feudalism in the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary, to the benefit of all nations. 5 pages are dedicated to the topic of 'Revolution and War of Independence in Hungary' (pp. 206-211), the largest extent among all countries where revolutions took place in 1848. Maximum one page is dedicated to each of France, Italy, Germany and Austria (pp. 202-206), half a page each to the Czech, Slovakian and Romanian movements and three pages to the Southern Slavs (pp. 211-214):

The significance of the Hungarian revolution and war of independence is huge, because there was no return to the pre-revolutionary situation. Feudalism had failed also in Hungary, and with that the way was open to a more open capitalist economic, social

and cultural development, from which also all peoples living in the territory of Hungary benefitted. (p. 211)

In 1848-1849 the role of Hungarians was progressive, because the revolution took the longest in Hungary. In 1849 the whole Europe, including Marx and Engels, expected that the lucky outcome of the Hungarian revolution and war of independence could lead to the revival of European revolutions. (p. 211)

The revolution and war of independence was also defeated in Hungary. Despite its defeat, its significance was huge not just for Hungarians, but also for all other peoples living there, because mainly it is thanks to this revolution that the situation that existed before 1848 could not be restored in the Habsburg monarchy. (pp. 211-212)

The textbook also describes the errors of the Hungarian nationalism: its exclusive character (not following the Fichtean ideals), the mistake of Kossuth in believing in 'Magyarization' against the views of Széchenyi, when only 40% of the population in Hungary was Hungarian (p. 156) and the lack of acceptance or only late recognition of the nationalities' aims. (pp. 209-210): 'in Hungary the leaders of the revolution were only ready to recognize the just demands of the nationalities when it was already too late, in the last days of the revolution' (p. 217).

The textbook includes a nuanced description of the Serbian national movement, from its 'great migration' to the north in 1690 (thus entering the territory what was then part of the Kingdom of Hungary), and of the Slovakian, Romanian, Ukrainian, Croatian and Slovenian national movements and their participation in the revolutions of 1848 (pp. 157-170, 211-214). The authors – although highlighting that their fair demands have not been accepted by the Hungarian revolution – are critical with the Serbian and Croatian national movements in 1848-49, for joining the Habsburgs in their attempt to stop progress:

The Serbs, Croats and Slovenes also took part in this revolution. In its first phase (March-October 1848) their revolutions had a civil democratic character, because they aimed at the destruction of feudalism, the creation of a democratic political system and the fulfilment of their just national demands. In the second phase of the revolution (October 1848 – August 1849) the Slovene movement ceased to exist, and the Serbian and Croatian ones took a different character. As the Hungarian government did not fulfil their fair national demands, and as a part of their leaders (at the Serbs the church, at the Croats Jelacic and the reactionary forces around him) did not agree with the revolution of the masses of people, they stood at the service of the Viennese reactionary forces and helped the triumph of the counterrevolution. On the other hand, the Habsburg reactionary

forces did not keep their promises after crushing the revolution. Nevertheless, the serf liberation became final, from which also the Slovene, Serbian and Croatian people benefitted significantly. (p. 215)

Thus the sad development, that the Serbs right at the beginning of the revolution stood beside the reactionary Habsburg-dynasty, instead of fighting together with the Hungarians against their joint enemy and the reactionary forces. After the suppression of the revolution the emperor did not keep its promises given to the Serbs. In the end, they got as a reward what the Hungarians received as a punishment. (pp. 212-213)

He [Jelačić] completely stood at the service of the counter-revolution, given that he only protected the interests of the Habsburgs against the interests of the Croatian people. (p. 214)

Hungary

From the socialist period, ten different Hungarian textbooks (and a history atlas) have been considered. The most relevant for the studied period is the textbook for 15-16 year olds for the second year of the secondary school (Dr. Eperjessy, 1987), covering the period from the 10th to the early 18th century²⁰⁰, followed by the textbook for the third year of the secondary school (Dr. Závodszky, 1987), which continues the chronological narrative up to the beginning of the First World War.

In summary, these textbooks highlight the similarities in the development between Poland, Czechia and Hungary, during the Middle Ages, against the Turks and the Habsburg Emperor; recognise of the glories of neighbouring countries; and do not celebrate or even criticise conquests beyond the borders of the historic Hungary. However, the semi-independent Transylvania is clearly seen as the protector of Hungarian interests during the Turkish conquest (which might have many proof points, however, this does not show much sensitivity towards the Romanian population of the area) and relatively little attention is paid to the nationalities in general – even if acknowledging their existence and role. In a similar way, the 1867 Austro-Hungarian Compromise is seen as justified – although the relevant textbook recognises that the right aspirations of the nationalities have not been allowed. Textbooks explain the different interpretations of

²⁰⁰ There was also an alternative textbook for the same year (Walter, 1988), somewhat shorter, but following the same history narrative.

contested history, however, there is a clear preference for one of the versions (e.g. immigration theory vs. continuity theory in Romania).

In narrating the similarities between Central-Eastern European countries (Poland, Czechia and Hungary), the following examples can be identified: the form of Christianity (depending from Rome instead of from the Byzantium in contrast to the peoples from Eastern and South-Eastern Europe) (Dr. Eperjessy, 1987, p. 48); the external threat from the expansion plans of the 'German Empire' (pp. 48, 73); the establishment of a feudal economy in the 11th century and formation of guilds (highlighting that guilds only existed in these countries to the East of the river Elbe) (pp. 48-49); the creation of feudal estates and their parliaments in the 13-14th centuries (once again mentioning their uniqueness to the East of the Elbe in these 3 countries) (p. 49); the relative weakness of the cities in comparison to Western Europe (p. 49); the worsening of serfdom in the 15th century (denying again the right of free movement obtained in the 13-14th centuries, in contrast to Western Europe where the obligations of serfs decreased in the 15th century) (p. 49); the joint interest to avoid trade routes via Vienna leading to the 1335 Visegrád treaty between the three kings (p. 97); the personal union with Poland during Louis I (p. 100); the Czech and German orientation of Sigismund (p. 103); the continuation of the personal union with these countries during the first Habsburg ruler, Albert (1437-1439), then with Poland under Vladislas I (1440-1444) and the election of the Czech king, Vladislas II (1490-1516) to the Hungarian throne. The appearance of the 'second serfdom' is illustrated with the relevant Polish legislation (p. 174), drawing attention to similar events in Hungary. The shared past between Czechs and Hungarians continues with the description of the Habsburg rule (pp. 174-175), the intervention of Gabor Bethlen on side of the Czech estates during the thirty years' war (however, the Polish king taking side with the Habsburgs obliged him to retreat), leading to the situation where 'Czechia's independence ceased to exist for three centuries and the Habsburgs declared it their hereditary domain' (p. 176). Poland's anarchy during the 'republic of the nobility' (commonwealth) is also explained, with a positive role attached to the Transylvanian prince Stephen Báthory, who also became Polish king (p.177).

The description of similarities with neighbouring countries continue with the defense against the Turkish expansion, although here the impacted countries are to the south-east. The textbook recognises that many peoples consider Hunyadi their own hero,

but it makes clear that the leadership in Hunyadi's campaigns corresponded to Hungary (as the campaign was led by the Hungarian king of the time) – a narrative very different from what can be found in Romanian textbooks, which – as we will see it later – consider the 1443-44 campaign a Romanian campaign:

Turkish expansion in the Balkans. Osman's successors established their foothold in the Balkans in the middle of the 14th century. Their first victim was Serbia, sunken in anarchy after Stephen Dusan. They extended their authority to most of Serbia's territory after the battle of Kosovopolje in 1389. They captured the then capital of Bulgaria, Trnovo, in 1393 and soon the whole country was conquered. The Turks were already near the borders of Hungary. Hungarian king Sigismund leading a large international army met the Turks at Nikopol in 1396 but suffered heavy defeat. After the failure, no similar Western support have been organised and the full weight of the Turkish conquest weighed upon the weakened Balkan peoples and Hungary. The Romanian principalities fought their heroic fight against the Turks under the leadership of voivodes Mircea of Walachia and Stephen the Great of Moldova, and they only recognised the feudal authority of the Sultan. The most significant figure of the fight against the Turks was John Hunyadi. The different Balkan peoples fought for their independence in alliance with Hunyadi, for instance the Albanians under the leadership of George Kastrioti (Skanderbeg). (pp. 63-64)

The triumph [of Hunyadi in 1442] inspired the southern borders' Hungarian, Romanian and Southern Slav population and the news reached the whole of Europe. (p. 108)

These victories provided the opportunity for Hunyadi to achieve his main objective: the expulsion of the Turks from Europe. He saw clearly that the forces of our homeland on their own are insufficient for this. Thus, he tried to join forces of all threatened countries and peoples in order to strike a blow to the Turks. The so-called long campaign started in the autumn of 1443, in an inconvenient season for the Turks, with the leadership of the king [Vladislas I, 1440-1444] and Hunyadi. Auxiliary forces arrived from Czechia and Poland, also from Moldova, later also Serbians, Bosnians, Bulgarians and Albanians joined the triumphantly progressing army. The whole force reached 35,000 people. In Hungarian and South-Eastern European context, it was a large number, but still small in comparison to the huge strength of the Turks. (...) The territory to the north of Bulgaria was freed. On the Balkans the freedom fights flared up, this is when the war of independence of the Albanians under the leadership of Skanderbeg started.' (p. 109)

Both Hungarians and Romanians consider Hunyadi their own; at the Southern Slavs a whole set of legends has been created around his figure. (p. 111)

Continuing with the joint opposition to the Turks, during Louis II (1516-1526) on occasion of the defeat at Mohács, the presence of Czech and Polish soldiers is highlighted, and that other Czech auxiliary forces and significant Croatian forces were on their way. (p. 134) In 1566 during the siege of Szigetvár, both Hungarian and Croatian soldiers are mentioned (pp. 205-206) and there is also reference to the mixed nature of the armies fighting against the Turks: 'Apart from foreigners, the soldiers were mostly Hungarians or other peoples of Hungary; Croats, Serbs, Romanians and Slovaks fleeing from the Turks, who jointly bled for the defence of the shared homeland' (p. 207) or 'the Hungarian, Croatian and Slovakian soldiers of the border fortresses defended Hungary – and thus Europe – against the Turkish conqueror' (p. 252). During the 15 years' war (1591-1606), the collaboration between the Habsburgs, Wallachians and Transylvanians is highlighted:

At the beginning of the war the possibility of expelling the Turks seemed real. From the Habsburgs to the principality of Transylvania and Michael the Brave, voivode of Wallachia, a wide united front was created against the Turks. The troops of Sigismund Báthori's (Transylvanian prince) excellent military leader and counsellor, Stephen Bocskai and voivode Michael achieved a great victory over the Turks in 1595 at Gyurgyevó in the Lower Danube area. The Transylvanian troops freed a series of castles beside the river Maros and the Habsburgs Esztergom, Vác and Visegrád.' (p. 217)

However, the textbook also briefly mentions Michael the Brave's rule in Transylvania, without referring to the 'unification', so central in the narrative of Romanian textbooks, even if it explains that he also ruled in Moldova:

The consequences of the war were the most severe in Transylvania. After the defeat prince Sigismund Báthori abdicated several times and then returned back to Transylvania. In the confusion, voivode Michael obtained the power in Transylvania for a short time and he extended his rule also to the Romanian principality of Moldova. Imperial general Basta ordered to kill Voivode Michael.' (p. 218)

The joint destiny of the neighbouring peoples extends to the description of the Rákóczi war of independence in the early 18th century, against the Habsburgs, praising the different nationalities living in the Kingdom of Hungary in joining the fights:

The [Rákóczi] war of independence not only unified the peasants and the nobles on the same side, but apart from the Hungarians also the multinational country's inhabitants from many different languages. The Rusyn serfs swore to Rákóczi's banner already at his return. During the campaign in Upper Hungary (....) the Slovakian peasants

joined the insurgents. In Transylvania beside the Hungarians also Romanians fought against the emperor. The court only managed to turn the Serbian soldiers against the war of independence. (...) The Lutheran city dwellers of the German-speaking cities also became supporters of the war of independence... (p. 243).

During the diet of Szécsény [1705] a significant part of the country was in the hands of the insurgents – with the exception of Transdanubia, the Southern borders where Serbians lived, and the Saxon cities of Transylvania. (p. 247)

The heroic fight of the insurgents saved the Hungarian nation from the same fate as the one suffered by the Czech ruling classes after their defeat. (p. 250)

The analysed Hungarian textbook does not shy away from recognising the glories of neighbouring countries in its narrative, with many references to Czechia, at the end of 13th century (Ottokar II), middle of the 14th century (Charles IV) and even during the Hussite movement in the first half of the 15th century (when such movement was countered by emperor Sigismund, who became emperor after being Hungarian king for a long time):

In times of Ottokar II the Kingdom of Czechia was the strongest state in Central Eastern Europe. (p. 49)

Charles IV of Luxembourg was not only the head of the German Empire, but also – already before being crowned as emperor – Czech king. Charles IV established Prague as his capital. This city became one of the most important commercial and cultural centres of the empire and of Europe. Here, Charles IV established Central Eastern Europe's first university in 1348, also visited by many Hungarian students. (p.50)

Due to the Hussite movement, the Czech culture bloomed... (p.55)

Similarly, in case of Serbia their military successes in the 14th century are celebrated:

Serbia shook off Byzantine rule at the end of the 11th century. The independent Serbia lived its heyday in the 14th century. Shortly after winning against the Bulgarian army (1330), Stephen Dusan Serbian king unified under his rule most of the [Balkan] peninsula and organized several military campaigns to obtain the Byzantine throne.' (p. 61)

This textbook also narrates neutrally the establishment of the two Romanian principalities, in both cases against Hungarian kings back in the 14th century:

The first Romanian state formation, in which also Romanised Pechenegs, Cumans and Slavs lived, was Walachia, which was formed on the lowlands of the Lower Danube in

the 13th century. The Wallachian voivode Basarab I won its independence against Charles Robert Hungarian king. Moldova, the other Romanian principality formed in the 14th century, was freed from the suzerainty of the Hungarian king Louis I during the time of voivode Bogdan.' (pp. 60-61)

Hungarian military conquests in neighbouring kingdoms (that is, outside the borders of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary), against Galicia, Bosnia, Serbia, Bulgaria and Moldova, are described in a non-celebratory, even critical tone:

He [Coloman, 1095-1116] also tried to conquer the Russian principality of Galicia, and with this he drifted the country into a senseless and fruitless warfare that extended over centuries. (p. 76)

He [Bela III, 1172-1196] reconquered the parts of the country which came under the rule of Manuel [emperor of Byzantium], but also led wars of conquest, and extended his rule also to some parts of the Balkans (e.g. Bosnia) and Galicia. (p. 80)

Andrew II's ineffective wars in Galicia (1213) and the Holy Land (1217) led to discontent among the upper spheres of the ruling classes. (...) During the king's war in Galicia the conspirators led by viceroy Bánk killed the queen. (p. 81)

After the death of Charles Robert his son Louis I (the Great) (1342-1382) inherited the Hungarian throne. Under the rule of the knight-king Hungary rose to the leading power of Central Eastern Europe. However, in contrast to his father, his rule was not characterized by the peaceful construction but by the series of wars. (p. 99)

His [Louis I's] wars of conquest on the Balkans weakened the strength of the Balkan countries, when all collaboration would have been required against the Osman-Turkish empire progressing in the area. Louis extended his authority to Serbia, Bosnia and Bulgaria, and he tried to subjugate Moldova after it became independent. (p. 100)

The textbook also clarifies that Louis I, who was also king of Poland in a personal-union, did not personally rule³ that kingdom – this affirmation is relevant, as in traditional Hungarian historiography, he was the king under whom three seas washed the borders of Hungary (that is, incorrectly, the Adriatic, the Black Sea and the Baltic Sea):

Louis was crowned Polish king after the death of his uncle (Casimir the Great). The personal union between Poland and Hungary mainly deepened the economic ties between the two countries. Louis I did not personally deal with Polish business, he sent his mother there as a governor. (p. 100)

Matthias has been considered traditionally as the greatest Hungarian king, but the textbook describes neutrally his foreign policy, highlighting that both his enemies and supporters complained about his limited attention to fighting the Turks, and explaining how his foreign policy turned to the West, without much success, even calling his Czech campaign a 'war of conquest' and the lands he acquired an 'occupation' instead of a 'conquest' or an 'acquisition'. His occupation of Vienna is narrated as a defensive action against the emperor, however, there is also a bit of irony in how the author refers to how the Habsburgs managed to achieve Matthias' aims a few decades later:

The direction of his foreign policy turned to the West from the 1460s. Similarly to Sigismund, king and emperor, he wanted to create a strong central eastern European empire after obtaining the Czech crown and the throne of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. He led a war of conquest against Czechia during approximately ten years. He occupied Moravia and Silesia, but he had to share the royal title with the Jagiellonian house which also intervened in the conflict. (p. 120)

Matthias had to defend himself against the aims of conquest of Frederik III of Habsburg from the beginning of his rule. The emperor not only demanded the Hungarian throne through the whole time, but during the Czech war also allied with Matthias' enemies. The Hungarian king in retaliation started a war against him. He occupied the capital of the Habsburgs, Vienna, in 1485 and his court was moved there from Buda. However, he could not obtain the imperial crown. Matthias could not establish the strong Danube empire, which was created a few decades later – also with Vienna as its capital – under the Habsburgs. (p. 120)

On the other hand, little attention is paid to nationalities (minorities) in the early centuries of the Kingdom of Hungary. For example, the integration of the entire Carpathian basin into the Kingdom of Hungary is narrated as the result of the strengthened power of the king and the nobles against the freemen, not attributing any agency to any national minority, which must have already existed at least in part of these territories:

In the second part of the [11th] century the sinking of freemen into feudal dependence accelerated. The ruling class used violence to subjugate the freemen. In order to escape from the power of the landlords, the freemen migrated to the sparsely populated Northern and Eastern parts of the country. But they could not keep their freedom for long, because the landlords and the king extended their authority also over them. The Hungarian feudal state thus soon extended its rule over the entire Carpathian basin.' (p.74)

Although the textbook recognises the existence of several minorities during the Middle Ages, it is clear that it considers that the previous native population was assimilated and that other nationalities only arrived (Romanians and Rusyns) or were formed (Slovaks) after the Hungarians arrived and occupied the territory:

Different historic sources and place names prove that these peoples lived together with Hungarians. Thus, in the early medieval Hungary a significant number of non-Hungarians lived, although the overwhelming majority of the population was formed by Hungarians for long (until the Turkish conquest). The Bulgarians living beyond the river Tisza and the southern Slavs (Slovenes) living beyond the river Danube soon assimilated into the more numerous Hungarian people. A part of the Slovenes living in the north-west pulled back to the mountains. Among them also other Slav peoples (Moravians, Czechs and Poles) settled down. From the fusion of the Slavs who have lived here for longer and the new immigrants the Slovak peoples formed in the north-west of the country. Approximately at the same with the Romanians, the Ruthenians (also Rusyn or Carpatho-Rusyn) appeared in the north-eastern mountains.’ (p. 80)

Nevertheless, the collaboration between Hungarians and Romanians is explained both in the 1437 and 1514 peasant uprisings. The detailed narrative of the ‘Hungarian-Romanian peasant uprising in Transylvania’ in 1437 (pp. 105-106) highlights that ‘the peasant uprising in Transylvania is an outstanding tradition of the antifeudal fight and collaboration of the Hungarian and Romanian peoples’ (p. 106), in a similar way to the Romanian textbook narrative (one might assume that there could have been a political agreement between the two socialist countries to try to teach at least one positive example of collaboration between the two peoples). The textbook also explains the reasons for the uprising, including the intention to extend the obligation to pay the tithe also to the Orthodox Romanians and to smallholder nobles and the demand that the tithe is paid in a new stronger currency (p. 105); followed by the union of the Hungarian nobles, the Szekler leaders and the Saxon patricians ‘against the “internal and external enemy”, meaning the Hungarian and Romanian serfs and the Turks’ (p. 106). On the other hand, the narrative of the 1514 peasant uprising describes the events in much detail (3.5 pages, pp. 126-129), explaining more as a side-note that ‘the uprising also extended to a part of Transylvania, where beside the Hungarians also the Romanian peasants took to arms’ (p.

128) – a quite different tone compared with Romanian textbooks which place the main events in Transylvania²⁰¹.

In case of John Hunyadi, his Romanian origin is recognised, however, his role as a Hungarian baron is undoubtedly explained:

Hunyadi's first victories. His father fled to Hungary from Walachia and as a court knight of Sigismund he received the castle of Hunyad as a fief. John Hunyadi entered the king's army still young and participated in the wars against the Turks. Marrying the daughter of a wealthy landowning family (Elizabeth Szilágyi), he joined the leading stratum of the middle gentry which organized the movement against the barons. (p. 107)

As a reward for his success, he received the Banat of Severin [the west of Oltenia], which no barons applied for given the permanent Turkish attacks. (...) Soon he received the Voivodeship of Transylvania, became the count of Temes [Timisoara] and the captain of Belgrade, each of which were highly coveted offices. By then he is already the most powerful landlord of the country, ruler of about 30 castles, 60 agricultural cities, 1000 villages and 5.7 million acres of land. (p.108)

The parliament of 1446 (...) elected Hunyadi as governor during Ladislaus V's minority (1446-1452). (p.110)

The description of the religious situation explains that 'the overwhelming majority of the country's population became Protestant by the middle of the 16th century' (p. 215), and highlights that most soldiers in the castles and the population of the agricultural cities were followers of Calvin, and that the Saxons followed Luther, but there is no mention of also the Slovaks becoming Lutherans. The textbook also mentions that in Transylvania – 'long before other (...) European countries' – the freedom of religion was enacted in 1568 for the accepted Catholic and Protestant faiths, but that 'they were less tolerant with the Orthodox Romanians', even if 'they printed the New Testament in their native tongue in Brassó [Hermannstadt / Brasov], the first printed book in Romanian language' (p. 216). This narrative clearly shows that Romanians were 'the other', whose religious discrimination did not really matter that much.

When mentioning Nicholas Zrínyi, the Croatian origin of his family is explained, although the text makes clear the family's long-term involvement in the defense of

²⁰¹ Many of the events took place in the region which today belongs to Romania but was not part of Transylvania at the time of the events, e.g. Temesvár (Timisoara).

Hungary: ‘Nicholas Zrínyi (1620-1664) came from an aristocratic family of Croatian origin. One of his forefathers died in the battle of Mohács, his great-grandfather was the hero of Szigetvár, his grandfather and father fought the Turks’ (p. 227) and the quotes from his literary activity (written in Hungarian) makes clear that he considered himself Hungarian.

However, in the description of the failed uprising after the peace of Vasvár (1664) – even if mentioning that Zrínyi’s younger brother, Peter, also participated as the Ban of Croatia, and also the name of Francis Frangepan is mentioned, the uprising seems an only Hungarian matter and there is no clarification about the even bigger impact it had in Croatia (p. 229). The following uprising (1678-1685), led by Emmerich Thököly, also obtains a detailed description, explaining that he became the prince of Upper Hungary, however, there is no mention that a significant share of the population of this area was Slovakian (p. 233).

The textbook finally summarises the impact of the Turkish conquest in terms of establishing a numerical minority of Hungarians with the Kingdom of Hungary:

At the end of the Turkish rule thus in the Carpathian basin the Hungarian population became a minority against the Serbian, Romanian and Slovakian population which lived further away from the Turkish conquest or was strengthened by immigration or plantation. (p. 252)

Although the analysed textbook explains the existence of different competing theories in case of the ethnogenesis of the Romanian people, it is clear that it considers one of the theories proven:

By the so-called continuity theory, the Romanian peoples were created in the Roman province of Dacia (the later Transylvania) through the fusion of the Dacian and Roman peoples and lived on this territory without interruption. However, this theory cannot be proven either by historic, nor by grammatical proofs. By the other theory – which can be supported by historic and grammatical arguments –, the Romanian peoples descend from the Thracian-Illyrian native shepherd population who lived in the central part of the Balkan peninsula and which – similarly to the Albanians, who also are of Illyrian descent – took over the language of the Latin conquerors during centuries of Roman rule. The Romanian peoples later migrated from their birthplace to the Lower Danube, and the Slavs living in their neighbourhood named them Vlachs. From the 10-

11th centuries they occupied also part of the territory to the north of the Danube and a few of them also appeared in Transylvania in the 12-13th centuries. (p. 60)

From the second part of the 12th century the Transylvanian presence of a small number of Romanians arriving from the south can be detected. (Larger masses of Romanians migrated to the country from the 14-15th centuries.) (p. 78)

The joint history with Croatia since its incorporation into the Kingdom of Hungary is narrated neutrally, however, there is an emphasis on the military conquest and the negotiations with Croatian nobles are not mentioned. This narrative also omits periods when Croatia effectively was not part of the Kingdom of Hungary but was directly ruled from Vienna (even though it still formed part of the countries of the crown of Hungary, *de facto* it was ruled differently):

Based on his kinship with the extinct Croatian ruling family, Ladislaus [1077-1095] occupied the area between the rivers Drava and Sava, Slavonia and Croatia's seaside part, Dalmatia, which until then was controlled by Venice. Croatia until 1918 was under the authority of the Kingdom of Hungary, although it kept its internal autonomy. Hungary and Croatia had the same ruler; thus, a personal union was established between the two countries. (...) Coloman [1095-1116] consolidated the Dalmatian conquests of Ladislaus. (p. 76)

The semi-independent Transylvania during the period of the Turkish conquest is undoubtedly seen as the protector of Hungarian interests, supported by many proof points, such as its origin based on the peace made between the two contenders to the Hungarian throne and Suleiman's cession of the eastern part of Hungary to the baby son of one of the original contenders; the royal title of the baby (based on the original split with Habsburg Ferdinand); that the territory of the principality included many parts which previously did not form part of the Voivodship of Transylvania; the fights of prince Bocskai against the Habsburgs guaranteeing the independence of Transylvania and his political will emphasizing the role of Transylvania in protecting a Hungarian statehood; and prince Bethlen's similar attempts also entering the thirty years' war against the Habsburgs:

Szapolyai and Ferdinand made peace in 1538 in [Nagy]Várad [Oradea]. They mutually accepted the status quo. (p. 194)

The independent Transylvanian principality was established after the fall of Buda. (...) Suleiman ceded the eastern part of the country to the baby John Sigismund, instead of whom his guardian, George Frater, and his mother ruled. The state existence of the remnant Hungary during one and a half centuries was mainly safeguarded by the principality of Transylvania, which was formed at the collision point of the two large empires. (p. 196)

After the death of George Frater, the diet of Transylvania called back John Sigismund, who formally had a royal title. Transylvania's first true prince was the humanist Stephan Báthori, considered by the Polish as one of their greatest kings. (p. 197)

The principality of Transylvania organised its internal affairs independently. However, it was not independent in terms of foreign policy. The Habsburgs always wanted to obtain it. The Turks considered the prince of Transylvania their vassal, who after his election was solemnly inaugurated by the representative of the Sultan. The principality owed a yearly tax to the Turkish Port. The principality of Transylvania also included the parts beyond the river Tisza detached from Hungary (so-called Partium), the area between the rivers Danube, Tisza and Maros [later referred to as Banat] and from the 17th century some counties of Upper Hungary. (p. 196)

In 1606 the representatives of the insurgents and of the imperial court agreed to a peace treaty. (...) The most important achievement was the recognition of the independence of Transylvania and of the right to freely elect the prince. Bocskai saw clearly that Transylvania was the main protector of the remnant Hungary's relative independence. In his 1606 political will we can read the following: 'As long as the Hungarian Crown is with a nation mightier than us, with the German, and the Hungarian Kingdom is also dependent of the Germans, it will be necessary and expedient to have a Hungarian prince in Transylvania, for he shall provide protection and be of use to them as well. If, may God grant, the Hungarian Crown were at Hungarian hands in Hungary under a crowned king, we urge the Transylvanians neither to secede from it, but rather to make efforts, according to their abilities and with united will, to subject themselves to that Crown in the ancient way.' (p. 220)

Transylvania's golden age. The long-term consolidation of the state of Transylvania happened during the rule of Gabor Bethlen (1612-1629), the most significant Hungarian politician of the century – beside Bocskai. (p. 223)

Bethlen entered the thirty years' war in order to support the uprising of the Czech estates and to protect the constitution of Hungary and the Protestants' freedom of worship. (...) He reconfirmed the Peace of Vienna [of 1606] and increased Transylvania's territory with 7 counties and with the city of Kassa [Kosice / Kaschau]. (...) However,

neither he nor his successor (...) could achieve the longer-term objective, the unification of the country. (p. 225)

The narrative also describes the evolution of the Szekler, Saxon and Romanian nationalities of Transylvania during its period of semi-independence:

The feudal class system only solidified among the Szeklers in the 16th century. Their ruling class (...) obtained the privilege of tax exemption, could make judgments over their peasants and extended their power over the peasants. The free Szeklers were obliged to pay tithe and taxes – similarly to the serfs. The establishment of feudal circumstances can be observed also among the Romanians migrating from the mountains to the Transylvanian basin. The leaders of the migrants (...) obtained the privileges of the nobility and later mostly assimilated into the Hungarian nobility. The ‘university’ (community) of the Saxon cities of Transylvania kept their previous wide self-governance. The Saxon city dwellers successfully defended themselves from the attempts of their leaders to live like nobility and prevented the Hungarian nobility from moving into Saxon cities. At the same time, they extended their influence over the nearby Saxon and Romanian villages. (p. 197)

The effect of the Turkish conquest in terms of population loss is already explained in the textbook for the 2nd year of the secondary school. However, this textbook does not specifically mention other nationalities that existed in Hungary at this time and only implies their existence: ‘the devastation was the deepest in the southern and central parts of the country, where mostly Hungarians lived’ (Dr. Eperjessy, 1987, p. 202). The textbook for the 3rd year, however, dedicates ample space to the ‘new conquest of the homeland’ after the end of the Turkish occupation. It starts with a graph that shows how the estimated population of Hungary evolved between 896 and 1787 (date of the first census). This graph shows a strong drop in the population due to the Mongol raids in 1241-42, from about 2 million to a bit more than 1 million and then again, due to the Turkish conquest, from about 4 million at the beginning of the 16th century to about 3 million at the end of the century, recovering the mark of 4 million around 1720 and growing to nearly 9 million by 1787 (Dr. Závodszy, 1987, p. 81). The textbook also highlights the changes that happened in this period in the ethnic composition of the population: it estimates that at the end of the 15th century about 80% of the population of Hungary spoke Hungarian, but that by the beginning of the 17th century their number dropped to about half of the previous number, 1.6 million (the textbook does not make

the calculation, but this figure is equivalent to about 40% of the estimated population of 4 million). The resulting situation is evaluated with a degree of tragic sadness – understandable from the perspective of any nation that diminishes – but the percentage given (50%) for its share of population still seems too high, even if it excludes Croatia:

During the 18th century Hungary was populated again, but Hungarians, who did not have any reserves beyond the borders, **became a minority in their own country** [highlighting by the author of the textbook]. Discounting the population of Croatia (which was not an organic part of the Kingdom of Hungary) its share only about approximated 50%. (p. 81)

The textbook describes in detail and factually the different population movements during the 18th century: a) the internal migration from the territory of Upper Hungary (today roughly Slovakia), of both Hungarians and Slovaks, to the re-conquered territories in the south, leading to the depopulation of Hungarian villages in Upper Hungary which have been then re-populated by Slovaks and also to the establishment of Slovak language islands in the southern part of the country; b) the organised plantations of Germans – which have been carried out by both the Viennese government and large landowners, and with the hindsight to mix the ‘rebellious Hungarian blood’ with the more quiet German ethnicity (quoting an archbishop from 1689) – leading to a population of over a million Germans by the end of the 18th century; and c) the immigration from the East and South:

In the greatest number came Romanian peasants and shepherds. They fled from the increasing oppressive feudal exploitation of the [Romanian] principalities of the 17th century. They became a majority in Transylvania and they also settled down in the Eastern edges of the Lowland and in the Banat. Serbians arrived together under the leadership of their patriarch at the end of the 17th century, and their number increased by further immigration. The court settled them as military frontier fighters, and gave them many privileges. Immigration also increased the popular strength of Rusyns and Slovaks (through assimilating Rusyns, Poles, Moravians etc.). (p. 81)

Although the description of this wave of immigration is factual, and it also recognises that Romanians became majority in Transylvania, there is an underlying tone of Hungarian victimhood. It can be perceived that the settlements of immigrants unjustly took away part of the land from its rightful inhabitants, the Hungarians, attributing agency to the Viennese government for this wrongdoing, when in effect the land reconquered from the Turks was often deserted and the Habsburgs had to do something with it and there were no more Hungarians left. Thus, the ‘tragedy’ of the Hungarian nation rather lies in the lack of national unity (and geopolitical realities) leading to the loss at Mohács

in 1526 against the Turks and everything that came after are consequences of that situation.

The Habsburg rule after the loss of the Rákóczi war of independence is narrated as an absolutist state, not intrinsically against Hungary, and treating Hungarians similar to ethnic Germans in the hereditary lands of Austria, for the sole benefit of the dynasty (p. 84). The resulting governmental system of the Kingdom of Hungary is described in detail, with its parliament and county local administration²⁰² led by the nobles, but the upper judiciary and the separate executive (located in Vienna and Pozsony-Bratislava-Pressburg) appointed by the king. The text also makes clear that although Hungarian legislation forbade it, this executive was often side-lined and decisions were taken directly by the privy council (p. 85). There is deep critique of the nobles, who fought only to preserve their ancient prerogatives (e.g. exemption from taxation) but handed over important spheres of the government to the Habsburgs:

For instance, they [the estates] were asked to formulate the legal responsibilities of the governor's council, what they did not. The royal court used the opportunity to regulate the tasks of this new authority from its own perspective. (p. 85)

It is also explained how the 1722-23 *Pragmatica Sanctio*, approved by the Hungarian Parliament, 'against external aggression' allowed the union between the countries of the crown of Hungary and the Austrian hereditary lands, however obliged the ruler to take an oath to 'preserve the freedom of the country' – something they did not always keep, for instance by administering separately the Military Frontier and Transylvania and by forbidding until 1778 that ethnic Hungarians settle in the Banat. It is also claimed that the nobility had been diluted by the donation of land to new arrivals (p. 86). The support of the Hungarian nobility to Maria Theresa in the Austrian war of succession is also highlighted, in exchange for more involvement in the Viennese royal court and a promise to administer the country through the Hungarian nobility (including also the Croatian dignitaries) (p. 87). The text also evaluates the impact of the Habsburg mercantilist policy of the time, explaining that the discrimination against Hungary (by establishing internal customs on the border of the Kingdom of Hungary and by not promoting the industry in the same way in Hungary as in Austria and Czechia) was due

²⁰² The textbook does not mention here, only on occasion of Joseph II, that county local administrations led by the nobles could decide not to apply any specific legislation.

to tax exemption of the Hungarian nobility. Thus, this ‘grievance’ appears as something rational (pp. 87-88). The 1767 regulation of the peasants’ feudal obligations by Maria Theresa is evaluated as a positive improvement, approved against the opposition of the nobility (p. 90) and the textbook also praises the 1777 implementation of obligatory education for the ages 6 to 12 – even if complaining about the use of German in schools (p. 90)²⁰³.

Joseph II (1780-90) is narrated as a controversial figure. The textbook recognises his philosophical attachment to the French illustration, praising his regulations allowing the freedom of religion for Protestants; the dissolution of religious orders not engaging in any socially beneficial activity; and the abolition of serfdom (briefly mentioning the 1784 peasant uprising in Transylvania). However, the textbook is more critical with his absolutist methods; his aims to govern the empire as a unified state (not even being crowned as king of Hungary); and the introduction of German as official language. It also explains how these measures – and difficulties in his war against Turkey in 1788 – led to widespread resistance against him also in Austria: he withdrew all his regulations on his deathbed, except the ones relating to the abolition of serfdom and to religious toleration (pp. 91-93). The resulting process of national awakening in Hungary is also described:

National awakening. The central governmental offices became paralysed after the death of the sovereign, and the executive power landed in the hands of the counties ruled by the lower nobility. The counties decided not to apply any of the decrees. The country lived in the fever of a new cult of the Hungarian language, clothes, music and dance. (...) The parliament legislated for the teaching of Hungarian in secondary schools. (p. 93).

This led to the approval of the 10th Act of Parliament of 1791 – a compromise between the new king Leopold II and the nobility – which defined that:

Hungary ... is a free and independent country – considering its constitutional order and its executive – which does not depend from any other country or peoples, but counts with independence and its own constitution, led by its legally crowned hereditary king (...),

²⁰³ We have earlier seen that Irish textbooks usually remain silent about the land legislation in Ireland of the late 19th century, carried out by British politicians. The implementation of the national schools is also frequently omitted, but – similarly to the Hungarian case – the promotion of the English language is seen as a grievance.

and it shall be governed by its own laws and customs and not by those of other realms.
(p. 94)²⁰⁴

During the French revolution also in Hungary secret revolutionary organisations were established, but the textbook does not describe them with too much enthusiasm and praise, even highlights that its main leader wanted to gain employment by king Francis I and only became a revolutionary as his application was turned down (p. 95).

The 1831 cholera outbreak in Upper Hungary is narrated as a confrontation between social classes (the peasants believing that the landowners wanted to kill them by poisoning), even if mentioning that the impacted peasants were Slovaks (p. 105).

The reform age of 1825 to 1848 is explained in detail from pages 102 to 120. The parliamentary fights for reforms are described as a confrontation between two factions of Hungarian nobles. However, agency is also given to the Habsburgs, when after Francis I's death in 1835 Metternich imprisoned several leaders of the reform movement (p. 108) and when he tried to obstruct the local administration in counties where the reform party was strong (pp. 118-119). The otherwise factual descriptions contrast with a surprising glorification of Kossuth's physical characteristics: 'his attractive appearance corresponded to the romantic mood of the time. His gaze testifies to a balanced soul and a clear thought' (p. 109). It is interesting to observe that a map showing the territory of the country in 1847 refers to it (correctly) as 'Hungary and Transylvania' (p. 113). On the other hand, when describing the blooming of 'national culture ... and sciences', the textbook only explains in detail the process observed in the Hungarian language, literature, theatre, art, music and science, without a reference to similar movements of other nationalities. These are only mentioned when the resulting and praised declaration of Hungarian as official language took place in 1844 (instead of Latin) and it resurfaced the differences with other nationalities, also fuelled by the fact that in the territories where the nationalities lived – with the exception of Croatia – the nobility was Hungarian and the peasants belonged to the nationalities. This then resulted in a situation in which the national movements of the nationalities were led by their intelligentsia and church and they relied on the Habsburg dynasty against the Hungarian nobility – leading to the 'tragic' dis-encounter in 1848-49 (pp. 114-115). Considering the above narrative, one can

²⁰⁴ It is important to note the similarities with the 1782 legislation in Ireland, establishing Grattan's parliament, however in Ireland that legislation created a new constitutional order, while in case of Hungary the legislation confirmed the legality of the situation before Joseph II.

wonder why the evaluation of the 1844 language legislation had not been reconsidered – instead of clear praise, it could be seen as controversial. In continuation, also the percentage distribution of the population of Hungary (excluding Croatia but including Transylvania) in the early 1840s is shown in a graph, with 46.1% for Hungarians, 10.7% for Germans, 18.8% for Romanians, 13.9% for Slovaks, 5.5% for Serbo-Croats, 3.7% for Rusyns (Carpato-Ukrainian) and 1% others, highlighting that ‘minorities made up over half of the country’s population’ (p. 115) – which makes the case against Hungarian as official language even stronger.

On the other hand, similarly to the analysed Yugoslav textbook, nationalism is narrated as a European phenomenon, citing both the French and the German variants and defining a nation by the common language spoken by its members (p. 50). The revolutions of 1848 are also narrated as European event, highlighting the network effect: ‘for the revolution to win, it was often enough to hear the news of its success in another capital’ (p. 74) and explaining that the ‘intoxicating feeling of the spring of 1848 came from its rapid international expansion’ (p. 74). This belonging to a Europe-wide movement is also explained in the narrative of the Hungarian revolution (p. 134). However, the examples contained are only the revolutions in Paris, Germany, Italy and Vienna. In this chapter about the European revolutions we only hear about the revolutionary aims of other nationalities within the Habsburg empire (apart from Germans and Hungarians) when their failure is described: ‘the counterrevolutionary wave started with the bombing of Prague and the dissolution of the Slavic Congress – which was convened on 2 June’ (p. 76). Thus, we do not learn what the aims of the Slavic Congress were.

Following the aim of the international character of the 1848 revolutions, the author of the textbook also explains how Kossuth in February 1848 asked for a constitution also for the Austrian and Italian realms, praising it as a ‘ground-breaking change in left-wing political thought’ (p. 120).

The 1848-49 Hungarian revolution and war of independence is narrated through 21 pages (pp. 123-143), highlighting that the initial opposition from the royal court towards the reform package was quickly overturned once the revolution in Vienna succeeded and that the April Laws were also accepted by Ferdinand V: ‘the bourgeois transformation – thanks to the favourable historical circumstances – was completed in Hungary without bloodshed’ (p. 125). It is also emphasised that Kossuth did not want to

separate from the Habsburg Empire (p. 123). The April Laws are highly praised, but the author evaluates that the a ‘nationality law... was strongly missed’ (p. 125). The contents of the legislation are quoted in detail, among them the paragraph which limited the right to become a member of parliament to those who were able to comply with the stipulations that the language of the legislation was solely Hungarian. There is even a question raised to students about what was the practical consequence of this paragraph – thus implicitly criticising this measure (p. 127). The textbook also explains how the ‘greatest tragical conflict of 1848 in Hungary’ was that ‘the revolution had to fight with the nationalities stimulated by their just demands, but associated with the [Habsburg] dynasty’, even if the majority of Slovaks, Rusyns and Romanians remained faithful to the revolution, despite the assemblies of Slovaks, Romanians and Serbs demanding autonomy already in April-May (p. 128). This confrontation came as the Hungarian government considered that ‘there is only one political nation in Hungary, the Hungarian (and the nationalities can only exercise their rights obtained from the Hungarian revolution as individuals but not as a community)’ (p. 128). Here, a more detailed explanation of the nationalities’ demands and the narrative of their respective assemblies would have been welcome, so that they are not seen as a force contrary to ‘our’ revolution, but as peoples with the same just aims as the Hungarians. The nationalities’ agency appears when the Habsburgs use them against the Hungarian government, both in case of Serbs and Croats (with the special situation of Jelačić) and later Romanians (pp. 130, 134).

The readiness of the Hungarian government to negotiate with the Viennese court during August-September 1848 is illustrated with their willingness to give in to all demands, but that the king was not even ready to meet the Hungarian delegation, and on 11 September Jelačić (whom the textbook here calls imperial Lieutenant General and not Croatian ban) attacked Hungary and this converted the revolution into a war of independence (pp. 131-132). The conflict escalated further when Franz Joseph took over from Ferdinand I in December 1848²⁰⁵, as he did not feel limited by the April Laws. Windisch-Grätz, and later Haynau, as imperial generals are described as prepotent despots, even equalling Haynau with a dog released from his leash (pp. 134-137, 142). The successes of the winter and spring of 1849 are highly celebrated: ‘by mid-May –

²⁰⁵ It is interesting that the textbook does not make the point that by Hungarian law the king (Ferdinand V) could not abdicate and that Franz Joseph was not crowned king, thus he lacked any legitimacy as King of Hungary. This issue is only mentioned later, on p. 196, in the narrative of the negotiations leading to the Compromise of 1867.

except a few castles – the entire territory of Hungary was liberated’ (p. 137). This was a welcome development against the attacking imperial troops, however, this narrative at the same time denies agency to the different nationalities with different aims. The dethronement of the Habsburg dynasty on 14 April 1849 is then explained as a just response to the dictated constitution of Olmütz (4 March 1849) in which the emperor integrated Hungary into a unified Habsburg state (pp. 136-137). However, the narrative also highlights how this led to the ‘bargain party’, which it describes as ‘the right’ to become an internal opposition to the revolution, their leaders escaping persecution after the collapse (pp. 137-142). The involvement of Nicholas I of Russia on 9 May 1849 is explained in the textbook by the motivation to stop all revolutionary movements in Europe (especially fearing its extension to Poland) and with the aim to stop Austria’s aims in the Balkans. The lack of intervention from England is motivated by the desire to keep the balance of power on mainland Europe by maintaining Austria’s great power status. (p. 139). The textbook praises the content of the nationality law approved in the last days of the revolution, also quoting the support of Balcescu from Wallachia, but clarifies that it was too late. (pp. 140-141).

The following period of the Habsburg Monarchy – after a year of ‘reign of terror’ led by Haynau – is described as an attempt to assimilate Hungary, via a centralised, uniformly governed and German-language empire, which separated Croatia, Transylvania and a ‘Serbian Vojvodina’ from Hungary, and the rest had been divided into five parts (pp. 192-193). The Austrian legislation had been applied also in Hungary, most civil servants came from outside and there was an open process of Germanisation which had been applied to all: ‘the nationalities... received as reward what the Hungarians got as a punishment’ (p. 193). The storytelling continues in critical tone with Austria: the passive resistance was led by Ferenc Deák, and after the Austrian defeat against Piemonte, Franz Joseph proclaimed a new constitution in 1860 and again in 1861, but the Hungarian parliament convened in 1861 rejected it and demanded to return to the legality of 1848 – after which it was dissolved (pp. 194-196). Negotiations restarted in 1865, the Hungarian parliament was convened again and after the Austrian defeat at Königgrätz an agreement was reached based on the 1723 *Pragmatica Sanctio* and the April Laws of 1848: the Compromise of 1867. Franz Joseph was finally crowned king of Hungary (pp. 197-198). The textbook evaluates the Compromise as a reasonable trade-off as there were no other

alternatives, on the one hand allowing significant economic development, but on the other hand it was an agreement between Hungarians and Austro-Germans behind the back of the other nationalities and it left the final judgement about peace and war with the emperor-king (p. 198).

The textbook also refers to the public debate between Deák and Kossuth (p. 198). (Kossuth remained in exile, was contrary to the Compromise and advocated for a Danube Federation between Hungary, Croatia, Serbia and Romania based on complete equality (p. 195)). The relevant sections of the textbook are reproduced in *Appendix 7* – which are from the 2001 version of the textbook, but the quoted texts are nearly identical. (I will refer to the few changes in the following *Section 6.6*.) In 1987, it seemed clear that the aspirations of other nationalities within the Monarchy were valid claims and that the Compromise meant that Hungarians ‘had to choose between Magyarization and independence’ (p. 217).

It is also important to call out what is missing already from the narrative of the 1987 version: the story of the nationalities in the 18th-19th centuries including their national and cultural development, their discrimination after the Compromise, the process of assimilation (both spontaneous and forced) and the aims of the nationalities in the period (which were not that complicated to accommodate). The textbook includes a data table with the ethnic distribution of the population in 1910 and a map with the geographic distribution of the nationalities (pp. 217-218) – both confirming that about half of the country excluding Croatia belonged to the nationalities. Thus, their history should form part of the history of the Kingdom of Hungary.

This textbook also puts in international perspective the development of nationalism in Central and Eastern Europe in the second half of the 19th century: it highlights that the situation was much more complicated than in Western Europe, as the state borders and ethnic borders did not coincide; that the region was ethnically mixed; and that it was dominated by three powers: Russia, Turkey and Austria(-Hungary). Several examples of ethnic discrimination are described in Germany and Russia, adding that in comparison ‘the methods of the leading Austrian and Hungarian circles – the aspirations of the national minorities were also rejected here – can nearly be described as

mild' (p. 180). A factual description of the unification of Romania, the independence of Serbia and Bulgaria, and the occupation of Bosnia follows, explaining that the Balkans and Eastern Europe were only one of the stages of the competition between great powers – even a pretence – and thus not the cause of the confrontation between them (p. 182). The Balkan wars are explained in a few lines only, however highlighting that they defined on which side the different countries would enter the First World War (p. 190).

A small part of the history of the Austria-Hungary is included in the textbook for the fourth and thus last year of the secondary school, which starts with the First World War. Here, the narrative emphasises that Hungary was against the war as it saw the war – with the clear expectation that the Monarchy would win – as a danger to the relative strength of Hungary within Austria-Hungary, after incorporating further Slav territories into the dualist empire (Jóvérné Szirtes, 1984, p. 10). The narrative of the war itself is factual, describing which country entered the war on which side and when (including 1915, 1916 and 1917) and how this impacted the outcome. For Italy and Romania, the author explains that their initial neutrality was based on waiting for the best moment to enter the war, despite being allied with the central powers (p. 10). Regarding the United States' 1917 involvement, the textbook also highlights the importance of them financing France and the UK and that therefore there was a strong financial interest in the *entente* winning (p. 16). However, regarding the *casus belli* the author affirms that Serbia did not accept the terms listed in the Monarchy's memorandum (even if clarifying that they were purposefully set in a way that Serbia could not accept them) (p. 10), when in fact Serbia accepted all but one of the terms and even Emperor Wilhelm of Germany thought that the answer was satisfactory (Martel, 2014).

Wilson's liberal principles for peace published in January 1918 are put into contrast with the peace terms requested by the central powers against Soviet Russia a month earlier. The role of the Soviet revolution is highlighted in convincing the *entente* powers that the Monarchy won't be strong enough to withstand the revolutionary wave and thus after April 1918 they decided to support the newly formulated aim of the Monarchy's nationalities to establish their own nation-states (p. 18). In parallel, it is argued that the economic elite of the nationalities decided to support the demands for independence based on the motivation to canalise the masses' revolutionary upheaval created by the example of the Soviet Union (p. 18). It is also highlighted how the

distancing of Americans and Brits made the ‘nationalism of the bourgeois governments of the small Eastern European nations standing on the winners’ side prevail, supported by the hegemonistic aims of the French’ (p. 18).

The terms of the peace treaty are criticised in the communist ideological terminology: ‘the peace system of Versailles closed the imperialist war with an imperialist peace. (...) “this is not peace, only an armistice for twenty years” - sentenced marshal Foch, French general’ (p. 19). However, the summary concludes that ‘the process of establishing nation states in Central and Eastern Europe ended. With the Eastern European re-design – despite the nationalist excesses – a long due historical process came to its conclusion’ (p. 20) and in this way the author sees the overall outcome of the peace treaty justified.

The narrative of the liberal and communist revolutions in Hungary in 1918 and 1919 refers to its defensive military actions against the intervention from Czechoslovakia and Romania and highlights the establishment of the Slovak Soviet Republic as an example how communists believed in each ethnicity living in their own country without imperialist aims (as it was the Red Army of the Hungarian Soviet Republic which established the Slovak equivalent) (p. 47). The incorrectness of the previous regime in Hungary is recognised when describing the *entente* requests for demarcation lines at the end of the war: ‘the bill for the sins of the old bourgeois-aristocratic regime had been handed over to the liberal democratic government of Hungary’ (p. 39). It is relevant to mention that the textbook does not include any detailed statistical data about the territorial or economic impact of the Trianon Treaty, it only refers to the three million Hungarians impacted: ‘beside the majority nationality territories rightly placed into the successor states, other areas with mixed population or of Hungarian majority had been also taken away. Three million Hungarians found themselves on the other side of the borders’ (p. 65).

Therefore, this textbook sees the dissolution of Austria-Hungary, the establishment of the independent nation-states and the loss of majority non-Hungarian territories as a just necessity, but argues that the borders should have followed ethnic lines.

In summary, Hungarian textbooks of the socialist period are based on an ethos of regional cooperation, emphasising the similarities with other neighbouring countries, sometimes celebrating their successes and condemning Hungarian attempts to conquer some of them, but at the same time they show certain pride in Hungary's national past and depict other nationalities who lived in the kingdom more as objects and less as subjects with their own legitimate aspirations – except when it already became too late, after the end of the First World War.

Romania

As many scholars previously highlighted (Paraianu, 2005) (Corduneanu, 2003), also in my research Romanian textbooks are the clearest example for a nationally biased narrative. Textbooks from socialist Romania are based on a clear national rhetoric, they only focus on events which support the national master narrative, suggesting statehood continuity throughout history and omitting the not so glorious past. Heroes of shared background are appropriated (example Hunyadi) and they sometimes deny the existence of nationalities (or – also incorrectly – explain that these non-existing nationalities actually supported the Romanian state instead of the state of their own nationality). In continuation I shall list the different types of bias identified:

Until the end of the 15th century:

- The textbook covering this period exclusively explains one of the two existing theories about the formation of the Romanian people and language, not mentioning the contested nature of this theory: the Daco-Roman Continuity theory (Almas & Fotescu, 1981, pp. 15-23).
- The same book describes the foundation of three Romanian states in and around Transylvania before the arrival of the Hungarians as facts, which is a historically contested content (pp. 23-24) and also affirms that ‘the Hungarian kings left the name of voivode and the old Romanian organisational form’ and that ‘the country was not in everything subjected to the king of Hungary, it was an autonomous territory’ (p. 24), again a questionable affirmation that serves the purpose of highlighting the ‘continuity’ and ‘independence’ of Romanians.
- The foundation of Wallachia is narrated as if the area was never before subjected to the king of Hungary and as if it remained independent from the Hungarian

king forever, highlighting the fruitless attempt by Charles Robert in 1330 to conquer it (pp. 26-29).

- The textbook considers even the medieval Transylvania ethnically only Romanian by confirming that they were ‘the one and the same people’ as Romanians living elsewhere²⁰⁶ - an affirmation of ‘continuity’ and ‘unity’:

Thus, in the territories where the Romanians lived, between the 10th and 14th centuries four states had been established: Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldova and Dobruja. Despite being the one and the same people, it could not, because of the subjugation, - since the beginning - unite in a single state... (p. 31).

- The textbook claims only Romanian heritage to John Hunyadi and omits any reference of he acting as the governor of the Kingdom of Hungary heading a Hungarian army (in presence and leadership of the king of Hungary). It seems as if the resistance against the Turks was a pure Romanian undertaking – once again underlining the topic of ‘unity’:

In those difficult times a man rich in merits obtained fame. Called John (Iancu) Voicu – he was the son of a Romanian nobleman around Hunyad. The Hungarian king gave Voicu many estates and the castle of Vajdahunyad as a recognition for his heroic acts. (p. 45)

In this war the Transylvanian troops fought together with the Wallachian and Moldavian troops under the leadership of John Hunyadi. (p. 46)

- One of the rare positive mentions of anything related to Hungary or Hungarians is the Transylvanian peasant uprising of 1437, when the emphasis is put on the class struggle: ‘this uprising at the same time expressed the joint fight of the Romanian and Hungarian peasantry to achieve social freedom’ (p. 44). On the other hand, one can ask the logical question how the Hungarian peasants in Transylvania rose up, if the Hungarians as oppressors in Transylvania were only represented by their nobles there?

16-17th centuries:

- Appears as if Transylvania was independent before the Turkish conquest and remained after, without an increase to its extension after the Turkish conquest (not

²⁰⁶ The below text does not clarify if under Transylvania it understands the entire territory received from Hungary in 1920 or only the historical Transylvania, but the conclusions would be similar in either case.

mentioning the split of Hungary between Ferdinand Habsburg and John Szapolyai and that the latter founded the Eastern Hungarian Kingdom which then became Transylvania including the 'Partium'). The text also highlights the similarity of Transylvania's status with that of Moldova and Wallachia – thus showcasing another example of 'unity', when there were notable differences in the degree of autonomy from the Turks:

The Turks occupied Hungary. The Voivodship of Transylvania remained an independent state, it was only obliged to pay tributes to the Turks – in the same way as Moldova and Wallachia. (pp. 63-64)

- From the many ruling princes that the semi-independent Transylvania had and who were ethnic Hungarians, only the exception, Michael the Brave is mentioned (he was de facto military ruler in the name of emperor Rudolf II, not a prince chosen by the Transylvanian Diet which was the case of previous and following princes), who briefly occupied Transylvania from Wallachia in 1599-1600. He personifies the 'continuity', 'independence' and 'unity' of the Romanian peoples:

Thus, Voivode Mihai accomplished the first unification of Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia in 1600. The Romanian people had been joined together for the first time by a single ruler, the tall and bold Mihai. (...) This unity could not be maintained for long. First of all, because the Transylvanian nobles were angry that a Romanian ruler leads them... (pp. 70-71)

- There is no mention to the fact that after the end of the Turkish conquest of Hungary, Transylvania chose to join the Habsburg Empire, and the authors suggest an unjust occupation: 'Transylvania has been occupied by troops of the Habsburg empire' (p. 79). Of course, nothing refers to the political will of Transylvanian princes of the early 17th century (Bocskai) who urged the principality to join Hungary again once the Turkish conquest finished. Thus, it seems as if the end of the Turkish conquest resulted in an independent Romanian Transylvania being occupied by the Habsburgs.

19-20th centuries:

- In the analysed textbook, non-existent internal borders are shown and existing ones omitted in order to amplify the perception that Transylvania was not part of Hungary even shortly before the First World War: in the map on page 104 the authors have included a border between what used to be Transylvania and the rest of Hungary in

1913, when there was no such border, not even in form of a semi-autonomous region. (Muresan, Cristian, Vesa, & Roman, 1984, p. 104). If the authors wished to showcase internal borders, they should have shown the limit between the Austrian and Hungarian parts of Austria-Hungary, which have not been included in the map. This example of creative map-making hints again at ‘continuity’ and ‘independence’;

- The textbook describes Transylvania as one of the three Romanian countries/states already at the beginning of the 19th century, when Romanian rule only existed from 1918²⁰⁷: ‘at the beginning of the 19th century, one of the Romanian states, Transylvania, was classified into the Austrian Empire’ (p. 52) – another example of showcasing ‘continuity’ and ‘independence’;

- The book refers to the entire territory received by Romania from Hungary in 1920 as ‘Transylvania’, when the historic Transylvania was only 54% of the area (other parts included the ‘Partium’ and the ‘Banat’): ‘Transylvania and Bukovina joined Romania’ (p. 57);

- One of the textbooks provides the perception that Transylvania’s population was only Romanian, by omitting any reference to the mixed nature of the population and incorrectly affirming that the decision to join Romanian was unanimous: ‘the people from Transylvania and Bukovina unanimously demanded that the two provinces are joined with Romania’ (p. 124); claiming that the 1920 borders are ethnic borders (thus the logical implication is that there should be no minorities inside the new borders): ‘Austria and Hungary have been restrained to their ethnic borders’ (p. 115); and converting a large meeting of 100,000 into a referendum of a population of 5 million and not mentioning similar meetings of contrary forces:

Apart from the 1,228 representatives chosen from all farms, villages and cities of Transylvania, more than 100,000 people gathered in Alba Iulia, which gave the there approved decisions the character of a referendum. (p. 125)

- Another analysed textbook incorrectly states that Hungarians in Transylvania supported the unification of 1918, although at least their existence has been recognised: ‘...the Hungarians and Germans living in Transylvania also voluntarily

²⁰⁷ Except for the previously mentioned short period of 1599-1600 under Michael the Brave.

joined the unification' (Almas & Fotescu, 1981, p. 129). The latter examples regarding the unification of Romania highlight the 'unity' of the Romanian nation.

The above list of observed biases should be also seen together with the historic events missing from the narrative. Maybe the most significant of them is the 1867 Compromise, which should explain how Transylvania changed from being 'classified into the Austrian Empire' into becoming part of Austria-Hungary. On the other hand, considering that nearly half of the territory received from Hungary after the First World War was not part of the historic Transylvania but integral part of the rest of the Kingdom of Hungary, it would also make sense to not only make references to Transylvania's history but also to these other territories. Nevertheless, it is understandable that these events have been omitted, as they do not fit into the master narrative based on 'antiquity', 'continuity', 'independence' and 'unity'.

Czechoslovakia

The analysed textbooks from the Slovakian part of Communist Czechoslovakia show many improvements compared to Romanian textbooks. Most importantly, they include a holistic chronology, also narrating the history of the Kingdom of Hungary. This seems quite natural, considering that the entirety of Slovakia formed part of the Kingdom of Hungary from the early 10th century until 1918 (only a small part of Slovakia was in the area of Turkish Conquest). However, there is some confusion about statehood continuity of Grand Moravia; it is also clear that the 'other' (the Kingdom of Hungary) was the baddy in comparison with the medieval Kingdom of Bohemia; the textbook is intrinsically critical with others' national movements; and denies agency for the nationalities in the newly formed Czechoslovakia, with the exception of Ukrainians (thus justifying the borders of the time and paying tribute to the Soviet Union).

Although the history of the Kingdom of Hungary has been widely included in the chronology, there are many other ways to diminish the significance of the 'antiquity, continuity, independence and unity' of Hungarians in the narrative and imply the same for the nations forming Czechoslovakia. The most visible example are maps contained in the textbook. In the analysed textbooks there is a clear preference for including maps of Hungary where its extension was or aimed to be smaller than 'usual':

- The map *The Czech state in the 10-12th centuries* (Skladany, Jílek, Badurík, & Butinová, 1989, p. 35) includes the borders at publication, and supposed borders of ‘Hungary at the end of the 10th century’ and ‘Hungary during the rule of Stephen I (until 1038)’ but not those of Hungary during the rest of the 11th and 12th centuries. Without entering the discussion whether the borders of the Kingdom of Hungary at the end of the 10th century and during the rule of Stephen I were as shown on the map (and which maybe unsurprisingly do not occupy much of the current Slovakia), when the title of the map refers to the entire 10-12th centuries, it would make sense to show the borders of the Kingdom of Hungary during the same period as well. Maps obtained from transnational sources show that both in 1100 and 1200 the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary included the entirety of the current Slovakia (Global Security, 2023) (Global Security, 2023). The choice of borders shown on the map can only be explained if the authors wished to showcase a master narrative which outlines the ‘antiquity, continuity, independence and unity’ of Czechoslovakians and the lack of these for Hungarians²⁰⁸.

- The map *The Czech state in the 13th century* (p. 76) proudly includes relatively short-lived Czech conquests in Austria by Ottokar II (1253-1278) and in Poland by Wenceslaus II (1278-1305), and at the same time also including the ‘approximate extension of effective power held by Wenceslaus III in Hungary in 1301-1305’, providing the perception that the shown part of Hungary was somehow part of the Czech kingdom. The map does not tell the story behind: Wenceslaus III of Bohemia as a 12-year-old child acceded to the Hungarian throne in 1301 (as Wenceslaus I) after being married to the only daughter of the last Hungarian king, while his father Wenceslaus II was still king of Bohemia. The accession happened amidst an ongoing war of succession and his rule was only nominal as different powerful lords effectively ruled the country. He left Hungary in 1305, leaving his claim to Ottokar of Bavaria, and became king of Bohemia at his father’s death. The final outcome of the war of succession was that another claimant obtained the title of King of Hungary (Charles Robert I) (Wikipedia re. Wenceslaus III of Bohemia, 2024). Considering this, the bold line drawn on the map in diagonal on the

²⁰⁸ Similar intentions can be seen on the map on page 31, titled *Our countries in the early feudalistic period*, where only the borders of Czechoslovakia at the time of publication are shown, with an inscription of ‘Czech state’ over the territory of Czechia and ‘Hungarian state’ over the territory of Hungary at the time of publication, with no inscription over Slovakia. A discontinued line also shows ‘The borders of the Hungarian state in time of Stephen I (1038)’, only occupying a small part of the current territory of Slovakia and Romania.

territory of the Kingdom of Hungary from the approximate the meeting point of the Austria-Yugoslavia-Hungary borders (as in the year of the publication) to the Czechoslovakia-Poland-Soviet Union borders (also as in 1989) indicating the supposed limit of power of Wenceslaus III, and of course including the entirety of the current territory of Slovakia seems quite astounding. First of all, Wenceslaus was nominally king of the entire kingdom of Hungary (which should imply that the entire territory of Hungary is marked in yellow), secondly, effectively he did not rule in the shown part either (thus there is no point in marking such territory in yellow). It is also remarkable that in addition to the supposed ‘conquests’ the only international borders shown are those in the year of publication. The borders of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary during the 13th century (which is the period to which the map’s title refers to) are completely missing. The impression a student would obtain from this map is once again the sense of ‘antiquity, continuity, independence and unity’ of Czechoslovakia and the opposite for Hungary.

- Another map shows *Feudalistic fragmentation of Hungary at the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th centuries* (Skladaný, Jílek, Badurík, & Butinová, 1989, p. 85). The actual fragmentation shown in reality only happened in the 14th century, in 1301 after the death of the last Hungarian king from the Arpad dynasty, and coincided with the time period shown on page 76 (and thus the period claimed to be ruled by Wenceslaus III of Bohemia). It is quite interesting that the territories controlled by three feudal lords, which approximately coincides with Slovakia’s current territory are marked in yellow, once again aiming to be some kinds of proof for the ‘antiquity, continuity, independence and unity’ of Slovakia and the lack of these in case of Hungary.

Some maps show the medieval Hungary’s full extent, although even then, sometimes current borders are added and inscriptions aim that Slovakia already existed by then:

- The map on page 37 titled *Slovakia’s fusion into the Hungarian state* is also telling: first of all, the title implies that Slovakia existed before the foundation of the Hungarian state (which would be quite difficult, even if one considered Great Moravia to be the ancestor of Slovakia), second, it shows the ‘usual’ borders of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary until the ledge of the Carpathian mountains but also the borders of Slovakia at the time of the publication with a yellow shading and with an inscription

‘Nitriansko’ over the entire territory of Slovakia. The accompanying text explains that ‘Stephen I created a border county with Nitra [Nyitra] as capital’, but the extension of that county would not have been the entire extension of Slovakia at time of publication, rather much smaller, something similar to what is shown on pages 31 and 35 when narrating that Stephen I’s borders only included a small part of current Slovakia. This map also aims to position the border county of Nyitra as some kind of ancestor to the current Slovakia, once again aiming at ‘antiquity, continuity, independence and unity’. Page 38 adds that ‘At the end of the 11th century the entire territory of Slovakia has been occupied and annexed to the Hungarian state’. One could of course debate about the language used, as it implies an earlier statehood for Slovakia, however, at least the historic fact that by the end of the 11th century the entire territory of Slovakia formed part of the Kingdom of Hungary is confirmed, which also highlights the incorrectness of the previously mentioned map on page 35.

- Page 145 includes a map *Turkish conquests in Slovakia* with Slovakia’s borders at the time of publication, clearly giving the impression as if Slovakia already existed in the 16-17th centuries. The accompanying text goes even further, referring to the suffering of the population living in the ‘Slovakian-Turkish border areas’ (p. 144). It seems as if the Hungarians fully disappeared from the area during this time? The earlier page 144 explains that ‘given the long years of wars of succession and the Turkish conquest, Hungary felt apart’. Although this is true, it falls short of explaining what has happened: the current territory of Slovakia belonged to what was called Royal Hungary, which existed continuously during the period, with the Habsburg emperors being also kings of Hungary.

- Other maps of the period also contribute to the confusion about the existence of this Royal Hungary. Page 142 includes the map *The Habsburg Empire in the 16th-17th centuries*. This map shows the entire Habsburg Empire, using four types of colouring (however not including any legend for the use of the colour coding): the area belonging to the Czech crown is pink, with the inscriptions, Czechia, Moravia and Silesia. The territory which belonged to the Habsburgs before 1526 is light yellow, with an inscription of Austria in larger font size and the inscriptions of Tirol, Carinthia, Styria and Slovenia [!] in smaller fonts. The territory occupied by the Turks in the central part of the Kingdom of Hungary is orange and the remaining territory of the Kingdom of Hungary is dark yellow, including Transylvania and Croatia. The inscription over the

occupied part of Hungary are Hungary (in large font), Croatia and Slavonia (in smaller font). In smaller font there is also an inscription of Transylvania, with its borders (but still in dark yellow colour) and also in smaller font another inscription of Slovakia, and its supposed borders which shows the current extension of Slovakia however excluding the territory to the east of Kassa (Kosice). Needless to say, that such political unit as 'Slovakia' did not exist in the 16-17th centuries and there was no political unit either with the borders shown on this map under the inscription of Slovakia... The authors must also know this, as page 138 includes another map with the title *The split of Hungary*, which uses three colour codes: 'Turkish conquest', 'Transylvania' and 'Habsburg Royal Hungary'. The borders are approximately correct; however, they did not remain stable during the 145 years (1541-1686) when the Turkish conquest existed. It is quite surprising that a textbook includes two maps of the same area in the same period with so different contents, so close to one another (pp.138 and 142). Which one will students believe? Was it up to the teachers to explain which version was correct?

Apart from the confusion shown in maps, the text also frequently fails to clarify whether the territory was 'Slovakia' or 'Hungarian state'. In most places references are made to the existence of Slovakia: 'Mining boomed in Slovakia. The 16th century was the golden age of Slovakian mining' (p. 133) or the already mentioned examples of 'the people living on the Slovakian-Turkish border areas suffered a lot' (p. 144) and 'Turkish conquests in Slovakia' (p. 145). In contrast, a specific text on page 139 explains what had really happened: 'Slovakia became the seed of the Hungarian state. ...the Hungarian diet and the viceroy moved to Bratislava ... becoming the capital of Hungary'.

In general, there is a highly negative tone with the Hungarian nobility. Although it is true that their main worry was to maintain their prerogative, however, it is not true that they 'hardly cared about the defence of the country'. Even the earlier page 144 explained some of the campaigns led by János Balassa (a Hungarian Protestant noble) against the Turks, although there the emphasis was on the participation of the Slovakian serfs... There were many executions of both Protestant and Catholic nobles, these would not have happened if they did not care about their country:

The Hungarian Protestant nobility increased its wealth during the reformation. They hardly cared about the defence of the country. Their main worry was that the king does not violate the nobility's prerogative. (p. 163)

There is a limited level of proudness in Thököly becoming ‘Slovakian king’: Thököly effectively governed the territory of Upper Hungary (today Slovakia) under Turkish rule for a few years before the last Turkish attempt to conquer Vienna, although even in this case the authors are critical of his movement against the Habsburgs, as for this he had to ally with the Turks:

Tököly [sic] was also called ‘Slovakian king’. (...) This wasn’t a national liberation struggle against the Habsburgs either, because some of the uprising’s leaders made an alliance with the other enemy – the Turkish sultan. (p. 164)

The critical stance towards the Kingdom of Hungary is also visible in earlier periods. The territory of Czechoslovakia belonged to the medieval kingdoms of the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary, however, the narrative is much more sympathetic with the Czech rulers than with Hungarian ones: for instance when depicting the fight of the Hungarian king Matthias Corvin with George Podebrad for the Czech crown: ‘Mathias was an ambitious king’ (p. 111) vs. ‘George Podebrad was a versatile and wise ruler’ (p. 108).

In the narrative of the 18th and 19th centuries, there is a lack of clarity about the situation of Hungary vs. the Habsburg Monarchy before 1867. On the one hand, maps show no internal borders within the Habsburg Monarchy and the narrative of the uprisings does not include the explanation of their results in terms of a separate legislative, legal and government system in the Kingdom of Hungary (thus implying the same fate for the Hungarians as the Czechs after the Thirty Years’ War), however, later texts describe the Hungarians as privileged already in 1848, without explaining where this privilege comes from:

The disenfranchised and oppressed nations of the Habsburg Empire (Czechs, Slovaks, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Ukrainians, Poles, Italians, Romanians) cooperated to overturn feudalism and to achieve national freedom. (Jílek, Dohnal, & Butinová - 1, 1982, pp. 25-26)

It is true that the level of oppression suffered by the Hungarians was different, given that their nobility managed to keep its prerogative powers during the 18th and 19th centuries and through this a special status for Hungary within the Habsburg Empire, but

this is not explained anywhere in the textbook. Thus, Hungarians are seen as oppressors but at the same time their kingdom seem to have been disintegrated and absorbed into the Habsburg Empire – which is logically difficult to sustain and only partially true.

Although in 1848-49 the revolution which progressed the most both in terms of social and national achievements was that of Hungary, the authors are highly critical with their movement: ‘the Hungarian nobility and bourgeoisie threatened the unity of the Habsburg Empire with their demands’ (p. 26). The aims of the different nations of the Habsburg Empire in 1848 have been very similar, but those aims in case of the Hungarians are seen as ‘threatening the unity of the empire’ when in case of the other nations they justly wish ‘to achieve national freedom’. The antipathy with the Hungarian revolution of 1848-49 is continued when describing its social and democratic progress: ‘these were limited reforms’ (p. 31), seemingly standing behind other revolutionary movements.²⁰⁹

After the First World War, when narrating the ethnic composition of Czechoslovakia, the textbook factually describes the situation (65% Czech and Slovak, 23.4% German, 5.7% Hungarian, 3.4% Ukrainian, 0.6% Polish), however, the text only supports the aim of Ukrainians to belong somewhere else (as the will of the people) and condemns similar demands of other nationalities (as if it was only the will of their bourgeoisie). Moreover, the textbook does not provide any map about where the different nationalities lived and whether they were concentrated geographically:

The bourgeoisie of these nationalities did not want to accept that the border areas are annexed to the newly created Czechoslovak state and they advocated for them joining Austria, Poland and Hungary. The territory of Transcarpathia had been annexed by the bourgeoisie Czechoslovakia in 1920, although the majority of the Ukrainian people living there wished to join Soviet-Ukraine. (Jílek, Dohnal, & Butinová - 2, 1982, p. 50)

Consequently, the only national tension recognised in the interwar Czechoslovakia is that between the Czechs and the Slovaks:

The basic problem of the Czechoslovak state was solving the equality between the Czechs and Slovaks after joining the two nations in one state. (p. 50)

²⁰⁹ We have seen a completely different evaluation in a Yugoslavian textbook.

Thus, Slovakia came into a subordinated situation against the Czech bourgeoisie.
(p. 51)

Thus, in comparison to Romania, the analysed Czechoslovak textbooks from the Communist period seem to include a much more holistic chronology also integrating the events of the Kingdom of Hungary. However, they show a clear ‘enemy’ image of Hungary, being very critical with the Hungarian leaders and their aims over the centuries. Moreover, maps and text are used to create a perception of ‘antiquity, continuity, independence and unity’ in Slovakia in a similar way as seen in Romanian textbooks.

Soviet Union

The three analysed textbooks from the Soviet Union, published in 1987, 1989 and 1991, translated from Russian into Hungarian, and counting with the corresponding official text ‘approved by the Central State Committee of the Soviet Union’ show an emphasis of Slavic identity, their maps suggest a larger and more unified Kievan Rus (also incorporating territories to the south of the Carpathians), excuse the Russian people of the Tsarist intervention against the Hungarian revolution in 1848-49 and – although condemning all sides as imperialist – portray Germany as an aggressor against a more benevolent Russia in the First World War. The following specific examples are relevant to mention:

- ‘Us’ is represented by the different Slavic nations, for instance, the most extensively narrated event of medieval history is the Hussite wars, portrayed as the heroic fight of the Czechs against the Catholic church (Agibalova & Donszkoj, 1991, pp. 129-137). The expansion of the Osman empire is narrated as a conquest of Slavic peoples (with very few mentions of Greeks, Romanians and Hungarians): ‘despite the severe oppression, the Slavic peoples preserved their culture, customs and language with great care’ (p. 144). The 1848 revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe are narrated as an example of the desire of Slavic peoples to be closer to the Russians: ‘the Slavic peoples living in the Austrian Empire desired stronger and stronger to be closer to each other and the Russian people’ (Narocsnyickij, Averjanov, Jefimov, & Kertman, 1987, p. 153). The Balkan wars are explained highlighting the support from the Russian people in the

struggle of Slavs: ‘ample masses of the Russian people sympathized with the Slavs’ (Averjanov, et al., 1989, p. 111).

- A creative use of maps to enhance the Slavic territory and to demonstrate historic unity can be observed, claiming that an extended area of Transcarpathia was part of the Rus of Kiev in the 11th – 12th centuries, forming part of a unified state. This is visible on the map titled *The Byzantine empire and the Slavic states in the 11th century* (Agibalova & Donszkoj, 1991, p. 281) which marks in pink the ‘the territory of Slavic states in the 11th century’, including the Rus of Kiev, the Czech Kingdom and the Kingdom of Poland. It is interesting to observe that the authors forgot about Croatia as a Slavic state, despite showing its borders. The representation of the territory of the Rus of Kiev contradicts what an independent source (Global Security, 2023) indicates: on the one hand, the textbook aims that the territory of the Rus of Kiev included what Global Security describes as independent principalities of Novgorod, Rostov-Suzdal, Polotsk, Smolesk, Chernigov, Perejaslawl and Galicia.

On the other hand, this map also claims that in the 11th century the borders of the Kingdom of Hungary extended to the Carpathian Mountains to the north (occupying the territory of Slovakia), east and south (occupying the territory of Transylvania, today in Romania), except in case of what is today Transcarpathia in Ukraine and some of the surrounding territory reaching into what is today the East of Slovakia, the North of Romania and the North-East of Hungary. In comparison, Global Security considers that by 1100 the borders of the Kingdom of Hungary reached the Carpathian Mountains also in case of this region of Transcarpathia. Of course, borders shifted during the 11th century and it is probable that at the beginning of the 11th century the Kingdom of Hungary only extended up to beginning of the high mountains but it left the Carpathian mountain range as a neutral territory. However, if the authors aimed to represent that part of the 11th century, they should have also shown borders of the Kingdom of Hungary different to the north, east and south, in the area which is today Slovakia and Romania.

Demonstrating that these creative adjustments of the map are not an unplanned mistake, another map titled *Europe in the 11th century – beginning of the 13th century and the crusades* (Agibalova & Donszkoj, 1991, pp. 286-287) insist in the same: the Rus of Kiev still occupies what Global Security in 1200 (2023) shows as independent principalities of Novgorod, Vladimir-Suzdal, Polozk, Smolensk, Murom-Riazan, Chernigov, Novgorod-Seversk, Pereyaslawl, Tourov-Pinsk and Galicia Volhynia. Also,

the border between this unified Rus of Kiev and the Kingdom of Hungary is the same what was aimed to be in the previous map, including the extended territory of Transcarpathia but recognising the remaining borders of the Kingdom of Hungary to the north, east and south. It is interesting to observe that if we lay over the maps contained in Romanian, Czechoslovakian and Soviet textbooks, each of them recognises the borders of the Kingdom of Hungary where – at the time of the publication – the other two states were, but contested its own borders with the Kingdom of Hungary. In this way, interestingly, from four sources (Hungarian, Romanian, Czechoslovakian and Soviet textbooks) three coincide in the validity of the border of the Kingdom of Hungary, but each the Romanian, Czechoslovakian and Soviet textbooks claim them to be different in their own case.

There is another relevant difference to Global Security, which in 1200 depicts the kingdoms of Slavonia and (separately) Croatia as vassals of the Kingdom of Hungary, when this Soviet map shows this territory as a unified and independent Kingdom of Croatia, not part of the Kingdom of Hungary. Hence, it is interesting to see that the Soviet Union also applied the concepts of ‘antiquity, continuity, independence and unity’ in its representation of the past, with a special place for the Rus of Kiev, but ultimately identifying itself with the wider cause of the Slavic peoples.

- The Hungarian revolution of 1848-49 is treated in bit more than a page among the 26 pages dedicated to the revolutions of 1848 (Narocsnyickij, Averjanov, Jefimov, & Kertman, 1987). A map on page 152 shows the Monarchy and its different nations, however no internal borders are marked. The 1848-49 revolution’s overall narrative is fair, explaining the national oppression by the Austrians and at the same time by the Hungarian nobility. The lack of willingness to recognize the equality of other nations is mentioned as one of the reasons for the defeat of the revolution:

The distinctive feature of the Austrian Empire was that the feudalist and capitalist oppression combined with national oppression. (p. 152)

The Austrian nobility ruled within the state, led by the Habsburg dynasty. (...) The Hungarian nobility also oppressed millions of Serbian and other Slavic peasants, however, at the same time, they also depended from the Austrian authorities (p. 152)

Despite the Austrian oppression the Hungarians and the Slavic peoples kept and nurtured their rich culture. (p. 152)

The situation of Hungary was also weakened by the fact that the government of Kossuth did not wish to recognize the equality of the Serbians, Croats and other nationalities oppressed by the Hungarian nobility. (p. 156)

However, the narrative is focused on the class struggle. The main emphasis is to excuse the Russian people for the intervention of Russia and to place the burden on the Tsar and the Western powers:

Tsarist counter-revolutionary intervention in Hungary (...) Revolution of national liberation in Hungary (p. 261)

The counter-revolutionary campaign in Hungary was against the essential interests of the Russian people, which itself languished under the oppression of tyranny. The Russian revolutionaries rightfully condemned the tsarist intervention against the Hungarian revolution. The young Chernyshevsky wrote in his diary: 'I am a friend of the Hungarians, I wish that the Russians suffer defeat in Hungary and I am ready to sacrifice everything for this.' The Hungarian revolutionaries tried in vain to ask for help from England and France, because the suffocation of the Hungarian revolution was in the interest of the English ministry and of the government of the French Republic and they thus welcomed the intervention of the tsarist troops' (p. 156)

- The relevant textbook explains that Austria-Hungary had two parts, however, the maps do not show the border between the Austrian and Hungarian halves and it fails to explain the agreement that created the country (the previous content featured was about 1849). Some of the national conflicts of Austria-Hungary are explained, however, the description of Slovakia and Transcarpathia as 'agrarian colonies' is debatable, among others because the economy of the rest of the Kingdom of Hungary was also still based on agriculture and Slovakia and Transcarpathia did not possess the best geographic conditions for agriculture:

National and class conflicts in the Austrian Empire. Austria-Hungary consisted of the Austrian Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary. Both were ruled by a joint monarch from the Habsburg dynasty. The power was in hands of the nobility and bourgeoisie of Austria and Hungary which quarrelled with each other. Together, they oppressed the peoples of Austria-Hungary, of which the majority were Slavs (see the map on page 118). (Averjanov, et al., 1989, p. 117)

Slovakia and Transcarpathian Ukraine were peculiar agrarian colonies of Hungary. The Magyarization policy of the Hungarian government provoked stormy protest of the Slovakian population. (p. 119)

- Although the First World War is described as a ‘from both sides imperialist, expansionist and unjust war’ (p. 216), the textbook presents Russia’s pre-war aims and its actions at the beginning of the war as justified and Germany as an aggressor:

They established the triple alliance, the aggressive military block, which was first of all directed against France and Russia. (p. 81)

The governing circles of Germany, which announced the ‘transition to world politics’ and ‘demanded a place under the sun’, tried to use the international conflicts to its own benefit. For example, they did not consider Russia’s interest and supported the conquests of Austria-Hungary in the Balkans. (p. 82)

End of July 1914 the Austrian-Hungarian troops entered Serbian territory and bombed Belgrade. Russia, which offered to help Serbia, started the partial mobilisation. The ruling circles of Germany used this as an excuse to declare war to Russia on August 1st and later on August 3rd to France, Russia’s ally. (p. 216)

In summary, we can see that despite and international ethos, the Soviet Union identified itself with Russia’s national past and in a wider sense with the aims of Slavic nations, and for this purpose used the myths of ‘antiquity, continuity, independence and unity’ in its storytelling of the medieval period and projected a negative image of its 20th century opponents.

6.6 A comparison of post-socialist textbooks

Key conclusions:

- Compared to the 80s, an incipient nationalist agenda can be identified in Hungarian textbooks of the early 2000s. In the next generation of textbooks published after 2012 and even more after 2020 the national tone enhanced further, especially in case of medieval history. Nevertheless, at the same time, textbooks dealing with the actual Habsburg period up to the Compromise, between the 16th century and 1867 have become more nuanced already in 2016 and even more in 2021. More stories are told and in more detail of the nationalities living in Hungary, in an objective tone, even justifying their demands.
- Compared to the earlier versions, the period of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy is represented more granularly in terms of the nationality conflict in the 2017 Hungarian textbook, but a worsening is visible in the 2022 version of the same textbook when the focus becomes the negation or relativization of the discrimination against nationalities and there is a complaint that they were not loyal to the Hungarian state. In addition, both 2022 textbooks include an overwhelming and dense narrative of the Trianon Peace Treaty, which – despite including many real grievances – is too much for a balanced storytelling. However, even with these changes, Hungarian textbooks remain in the sphere of fact-based and limitedly selective narratives.
- Romanian textbooks clearly improved after 1989 regarding national bias, however, less than the huge improvement suggested by the V-Indoc dataset. Based on the analysed textbooks, the situation which led to the pre-1989 complaints of Romanian scholars regarding the inclusion of the dogmas of ‘antiquity, continuity, independence and unity’ still do not seem to have been entirely overcome.
- Post-socialist Serbian textbooks showcase a somewhat enhanced nationalistic ethos; however, they still provide a well-balanced narrative. Overall, their tone

seems similar to Hungarian textbooks of the 80s: accurate, but demonstrating an undeniable national pride.

- **Slovak textbooks currently used by the Hungarian minority have been written by Hungarian historians and they are a good example for writing a Hungarian history with an enhanced sensitivity towards other nationalities.**

Hungary

Among the 29 post-socialist textbooks used in Hungary and collected for this thesis, up to 2012 the 2nd and 3rd years of the secondary school (ages 15-16 and 16-17) continue to be the most relevant and they largely follow the tradition of the pre-1989 textbooks. After 2012, medieval history has been included in the textbooks for the first year of the secondary school (ages 14-15) and this led to a reduction in the depth of their narrative. The textbooks published 2020 or after continued with this model. From 2020 two versions of the same textbook are available from the same state-controlled publisher, from connected authors, one of the versions includes more detailed explanations and the other is mostly based on the previous series of textbooks published after 2012.

Changes taking place in the intermediate period of the early 2000s can be analysed with the example of the textbook for the 3rd year of secondary school. I have already reviewed the 1987 edition of Závodszy's textbook under the previous *Section 6.5* and the changes in the 2001 edition are minimal (Dr. Závodszy, 2001). The modifications relevant to the topic of this research are:

- Wording changes in the description of nationalism (pp. 49 and 118-119 in 2001 and pp. 50 and 115 in 1987). The 2001 version is more detailed and historically accurate, clarifying that nationalism was different between Western Europe and Central and Eastern Europe and that language was more relevant in countries where citizenship and belonging to a nation did not coincide, like in Central and Eastern Europe. The 1987 assumed that language was crucial everywhere.

- In the description of the early 18th-century form of government in the kingdom of Hungary it is added (p. 84 in 2001, p. 85 in 1987) that 'it gravely offended the national interests of the country that its territorial unity has not been reinstated after

expelling the Turks. Transylvania was re-organised as a great duchy, with a separate government and separate parliament'. This evaluation corresponds to historic reality, and is also aligned with the view of 17th century Transylvanian rulers (Bocskai), thus what most calls the attention is that it was not in the 1987 version, where any unnecessary expression of national aspirations were seen as undesirable.

- The narrative of the 1722-23 *Pragmatica Sanctio* in 1987 was that it created a union between the realms of the Hungarian crown and the Austrian hereditary lands against external threat (p. 86), while in 2001 (p. 85) it is described as a legislation only establishing that the same member of the Habsburg dynasty shall rule in both parts and thus it can be evaluated both as a personal-union or as a federation. The difference is small, as the 1987 wording did not specify what type of union it was, however it is relevant that in 2001 the author thought that it was important to clarify the situation.

- As expected, the 2001 version eliminates the out-of-context comments seeing the advance of the political left in any progressive move. In 1987 p. 120 referred to Kossuth asking for a constitution for the Austrian and Italian realms in 1848 as 'ground-breaking change in the political thinking of the left'. In 2001 the textbook simply explains how this demand contributed to the outbreak of revolution in Vienna (p. 130).

- The 1987 version mentioned that among the 1848 April Laws a modern nationality law was missing (p. 125), the 2001 version softens the critique by adding that this was because there was no international precedent and example for this (p. 134). Similarly, the description of the national aspirations of the nationalities is seen as 'valid' in 1987 (p. 128), while in 2001 this adjective has been eliminated and the text clarifies that they asked not only for guarantees to be able to use their language but also for territorial autonomy (p. 138). However, in 2001 three paragraphs of the 28 July 1849 nationality law (claimed to be the first in Europe) are included, showing regulations about the free use of languages (p. 154).

- The 2001 narrative of the 1849 dethronement of the Habsburg dynasty mentions that the legal situation was complicated as – from a Hungarian perspective – on the Hungarian side the still loyal troops of king Ferdinand V were fighting against the counter-constitutional troops of the Viennese court (p. 149) – as Franz Joseph had not been crowned as king of Hungary yet. In 1987 there is no such clarification.

- In 1987 there was an attempt to show the internal opposition to the revolution and war of independence as a fifth column of the political right, singling out the responsibility of Görgei in a near-treason approach (pp. 137-142). In 2001 this narrative disappears and Görgei's figure is evaluated with arguments in favour and against (pp. 144-156).

- In the narrative of the Compromise of 1867, a paragraph has been eliminated from the 2001 version, which in 1987 confirmed regarding the Deák-Kossuth debate that 'the present (1867) proved Deák, but the future proved Kossuth right' (p. 198). However, a new – longer – text has been added stating that 'this compromise could not be developed further. It stiffened and after a few decades made old-fashioned Hungary's social-political arrangements' (p. 224). Thus, the overall evaluation of the Compromise remained similar.

- Another change in 2001 is the addition of a paragraph which refers to the leaders of the nationalities being a nuisance in the millennium celebrations in 1896 – completely missing in 1987 (p. 229). This small change however shows a much lesser degree of criticism of the underlying structural inequality of the Monarchy, in which only two nations had a privileged role. In 2001 the Monarchy can be seen with a stronger sense of nostalgia. (I have already referred to this feeling in the previous *Section 6.4* when comparing Hungarian textbooks with the Austrian equivalents).

- István Tisza, prime minister of Hungary from 1913 is described as a conservative politician in 1987 and as a realist in 2001, who 'saw clearer than anyone else that the Hungarian hegemony is fragile. (...) Not without any base he thought that there is no St Stephen's Hungary without the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy...' (p.249).

In summary, the small changes between 1987 and 2001 show a very limited revival of a nationalist ethos, usually consisting in the addition of clarifications that could be seen as missing from the 1987 version. However, there are several changes which make the nationalities to be seen as a nuisance and their aspirations are not described any more as 'valid'. It seems that the 2001 version tries to partially justify the policy of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy against nationalities.

The more recent developments in textbooks – following the 2012 and 2020 adjustments in the curriculum – can be well analysed through the example of the Middle

Ages²¹⁰. The common fate of the Central and Eastern European countries is explained in detail in the 1987 (and 1988) textbooks. In 2016 the narrative becomes much more condensed: only 3 pages (dr. Németh & Borhegyi, 2016, pp. 149, 151-153) explain this period in the region, focusing on the joint threat from the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation (interestingly it describes how Czechia became part of the Empire, when in socialist textbooks this was not clarified); the appearance of German immigration, the dynasties which became relevant in several countries across the region, the Hussite movement and very briefly the economic and cultural changes (including the establishment of cities, guilds and universities).

Another chapter describes the expansion of the Ottoman Empire, in three pages the authors refer to the common fate of the Balkans, however, the story is told rather via maps showcasing the borders century by century from the 11th to the 15th century. It might be surprising that the only specific content included in detail in the narrative is the story of Vlad Tepes, probably motivated by the cinematographic relevance in the 20th century – John Hunyadi only deserves one line in this regional storytelling. A positive aspect is the recognition that the Kingdom of Hungary in this period supposed a threat to the independence of these countries (dr. Németh & Borhegyi, 2016, pp. 154, 156-157). In the 2020 textbooks, however, this specific chapter on Central and Eastern Europe has been eliminated, and in one of the textbooks only the description of the Hussite movement and a brief mention of the establishment of universities reminds us of the history of the region, followed by an abbreviated version of the 2016 narrative of the Turkish danger, without the map that shows the gradual expansion of the Ottomans (Borhegyi & Szabados, 2020 (2), pp. 89-90, 150-151). The other 2020 textbook visualises on a map the geographic extension of different signs of feudalism, including cities and guilds – reaching Czechia, Poland and Hungary (Száray & Dr. Szabados, 2020, p. 98) and describes the Balkan's

²¹⁰ As the question does not reflect on the relationship between the different nations in Central and Eastern Europe during the Habsburg Empire, the issue of Hungarian ethnogenesis is clearly beyond the scope of this thesis. Nevertheless, it is worth to mention that recently there has been a controversy surrounding the latest Hungarian textbooks (published in 2020) regarding their treatment of the history of Hungarians before 895 (The arguments contrary to the textbooks are explained in (Kolozsi, 2020)). The cause of the controversy is the newly disputed nature of the Finno-Ugric and Turkic heritage of the Hungarian people. My reading is that the 2020 textbooks still represent the question as open, explaining that no final proof exists, they agree that the Hungarian language has more in common with Finno-Ugric than with Turkish languages, however, they also enumerate a number of reasons why from an ethnic perspective a Turkic connection could make sense. It certainly feels that the authors think that the Turkic connection has many arguments, but they do not establish it (yet) as an undeniable fact. However, it would have been better to first reach consensus among scholars researching the topic than to directly introduce a controversial issue into the textbooks, especially when many other relevant and not controversial contents have been left out given the limited extension a textbook can have.

struggles against the Turks in the chapter on Hungarian history. The history of the shared monarchs between Poland, Czechia and Hungary during the 15th century continues to be described in detail also in 2016 and 2020.

In the 2016 textbook there is an incorrect representation of the borders in a map titled 'Hungary in the time of Saint Stephen' (dr. Németh & Borhegyi, 2016, p. 177), as it implies that already during this time borders of the Kingdom of Hungary extended to the Carpathian mountain range and that Slavonia and the Kingdom of Croatia had some connection with Hungary at this time. This error has been corrected in one of the 2020 textbooks when it shows that a frontier buffer area existed throughout the 11th century and that Croatia was not part of the Kingdom of Hungary yet (Száray & Dr. Szabados, 2020, p. 128), but the other 2020 textbook repeats the 2016 map (Borhegyi & Szabados, 2020 (2), p. 125). However, the text on page 185 already in the 2016 textbook clarifies that Saint Ladislav I only reached Croatia in 1091 which contradicts the map on page 177. However, also here, the military conquest narrative prevails, without describing the also existent negotiations with Croatians nobles.

The 2016 textbook briefly mentions the existence of Slavs within the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary since the arrival of the Hungarians: 'the Slavs in the North-West kept their own language' (dr. Németh & Borhegyi, 2016, p. 188) and then explains additional immigration after the Mongol invasion of 1241-42: 'at the same time different Slavic peoples (Moravians, Czechs, Poles) moved to the Northern part of Upper Hungary and Romanians to the southern regions of Transylvania' (dr. Németh & Borhegyi, 2016, p. 195). One of the 2020 textbooks repeat the same texts and the other includes the map 'Ethnic composition of Hungary in the 11th-12th centuries' (Száray & Dr. Szabados, 2020, p. 136), where Hungarians occupy most lowlands, Slavs the mountainous areas and Slavonia and in between there is a mixed population. The accompanying text also affirms that 'in Hungary there were other peoples already before the Mongol invasion: 'Slavs in the northern mountains (the forefathers of the future Slovaks) ...' (p. 140).

I have described previously how the socialist textbooks rarely mentioned the nationalities living in the Kingdom of Hungary in the medieval period. The references became even less frequent in 2016, for instance there is no mention of Romanians during the Transylvanian peasant uprising of 1437 (dr. Németh & Borhegyi, 2016, p. 208), nor attributing agency to Serbians and Romanians in John Hunyadi's fights with the Turks (pp. 211-213). Page 207 describes the medieval history of Transylvania, with its sparse

population density in the 11th century (with ‘Hungarians in the basins and a few Slav villages in the mountains’), the arrival of Saxons in the 12th and Szeklers in the 13th century and also here confirming that the immigration of Romanians became steady from the 13th century and ‘their number could be a few tens of thousands in this time’. Once again, there is no mention of the continuity theory. On the other hand, the arrival of gypsies from Wallachia in the 14th-15th centuries is also mentioned – something missing from socialist textbooks (p. 210) and there is a story about the shared German and Hungarian population of Buda (p. 222). The 2020 textbook which nearly entirely kept the narrative of the 2016 textbook, however, has eliminated from it the page referring to Transylvania (Borhegyi & Szabados, 2020 (2)). The other 2020 textbook mentions the origin of the troops in Hunyadi’s 1443-44 campaign (led by Vladislas I): Poles, Hungarians and Southern Slavs (Szárny & Dr. Szabados, 2020, p. 160). However, this textbook omits any mention of the ethnic mix of population of Hungary in this period except for the description of Saxon and Szekler immigration into Transylvania in the 12th-13th centuries (p. 144). Interestingly, the mention of the immigration of Romanians has been eliminated in this narrative.

The narrative of the Romanian ethnogenesis in form of the continuity theory – that in the socialist textbooks of 1987 and 1988 had been described as one of the theories which however is not supported by acceptable proof points – in 2016 appears as a question on which pupils can perform a voluntary research and in two following chapters it is clarified that immigration took place (dr. Németh & Borhegyi, 2016, pp. 107, 157, 207). In 2020 none of the textbooks mentions any of the two theories on the origin of Romanians – not even the textbook which otherwise repeats the wording of the 2016 book. For instance, when describing the roman province of Dacia it does not include any more the specific continuity-question (Borhegyi & Szabados, 2020 (2), p. 43) and the other two references to the immigrations of Romanians into Transylvania are also completely missing. The other 2020 textbook also refrains from mentioning the origin of the Romanians. Thus, it seems that in 2020 a conscious decision has been made to avoid referring to this controversial question.

I have previously analysed how the medieval conquests of Hungarian kings were narrated in socialist textbooks in a neutral or even negative tone. The tone has remained mostly neutral in the 2016 textbook, however, there are rarely critiques against these wars, even sometimes celebrating them ‘Louis the Great... secured the country’s power in the

region through several successful military campaigns’ (dr. Németh & Borhegyi, 2016, p. 201), and also adding maps that show the ‘territories under Hungarian influence’ during Louis I the Great²¹¹ and the ‘conquests’ of Matthias (pp. 201, 215). In the 2016 textbook Sigismund’s reorientation of foreign policy towards the west is seen as a sign of his ‘personal ambitions and matters of dynasty’ but the book also adds that the Balkan states often left his alliance which then obliged him to stop attempts to confront the Turks (p. 204) – the 1987 textbook did not mention this motivation. On the other hand, the 2016 textbook also adds a line that clarifies when (1427) Belgrade became part of the Hungarian defence system (again) after an agreement with the Serbian prince in which Hungary ‘took on the responsibility’ to defend some castles against the Turks (p. 206). Both 2020 textbooks continue with the same narrative, one essentially repeating the text of the 2016 version and the other textbook explaining how ‘Sigismund tried to place under his influence the states to the south (Bosnia, Serbia, Wallachia, Moldova), and in this way to establish a buffer zone between Hungary and the Ottoman Empire’ (Száray & Dr. Szabados, 2020, p. 158). This latter narrative essentially establishes that the subordination of these countries’ interests to those of Hungary should be considered valid (of course the same point of view cannot be said once the Habsburgs use Hungary as a buffer zone).

Thus, summarising the comparison of the narrative of medieval history between the socialist period and the recent past, the leitmotiv of shared fate of Central-Eastern European countries disappears, the Balkans countries are sometimes seen in the latest textbooks as a tool in the confrontation with the Ottoman Empire, and the authors forget about their agency in the joint fights against the Turks. Criticism of medieval conquests carried out by Hungary also ceases to exist and different justifications explain why the actions of the Hungarian kings of the time were reasonable. The different nationalities in the medieval Hungary are mostly omitted from the narrative – with a very few exceptions, such as Slavs on the peripheries after the conquest and the German immigration.

The textbook representation of the period from the 16th century – the actual era of Habsburg rule in the Kingdom of Hungary – show both positive and negative changes between the 80s and 2016. The improvements include the following: a text clarifies which

²¹¹ Nevertheless, correctly, Poland is not marked with the colour indicating a ‘territory under Hungarian influence’ and the text clarifies that this was a personal-union between two independent countries and that Louis’ mother ruled effectively in Poland.

nationality followed which religion within Hungary ('Calvinist Hungarians, Lutheran Germans and Slovaks, Catholic Croats, Orthodox Serbs and Romanians' (Borhegyi, 2016, p. 67) and Transylvania (p. 68); page 66 includes a map with the approximate area of each religion; page 163 mentions the Romanian character of the 1784 uprising in Transylvania; page 173 the fear of the Hungarian nation's death as prophesised by Herder in 1791; page 175 the fact that the Hungarian parliament did not include members from Transylvania at the beginning of the 19th century; page 184 a detailed account of the 1831 cholera uprising, also including an ethnic map of the impacted area; page 188 a very detailed narrative of the different language legislations from 1792 culminating in Hungarian becoming the official language in 1844 and the opposition from the Croatian members of parliament. In addition, ample space is dedicated to describe the population changes after the Turkish occupation, explaining the different origins and directions of migration and immigration and clarifying that in Transylvania already at the end of the 17th century there were more Romanians than Hungarians (pp. 157-158).

More distinctively, pages 194 to 197 include a specific chapter on the nationality question during the reform age, with an ethnic map, description of the aspirations of the Croatian, Serbian, Romanian, Transylvanian Saxon and Slovakian nationalities and the situation of the Rusyn, Jewish and Gypsy communities, a data table with percentage distribution by ethnicity in Hungary, Transylvania and Croatia and even a graph which clarifies that in Transylvania 58.5% of the population in 1840 were Romanian and only 28% Hungarian. This level of detail clearly stands above what had been included in the textbooks of the 80s. This chapter also clarifies that the contemporary Hungarian interpretation of there being only one political nation in Hungary was aligned with the ideal of the French Encyclopaedia – which connected the nation with the territory of the state and not with the language – however, that this interpretation changed over time into the modern definition of self-determination of peoples with the same language and cultural background. There is also an evaluation of the situation, recognising that there were also mistakes in the overly eager implementation of the language legislation.

The national implications of the 1848-49 revolution and war of independence are also narrated with more detail in the 2016 textbook than it was the case in the 80s: Page 201 includes a detailed account of the Prague Slav Congress, explaining their aims (a federalist configuration of the Monarchy), even quoting Palacky's detailed proposal. Page 207 narrates the national assemblies of Slovaks, Serbs and Romanians in May 1848 and

that they also demanded an autonomy which however was not given, also that the Croatian parliament declared the end of the association between the two countries and that effective war started in the south, when Serbian military frontier soldiers started to establish the independent Serbian Vojvodina – also including actions of ethnic cleansing. Page 210 recognises the existence of a Slovakian uprising joining the imperial troops attacking Hungary in late 1848, and pages 211-212 also explain that both Romanians and Saxons joined the Habsburgs in October 1848 but they were opposed by the Szeklers. Part of the declaration of the Romanians' national assembly in September 1848 is also included. Page 214 adds that there were many nationalities in the Hungarian army during the war of independence, the share of Slovaks, Romanians, Germans and Rusyns reaching 40% in some divisions. Finally, page 216 explains the circumstances leading to the nationality law of 1849 and its content.

However, there are also some missing elements, by not attributing agency to the different nationalities in the wars against the Turks (it is only recognised to the Romanian principalities outside of Hungary, at the beginning of the 15 years' war), to the Romanians in sharing the 1514 peasant uprising, to the Szeklers in supporting Michael the Brave in 1600 (it is not even clarified that he effectively was in charge of Transylvania for nearly a year), to Croats in the Zrínyi-Frangepán-Nádasdy 1670 uprising, to Slovaks in the Thököly's movement (1678-85), to Rusyns and Slovaks during the Rákóczy war of independence (1703-11). Some of these contents were present in the 1987 textbook.

Therefore, all in all, in the 2016 narrative of the period 1490-1849 there are many more improvements against the version included in the 80s than negative changes. This is a highly welcome sign, and shows an evolution contrary to what we have seen in the narrative of the Middle Ages, which increased the national character of the text.

There have been many additional improvements between 2016 and 2021. To start with, both 2021 textbooks have added a detailed explanation of the economic changes that took place in the western and eastern half of Europe after the Columbian exchange and the establishment of new routes of international trade, resulting in the common fate of the Central and Eastern Europe economies in providing food supplies (Száray, 2021, pp. 20-21) (Borhegyi & Dr. Nánay, 2021 (2), p. 13).

In one of the textbooks a couple of new pages describe the population and ethnic changes right after the Turkish conquest (end of 17th century), with an ethnic map included (Száray, 2021, pp. 67-68) – this is a welcome development, as usually textbooks reflect on the ethnicity of the country after the repopulation during the 18th century. On page 98 the same textbook tells the story of the arrival of the Serbs after 1690 under the leadership of their patriarch and lists the types of privileges they received. The chapter explaining the repopulation of the country in this textbook extends to seven pages (pp. 106-112) – the most extensive among all textbooks – and it includes detailed accounts of the different nationalities, accompanied with several ethnic maps and quotes. The description of the phenomenon of European nationalism is also very detailed, three full pages (pp. 124-126) treat this question. The narrative is objective but sometimes ironic about the national movements, for instance describing how different nations adjusted their past: ‘those nations, which previously did not reach statehood (for instance, because they lived in a multinational empire), now “created” or embellished their national history, so that they can draw strength from their “glorious” past’ (p. 124) – thus we cannot claim that the textbook praises nationalism. When applying the concept to Hungarian nationalism on pages 145-146, the author also explains that contemporary thinkers in both Hungary and Europe believed that ‘the political nation... is not formed based on language, but on history and legality, and thus the recognition of a nation depends on the existence of statehood’ (p.146). Therefore – according to the above definition – ‘they acknowledged as political nations in Hungary only Hungarians and Croats’, and they argued that ‘within these political nations exist the different peoples of Hungarians, Croats, Serbs, Slovaks, Rusyns, Romanians, Germans etc’ (p.146). It is also explained that leading Hungarians looked upon the French example and believed that the extension of civil rights will win the support of other nationalities to this unified political nation and the author adds that ‘... as everywhere in Europe at this time – they demanded the assimilation of nationalities, but they rejected forceful methods’ (p.146). However, the textbook continues with the description of the reality in the effectively self-governing counties – dominated by the Hungarian nobility – which took many aggressive measures (like forceful promotion of the Hungarian language in schools and the church) and that these, in contrast, led to the opposition of nationalities. Effective assimilation only happened across the German and Jewish city-dwellers and it also worked in the opposite direction, when Hungarians got assimilated into the Romanian nation in villages where

they were in minority (p.146). The narrative of the reform age on pages 157-158 also refer to the language question and the nationalities' situation justifying their demands:

The objectives of the nationalities' movements coincided with those of the Hungarians: they wanted as wide as possible national rights – depending on the situation of the nationality – ranging from the establishment of national institutions to the demand of autonomous territories. (p. 157),

This then inevitably led to confrontations with the nationalities – says the textbook. One of the following paragraphs describes the initiatives to embellish the historical past based on the aim to narrate a glorious past:

Glorious past and historical entitlement (a territory belongs to those who arrived there earlier) were an integral part of the national identity of the time. The national movements of nationalities – who mostly did not achieve statehood in the past – aimed in this spirit to add to or to re-write their history, often without considering scientific facts. (pp. 157-158)

On page 150 the very detailed narrative of the Cholera uprising adds that 'the uprising developed mainly in areas inhabited by nationalities and the Slav serfs (Slovaks and Rusyns) hoped help to come from the "good tsar"'.

Page 160 also describes four different political movements in Hungary, conservatives, liberal nobility, centralists and the 'Young Hungary'. Of these, the textbook writes that the conservatives and centralists were tolerant with the nationalities, the liberal nobility believed in one political nation and 'Young Hungary' preferred Magyarization. It is not mentioned on this page, only later (p. 164), but effectively the 1848-49 revolution meant that the liberal nobility and 'Young Hungary' obtained the leading role. Therefore, we could imagine a different outcome of 1848-49 if the less radical political movements achieved power in Hungary. This comparative evaluation of the four movements is new in this textbook and it helps students to think differently about the accepted belief that the radicals gaining power was good for Hungary.

The national movements of nationalities within the Kingdom of Hungary in 1848 are marked on the map on page 163 with equal significance as those in Pest-Buda, Krakow or Prague, representing the Slovak, Croat, Serb and Romanian aspirations, and repeated on page 170. However, page 170 affirms that their demands could not be approved by the Hungarian government (use of language, recognition of nationhood, territorial autonomy), as there was no example for this type of solution anywhere else in

Europe. The narrative emphasises that in areas where the Hungarian government effectively was in charge by the summer of 1848 and thus could implement the abolition of serfdom (and giving the land's ownership to the tenant without any cost to the tenant), the support for the Hungarian government was bigger than to the nationalist leaders (Slovaks, Rusyn, Romanians outside of Transylvania). In Transylvania, however, where legally the Union with the rest of Hungary could not be implemented without the Transylvanian Parliament agreeing to it first, the serfdom had not been abolished yet when the nationalist movement started in May 1848, and therefore Romanian peasants supported the movement (p. 171). This page also includes many source documents with the decisions of the two national assemblies of the Transylvanian Romanians. Page 172 explains the Serbian uprising in detail and clarifies that the territories claimed by the Serbian Assembly did not have a Serbian majority and in the west Germans and Hungarians and in the east Romanians were in majority. It is followed by a narrative how the Viennese government took advantage of the uprising and a map shows the locations of ethnic cleansing against Hungarians and Germans. Pages 176 and 177 mention ethnic cleansing taking place in Transylvania against Hungarians, and that Bem, the Polish general who led the successful counter-attack applied no reprisals. The detailed narrative of ethnic cleansing was missing from earlier textbooks, Bem's restraint was not. However, this narrative seems one-sided, as later also Hungarians committed reprisals. (The 2017 textbook only includes that there were several thousands of victims from both sides).

On the other hand, the 1784 Transylvanian peasant uprising is missing from this textbook and the Herderian prophesy (of the disappearance of the Hungarians) is not mentioned either. Regarding the relationship with the Habsburgs, this textbook – among others – also includes a positive narrative of vice-roy Joseph of Habsburg, highlighting that he was loved by Hungarians (p. 143).

The other 2021 textbook, from Borhegyi & Nánay is largely based on Borhegyi's 2016 textbook and repeats most of the text. However, there are some relevant changes that show a more benevolent description of the Habsburg Empire: first, in a few lines it explains that the conspiracy theory about the death of Nicholas Zrínyi at the hands of the Habsburgs cannot be true given his deep involvement with the Habsburg elite and the authors also clarify his shared Croatian-Hungarian identity. Both parts of this narrative

are welcome, as previous textbooks tended to leave the doubt whether his death was really caused by an accident and they at most only mention that he was Croatian Ban, but not his shared identity, nor that his brother was a Croatian poet²¹²:

...Zrínyi was one of the typical aristocrats of the Habsburg Empire, remaining ‘above the nations’. Meaning that he had several identities: while we can consider him an outstanding figure of Baroque literature written in Hungarian, his family conserved their Croatian identity as well. (His younger brother, Péter Zrínyi, is well-known as Croatian poet.) (Borhegyi & Dr. Nánay, 2021 (2), p. 48)

A second improvement is the description of the Habsburg Monarchy in the early 19th century not as ‘prison of the nations’ but as an entity which managed to create its own style:

...it is undoubtful that the Habsburg Empire proved to be viable from an economic or cultural perspective. It is enough to walk through the cities of many countries which developed from the empire (from Prague to Tsernovici and from Lemberg to Timisoara), and the similar look of the cities is obvious, in form of the Baroque of the counter-reformation or the historical architecture style (‘Monarchy-style’) typical in the second half of the 19th century. Economically, a viable task-sharing developed between the different states and realms, not forgetting about the advantages of a large unified market²¹³. (p. 136)

A third positive change in reference to the Habsburg Empire is that also this textbook describes vice-roy Joseph of Habsburg warmly (p. 137).

Regarding the narrative of the situation of the nationalities, there is an interesting amendment (compared to 2016) on page 98 when the estimated 1790 ethnic distribution of the population is shown: in 2016 it was claimed that Hungarians made up 41.55% of the population including Croatia, Slavonia, the Military Frontier and Transylvania, in 2021 for the same 35% is mentioned. The increase comes in case of Slovaks, from 10.68% to 15% and Croats, from 9.56% to 11% (Borhegyi & Dr. Nánay, 2021 (2), p. 98) (Borhegyi, 2016, p. 158). Another positive change is to include in the page about Pest-Buda during the reform age that its ethnical mix changed significantly in a question of decades, with many Germans changing their names into Hungarian and ‘the population

²¹² This textbook is largely based on the 2016 version and this clarification about Zrínyi is not in the 2016 version either.

²¹³ The textbook does not mention it, but the large unified market did not exist up to the middle of the 19th century, due to the internal customs border between the Hungarian half and the rest.

which moved into the city became assimilated within one or two generations’ (p. 142) – this addition is also highly relevant as it shows the place and the way in which assimilation actually worked and in this sense the textbook returns to the narrative of Jászi from the beginning of the 20th century (Jászi O. , 1912)²¹⁴.

Another improvement is the more detailed description of the self-governance of the counties compared to the 2016 textbook. In 2016 the counties’ importance is only referred to as occasional opposition to overly oppressive royal demands, while in 2021 the narrative shows the structural characteristics of the county system and its power to decide which law to implement:

The (feudal) counties were a state within the state: in many areas it created its own rules, not infrequently against the decisions applied in the whole of the country. The counties – if they judged that the royal demands are legal – managed relatively effectively the local matters (e.g. taxation, soldier recruitment), as the Habsburg state organisation could not establish instead of them any other local administrative units. When they wished, they could even deny the implementation of royal decrees they believed were not aligned with the law... (p. 137)

This 2021 textbook also changes the description of the 1848 confrontations with the nationalities to a ‘civil war with the nationalities allied with the dynasty’ (p. 162), and uses this term especially in relation to the situation in the Serbian Vojvodina. Maybe it can be disputed if the confrontations were a civil war or something else, however, I think the main benefit of this narrative is that it makes students understand the seriousness of the situation and that both sides had valid claims. Page 166 uses the term ‘ethnic civil war’ for the similar situation in Transylvania and author makes it clear that atrocities happened on both sides.

Thus, both 2021 textbooks on the period up to 1849 increased further the detail of the narrative regarding the situation of nationalities and they also enhanced the sensitivity towards the Habsburg perspective.

²¹⁴ Jászi’s work unfortunately is only available in Hungarian, but it should be considered a masterpiece for the time it has been written: it applies statistical methods to demonstrate that assimilation effectively worked in cities (not just in Hungary), when the minority population got assimilated by the nationality which was relatively the strongest.

The History textbooks for third year of the secondary school from 2012 cover the period from 1849 to 1945. In this period, my study finishes with the First World War. Compared to the textbook narrative of the 80s, the 2017 textbook (Borhegyi & Paksa, 2017) also includes several improvements in the sense of reducing the national character of the textbook. The first example relates to a more favourable representation of the oppressive system in place after 1849: on page 50, when analysing the Bach-system (in place from 1850 to 1860), the text affirms that only 23.1% of public servants in Hungary came from outside, contrary to the belief that most of these ‘Bach-hussars’ were foreigners.

The following examples refer to a more detailed description and evaluation of the nationality question:

- Page 71 describes the changes taking place in Budapest and the authors affirm that in one or two generations the assimilation of Germans, Jews and Slovaks was significant. Pages 80 to 83 narrate the nationality question during the dual monarchy and it gives a reasonably detailed analysis why the share of Hungarians increased: due to the stronger economic growth in the central territories, where most Hungarians lived; the development of large cities in the same areas – where most assimilation took place – and; the emigration impacting stronger those nationalities (especially Slovaks) who lived in the peripheries. Thus, in the ethnically mixed regions, often the cities became majority Hungarian, while the surrounding villages remained mostly inhabited by nationalities (p. 81). These arguments are important and relevant; however, I believe even more data points could have been added (e.g. from Jászi²¹⁵), which shows how ethnic majorities within the same area rarely changed even in fifty years, what happened is that some regions grew much faster than others, and these were in the lowlands where previously mostly Hungarians lived. The phenomenon can also be explained with the fact that the largest Slovakian-majority cities of the period were close to the current Serbian-Romanian-Hungarian border on the lowlands, where their forefathers took fertile lands after the end of the Turkish conquest.

- Page 75 criticises the widely extended view around the millennium (1896) which saw the Hungarian nation in full upswing and sentences that ‘the successes of the

²¹⁵ It is noteworthy to mention that this textbook refers to Jászi’s 1912 book as ‘he highlighted that the unity of the country can only be preserved with democratic transformation and the equality of the nationalities’ (p. 85)

millennium blurred the vision of many, and instead of the existing problems (nationalities, social tensions, etc) they looked into the future with excessive optimism’.

- Page 61 shows the difference in school attendance between children of different nationalities and extent of literacy. This is an important statistic; however, it would have been better to also explain the reasons for the differences.

- Page 58 refers to the ‘one political nation’ principle and highlights that its application in 1867 was driven by both the Hungarian public opinion thinking that the nationalities attacked the country in the back in 1848-49 and that this principle was seen as natural in most European liberal democracies and even today most countries are organised based on this principle. Against this principle stood the proposal of the emigrated leaders of the 1848 revolution, who advocated for the Danube Confederation. The narrative continues with the description of the Nationality Law, which is valued as a uniquely liberal legislation in contemporary Europe. Page 81 emphasises the relevance of this legislation in a time when elsewhere in Europe minority rights were not accepted or when assimilation was forced (e.g. Russia). However, page 82 explains that the liberal principles have not always been implemented in the praxis and thus ‘part of the politicians of the time with intolerant nationalism urged the establishment of a united Hungarian nation-state’. One of the examples given is the closure of Slovakian secondary schools. The authors also explain that the different censuses carried out during the period made Hungarian public opinion aware that about 75% of the nationality population could not speak Hungarian. This then explains the attempts to introduce Hungarian as foreign language in schools in 1879, and in 1907 the implementation of a test to measure the progress. A specific paragraph deals with the error of the Hungarian elite not to contest claims of exaggerated nationalism made by the different nationalities in Western European press. An example is made of the Csernovo gendarmerie volley, and for this the authors include two different sources from Slovakian scholars, one describing it as Hungarian police outrage, but the second narrative highlighting that all participating policemen were Slovaks. Page 83 also includes the case of the memorandum of Transylvanian Romanians in 1892, which led to the imprisonment of several of its authors – however, it is not explained what the content of the petition was.

- Page 86 discusses why the census had not been extended in Hungary and the authors affirm that the fear of nationalities obtaining a higher share of vote was one of them.

- Page 87 explains Franz Ferdinand's plans to reorganise the Monarchy as a confederation, which would have impacted Hungary on ethnic principles, based on the proposals of his Czech and Romanian counsellors. While this is true, I believe it would have been beneficial to include a map of the proposed internal borders – they actually do not stand far from the actual ethnic borders and with the hindsight of the Trianon peace treaty, Hungarians would have been better off with it. Nevertheless, at the time, those proposals would have been completely unacceptable for Hungarians.

It is a positive development that pupils learn about the above contents, especially about the national conflicts within the monarchy, however, I believe that more data points should have been included about examples of discrimination against nationalities (most of them were real, and not just the closure of Slovakian secondary schools) and especially the school situation should have been described in more detail – Jászi believes that it led to many growing up without being able to read and write either in their native tongue or in Hungarian.

The textbook naturally treats in detail the peace treaty (Trianon) closing the First World War. After 10 pages narrating the history of the revolutions which followed the war in Hungary, pages 111-115 and 121-125 treat the peace treaty. Although the final evaluation is that the Hungarian public opinion rightly considers the treaty unjust, the tone of the narrative is objective and it does not include any emotional arguments. It even criticises the popular demonstrations in Hungary protesting against the planned borders stating that they served to 'keep the emotions of the Hungarian population awake' (p. 122) or the fact that the 'red map' of Teleki left so many areas white (for low population density) (p. 121). The arguments provided against the righteousness of the treaty reflect on the lack of observation of the Wilsonian principles and the authors only lament the loss of Hungarian-speaking population (which often lived just on the other side of the border) and not the loss of territories which historically belonged to the Kingdom of Hungary. The importance of railway lines in the definition of the non-ethnic borders is also highlighted – as a rather unconventional tool to define national belonging. The leading role of the French government is also stressed, against a more open attitude from the British and Italian governments to consider adjustments into the direction of ethnic borders, but they explain that in the end the French opinion prevailed in Central and Eastern Europe and in exchange Britain got a better deal outside of Europe.

All in all, this narrative does not stand far from what reasonably can be expected from a Hungarian textbook teaching what effectively has become the greatest ‘tragedy’ of Hungarian history (competing with the defeat at Mohács). What I personally miss, is to explain the moral of the story: it is not enough to stand on a moral high ground once you are weak, you have to do the same when you are strong. If Hungarians really believed in the Wilsonian principles, they could have reorganised the country along ethnic lines long before. If they believed in referenda, they could have held referenda long before²¹⁶. It is too late to demand the observation of these principles once you have lost the war. You cannot expect the contrary to act with total moral integrity when you have not done so earlier. This example might also call the attention of today’s politicians that it is better to give up part of your demands when you can still influence the outcome. Once the circumstances change and your influence lessens, the terms of the settlement will be defined by others²¹⁷.

Among the 2022 textbooks, one mostly repeats the text included in the analysed 2017 textbook (Borhegyi & Dr. Nánay, 2022). There a few positive changes: page 36 analyses the question of the census during the dualist system, showing the difference between the distribution of the population and of those entitled to vote by nationality. The difference lies mainly in fewer Romanians entitled to vote (16.1% of the population vs. 11.2% of the voters in 1906 and the difference is made up by Hungarians (54.5 vs. 56.2%), Germans (10.4% vs. 12.7%) and Slovaks (10.7% vs. 11.4%). The accompanying text explains that the built-in bias was rather against the Hungarian-populated areas which

²¹⁶ How unfrequently referendums have been organised in major border conflicts after the First World War and ever since for me personally is one of the greatest mysteries. Both sides usually claim that they act based on the wishes of the majority, thus both sides should be ready to accept a popular vote under the supervision of a neutral authority (and there are neutral authorities, today the UN, in the interwar period the League of Nations). Even today, supposedly historic arguments about where the Eastern part of Ukraine should belong in my opinion completely miss the point: they simply should not matter and the main question is what does the population want. Of course, there are potential counter-arguments for the suitability of referendums (e.g. Brexit), however, there are many potential arguments in favour. For instance, in case of Hungary, the only referendum took place about the city of Sopron (whether it should belong to Austria or Hungary) and the Austrian-Hungarian border never got questioned ever since by Hungarians, even if the easternmost federal state of Austria (Burgenland) consists of a territory that was previously part of the Kingdom of Hungary for nearly 1000 years (of course, it helps that very few Hungarians lived in what is today Burgenland). Maybe, one of the problems of referenda is that the answers are evaluated for the whole of the population in question. The question being where a border should be, I believe we should be ready to evaluate the results of the vote in much smaller territorial units, potentially leading to part of the questioned population becoming part of one country and another part of the other country in question.

²¹⁷ It falls clearly beyond the scope of this thesis; however, it might seem reasonable to consider that with this logic Spain should try to seek a solution with Catalan nationalists before it becomes too late.

traditionally voted for the pro-independence party (and thus against the government) and that the property census was higher in the more developed Hungarian-populated areas than in many peripheries. However, there is no explanation about the particular situation of proportionally fewer Romanian voters. Page 57 includes a statistic with the distribution of emigrants by nationalities, and the related text on page 56 explains that the figure was proportionally higher among nationalities.

Among the negative changes in the analysed 2022 textbook the following stand out:

- The data table showing the school attendance and literacy ratios have been moved from the section that treats the school question of the nationalities (p. 41) to the page that deals with education in general (p. 63) and thus it is completely out of context and related text does not explain that there was some bias in the system. The available space on page 41 has been used instead to narrate how in other Western European countries the teaching of nationalities was much worse. Page 42 also lists the practices of discrimination observed in countries like Romania and Serbia at the same time. While these examples seem to be correct, more self-critique would have been welcomed. The authors also moved a graph to page 41 with the percentage of secondary school students by mother tongue (which shows 80.7% for Hungarians) and text below the graph clarifies that from the nationalities only Romanians, Transylvanian Saxons and the Serbs had a secondary school in their mother tongue, however, more data points should have been provided to explain concrete examples of discrimination in schools (this graph previously was in another section in 2017, on page 84).

- Pages 42 and 43 deal with the increase in the share of Hungarians during the dual Monarchy, and compared to 2017 its main aim becomes to counter-argue claims of assimilation, by stating that a) it was rarely forced and b) it happened everywhere in Europe. In this attempt, however, the authors fail to bring up the most relevant point, that economic growth was concentrated in the central part of the country where mostly Hungarians live. The description of the emigration to the US has been also moved to the unrelated page 56. Therefore, these pages seem more an attempt of whitewashing than a reasonable argument based on objective facts.

- Pages 43 to 45 treat the nationalities' aspirations for autonomy and independence from the turn of the century, introducing the concept of irredentism into the

description of these movements. Several quotes aim to demonstrate that the objective at this stage was not any more the achievement of an autonomy, but the complete independence, for Romanians, Serbians and Italians (for the Adriatic coast). Once again, while these contents seem to be correct, it would have been better to employ more self-critique and explain what led to these movements. A quote from two Hungarian historians from 2020 on page 45 claims that an effectively implemented just Swiss-style treatment of the nationalities would not have made any difference in Transylvania after the First World War. This might be true, but I do not think this is relevant in the evaluation of the nationality question in the Hungarian half of the Monarchy. The reasons for treating nationalities fairly is not because otherwise they will want to secede, but because a democracy should aim to treat fairly everyone.

- Similarly, page 48 narrates two case studies of the nationality conflict: the Csernovo gendarmerie volley in 1907 and the 1892 Romanian memorandum. Both cases are seen by the authors as unjust propaganda against the Hungarian authorities, arguing that the reason for the imprisonment of the Romanian authors of the memorandum was that they printed the text in the press and then it explains that all condemned were released by the next year. For Csernovo, the authors claim that the use of firearms was required to keep the attacking masses of people in control. On the positive side, a fragment of the actual memorandum document and the same two sources of evaluation of Csernovo are reproduced as in 2018. Nevertheless, the overall tone of the narrative suffered the negative change of inciting dislike of Romanians and Slovaks who – it seems – unjustly rebelled against the Hungarian state.

- The liberal democratic revolution of October 1918 is not seen as such by the textbook, arguing that it did not have a democratic mandate (as it did not hold elections) and that – in any case – the Monarchy was already a constitutional state based on the rule of law (p. 115). Similarly, the figure of Oszkár Jászi, who previously was seen as progressive and working towards the understanding between the different nationalities, in this 2022 textbook becomes the leader of freemasons working against the church and ‘aiming to liquidate the traditions of the historic Hungarian monarchy’ (p. 115).

- The peace treaty of Trianon occupies 8 pages (pp. 138-145), in addition to the previous 25 pages dealing with the dissolution of the Monarchy and the different peace treaties closing the First World War. The narrative positions Hungarians as unjust victims – which has many valid proof points. However, it does not seem wise to dedicate

this level of attention to grievances more than 100 years after the events – unless there is an objective to depict the ‘other’ as villains and to mobilise the country’s youth against them.

Therefore, the narrative of the period 1849-1920 in this 2022 textbook became much more based on the negation or relativization of the discrimination against nationalities and more focused on the ‘lack of loyalty’ of the nationalist movements, culminating in the grievances of Trianon. Considering that the text is largely based on the 2017 version, it seems clear that the above changes have been done consciously.

The other 2022 textbook, from Száray, in general is more detailed and it includes some additional relevant data points:

- Page 39 includes a map of the different electoral circumscriptions and one can appreciate how in 1905 the territories with Hungarian majority typically voted for the opposition coalition (Independence Party), which was against the Compromise of 1867 while it were generally areas with a majority of the different nationalities which voted for the Liberal Party, in government for nearly the whole of the dualist period. This shows how opposition to the dualist system came from Hungarians and effective support (against the other option, even worse for them, the full independence of Hungary) came from areas of nationalist majority. This of course does not mean that nationalities necessarily voted for the government party, as their share of voters – especially in case of Romanians – was below their share of the population.

- Page 49 includes a graph which compares the ethnic distribution of the population with the ethnic distribution of emigrants, and the three ethnicities with over-proportional emigration are Slovaks (10.7% of population and 25% of emigration), Rusyns (2.5% vs. 4.5%) and Croats (excluding Croatia: 1.1% vs. 2.6%). The accompanying text clarifies that the population growth combined with the unfavourable agricultural conditions were the cause in case of Upper Hungary and Transcarpathia.

- Page 50 shows a detailed comparison between the ethnic distribution of each county in 1850 and 1910 and questions prompt students to think about the reasons in case there were changes. Pages 51 and 52 explain that there were not many changes in the majority ethnicity in any region, and the overall increase in the share of Hungarians

was driven by the assimilation happening in the large cities (mainly Budapest) – which were in areas of Hungarian majority.

- Page 54 highlights how the millennium expo included an open-air village showcasing the different ethnicities of the country, however, at the same time, the textbook adds in neutral tone that the expo did not count with the support of the nationalities, as they saw in it a propaganda for the Hungarian nation-state.

- Page 62 recognises that the 1879 and 1907 educational reforms were – although mild – contrary to the 1868 nationality law and thus there was opposition against them and that only a few people spoke in favour of maintaining the spirit of 1868. This page also includes a very detailed map with the share of the population who could speak Hungarian – and it shows that outside of the areas with Hungarian ethnic majority the figure rarely reached 30% and it was often below 10%. Another data table visualises that there were much fewer elementary schools whose language of instruction was not Hungarian: in 1913 there were 13,608 schools teaching in Hungarian and only 1,151 in other languages, mostly in German.

- Page 63 explains the cultural activities organised by the Slovakian cultural organisation Matica Slovenská and how the Hungarian government forbade it (and the Slovakian grammar schools) in 1875 under the accusation of pan-Slavic incitement. The same page also describes the punishment of Romanian leaders behind the 1892 memorandum as ‘severe’.

- Page 90 clarifies that ‘there were no good and bad sides in the First World War’, that ‘each country fought for their own interest’ and describes how the propaganda worked on both sides.

However, on the other hand, also this textbook has some parts which indicate a paternalistic view of the nationalities living in Hungary:

- Page 62 narrates the nationalities’ aims with the title *The nationalities’ behaviour* as if they were some naughty schoolchildren. One of their aims is explained as ‘outspoken or not they already aspired to convert the Monarchy into a confederative state of equal nations’. The above text seems to illustrate their illusionary claims; however, I believe an outsider would not be so surprised that they wanted to live in a state where they were equal.

- Page 63 complains how some banks established by nationalities were effectively used as a vehicle for promoting their nationality's land ownership (as if this was outrageous). The same page claims that Romanian propaganda tried to use the memorandum lawsuit to change the positive image of Hungarians in the West (obtained in 1848-49) into a 'barbarian Asian peoples oppressing others'.

- Page 77 refers to the concurrent aims of different nations on the Balkans to unite under their rule the territories once ruled by their nation, and how difficult it was given that all nations ruled a significant part of the peninsula at least once in their history. It is positive to make students understand the absurdity of these claims, however, a parallel should have been drawn with the Hungarian nationalism of the time, demonstrating the same beliefs.

- Page 111 condemns Masaryk and Benes to use untrue and falsified data to achieve as much territory as possible for the newly born Czechoslovakia – this might be correct; however, most politicians would do the same.

- The treatment of the Trianon peace treaty is very detailed, it reaches ten pages (pp. 139-148), in addition to the previous 28 pages which describe the dissolution of the Monarchy and the peace treaties for other countries. Although the listed points and facts are correct, and correspond to real grievances, we cannot consider the narrative fair. First of all, because it leads to identifying the other with the enemy (who caused the grievances). Second, because it does not call out the fact that the resulting borders stand closer to the ethnic borders than previous borders. The previous borders were to the advantage of Hungarians and the new borders to their disadvantage. An unbiased narrative should have concluded that by not establishing ethnic borders when Hungarians were in charge they risked that the others will apply similar unfairness in the future.

Overall, this second 2022 textbook shows a better balance of positive and negative changes than the first analysed 2022 textbook. The period before the First World War is described with reasonable (even if not the desirable level of) fairness. However, the narrative of the Trianon Treaty also reflects a level of victimhood which could be used to indoctrinate a deep hatred against the other.

Summarising the analysis of Hungarian textbooks of the post-socialist period, – and compared to the 80s – in the early 2000s we can identify an incipient nationalist agenda in the textbook narrative, seen through the changes in a textbook dealing with the

history from the early 18th to the early 20th centuries. This enhancement of the national tone – and omission of many parts of the joint history of Central and Eastern Europe – has become even clearer in textbooks dealing with the history up to the end of the 15th century and published after 2012 and especially from 2020. Nevertheless, at the same time, textbooks dealing with the actual Habsburg period up to the Compromise, between the 16th century and 1867 have become even more nuanced already in 2016 and even more in 2021. More stories are told and in more detail of the nationalities living in Hungary, in an objective tone, justifying their demands. Also, the Habsburgs are represented with a mix of positive and negative messages. Finally, the period of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy is represented more granularly in terms of the nationality conflict in the 2017 textbook, but there is a worsening in one of the 2022 textbooks when the focus becomes the negation or relativization of the discrimination against nationalities and the complaint that they were not loyal to the Hungarian state. In addition, both 2022 textbooks include an overwhelming narrative of the Trianon Peace Treaty. Despite including many real grievances this narrative becomes simply too much for a balanced storytelling.

However, even with these changes, Hungarian textbooks remain in the sphere of fact-based and limitedly selective story-telling²¹⁸, even if the evaluations are more nationally biased than in the socialist era. There are many improvements, especially in the narrative of the 16th-19th centuries, which on the other hand are overcast by the Trianon narrative, sometimes by the relativization of the discrimination against the nationalities, the removal to the references to the common fate of the peoples in the region and by the more anecdotal references made to legends of ethnogenesis (however, the authors still make clear that these are legends and not historic truth).

Some of the Hungarian textbooks used in the 80s that I have reviewed are the very ones I have learnt History from during my secondary school. I have re-read these textbooks for the first time in over 30 years for this thesis – after already having analysed most British textbooks in scope of this thesis – and I felt a certain level of pride for having been able to learn from textbooks which reasonably restrained nationalistic pride. The worsening of the scores in the previously quoted V-Indoc dataset after 2012 likely corresponds to the disappointment of the interviewed experts with the changes that have been taking place in textbooks (to highlight again, the specific V-Indoc question does not

²¹⁸ Meaning that they include both contents of which today we can be proud and others of which not.

refer to History textbooks, but to language education). Nevertheless, after having read so many textbooks in different countries, the scores for patriotic indoctrination would be a bit too pessimistic about Hungary (showing 0.75 on a scale of 0 to 1), if they were based on History textbooks. (Or, too benign about the United Kingdom with a score of 0.05, considering the narrative of Anglo-Irish history.) On the evaluation of the direction of the change in Hungarian textbooks after 2010, I must agree with the conclusion of the V-Indoc survey. I doubt however that the difference in absolute value would be so high. As a first step, I think it would be beneficial to add History textbooks to the scope of the V-Indoc survey, as History is the main subject where patriotic indoctrination might take place²¹⁹.

Romania

Given the purpose of this thesis, to analyse textbooks from the region only as a secondary case study for comparative purposes, and most importantly being aware of the danger that any scholar of Hungarian origin analysing Romanian textbooks can easily be considered to be naturally biased and too critical with Romanian historiography, I only aim to provide a very short summary of the changes observed in Romanian textbooks after the fall of Ceausescu's regime. These changes start right in the 90s, even before the so-called textbook scandal of 1999 (see *Section 2.3*).

On the one hand, there is a significant increase in the contents narrated following a holistic chronology, which also include events related to the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, and Transylvania outside of the short year when Michael the Brave ruled it. Some of these featured contents even recognise the existence of periods of Hungarian over-lordship in Wallachia and Moldavia. John Hunyadi appears as a person of Romanian heritage but part of the Hungarian nobility and there are even hints that his 1443-1444 Turkish campaign was led by the Hungarian king (the textbook implicitly recognises his presence when he died). Some of the Transylvanian princes (of Hungarian ethnicity) are

²¹⁹ The authors of the accompanying report argue that measuring patriotism through the History curriculum would produce 'an artificially high level of patriotism' given its 'predominantly political' character and therefore instead recommend examining the language curriculum (Neundorf, Nazrullaeva, Northmore-Ball, Tertychnaya, & Kim, 2024, pp. 8, 21). Based on my study of many History textbooks, I believe that this appreciation misses the point about what the History curriculum should be about: directing the political character of History textbooks towards mutual understanding instead of national indoctrination. Using the language curriculum also includes an inherent bias against languages spoken in only one country, as their native literature will focus more on a narrower definition of 'us'.

mentioned, although not the two of them (Bocskai and Bethlen) that Hungarian historiography considers to have brought the ‘golden age’ in Transylvania.

On the other hand, a series of previous biases remain: there is no change in the narrative of the Romanian ethnogenesis; the presence of Hungarians in Transylvania seem to be concentrated only on nobles; the province itself is seen as permanently autonomous within Hungary or independent from it (only a very few maps do not show a border between Transylvania and the rest of Hungary in any part of the period between 1000 and 1918, and these examples are concentrated on the early 19th century when it can be claimed that they were part of the Austrian Empire)²²⁰; Transylvania is still narrated as one of the Romanian countries throughout history; Transylvania is still seen as being occupied by the Habsburgs at the end of the Turkish Conquest (and thus it is not the Transylvanian Diet choosing to become part of the Habsburg Empire as one of the lands of the crown of the Kingdom of Hungary); and it is still omitted that the Hungarian minority in 1918 did not support the unification of Romania and that they expressed this wish in a large meeting (a meeting similar to the one organised by ethnic Romanians).

The treatment of maps continue to be one of the most striking examples of manipulation, even in recent textbooks (Mihailescu & Pitila, 2018), where not one map manages to show Transylvania as part of the Kingdom of Hungary even in the Middle Ages, even adding an additional colour code to mark the ‘western counties’ – meaning the counties outside of the historic limits of Transylvania within Hungary which did not have any specific status – as part of the ‘Romanian countries’, in order to make sure that the territory occupied by Romanians in the Middle Ages coincide with the current borders of Romania. Or when claiming that the absolute majority of Transylvania was orthodox territory in the middle of the 17th century (not even marking the areas nearly exclusively inhabited by Szeklers and Saxons as Catholic and Protestant respectively) (Stan, 2019, p. 106)²²¹. The situation did not improve much in the latest textbooks, and the nationalistic spirit is also marked by the addition of the Romanian hymn at the beginning of the

²²⁰ The border between Croatia and Hungary, where a real personal union existed since the early 12th century, is not shown on these maps, only the supposed border between the rest of Hungary and Transylvania. Regarding the difference observed in recognising the belonging of Transylvania to an Austrian state or a Hungarian state, it seems clear that it hurts much less from a Romanian perspective to see it as part of an Austrian state than of a Hungarian state.

²²¹ It is interesting to observe that at the same time most textbooks – rightly – complain that Orthodox Christianity was discriminated against in Transylvania.

textbook – of course in Romanian, not translated into Hungarian, which is the otherwise the only language of the textbook (Mihailescu & Pitila, 2018) (Stan, 2019).

There is an interesting duality in the narrative, which on one hand abstains from recognising Hungarian statehood in Transylvania, but on the other hand stresses how much Romanian peasants were oppressed by Hungarian nobles in the Middle Ages, during the Turkish occupation, and during the Habsburg Empire. The ethnicity of the nobility is sometimes narrated as Hungarian because the Romanian nobility integrated into it, but in other places it is claimed that the Romanian nobility lost its privileged status as a result of religious discrimination (Pippidi, Dvorski, & Grosu, c.1997, p. 29). Most significantly, Hungarians are still seen as the eternal villain and Romanians as their eternal victims. For instance, when narrating the examples of discrimination in Bessarabia belonging to Tsarist Russia (book burnings, removal of Romanian priests from the churches, ...), a textbook introduces the paragraph by saying that the situation in Bessarabia was not different in any way from the one in Austria-Hungary (Ochescu & Oane, 1998, p. 65).

A refreshing exception is textbook for the 11th year authored by Mitu (also referred to in *Section 2.3*) which shows no national bias, even celebrates achievements in Hungary – ‘the two capitals of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy, Vienna and Budapest provided home to a wonderful cultural life and a booming economy’ (Mitu, Copoeru, Pecican, & Tarau, 2000, p. 43) –; recognises that Romania was part of the Triple Alliance since 1883 and changed sides when the new war appear on the horizon (pp. 49-51); tells the literary story of a Transylvanian Romanian soldier with split loyalties during the First World War (p. 59); even criticises the Versailles treaties for not solving the international tensions: ‘the poor and non-democratic states implied a latent threat to world peace and the general stability’ (p. 60). The only complaint could be about the description of border changes on page 62, where it states that ‘the territory of Austria was narrowed to the area only inhabited by Germans’ and that ‘Hungary could only keep the area where the Hungarian population was in majority’ – thus implying that there were no German- and Hungarian-majority areas outside of the borders. However, page 63 includes a (not well visible but correct) ethnic map of the area, which proves the opposite.

In the previous pages analysing the history narrative of the most recent Hungarian textbooks I have highlighted how overwhelming is the description – even if factually correct – of the Trianon peace treaty, with its victimisation. In that sense, Romanian

textbooks – with the exception mentioned above – still stand on another level of bias, as the image of victimhood stretches through its entire history, and there are no good deeds ever recognised in relation to their (claimed or real) oppressors, not even in terms of economic development (e.g. Transylvania was richer than Walachia or Moldova). Therefore, the level of positive changes taking place in Romanian History textbooks do not seem to be aligned with the very low score of 0.2 (on a scale of 0 to 1) obtained in the V-Indoc dataset (based on language studies), when compared with other countries. Based on the analysed textbooks, the situation leading to the complaint of Romanian scholars, that pre-1989 History textbooks were based on the dogmas of ‘antiquity, continuity, independence and unity’ still do not seem to have been entirely overcome. I wish that at some point, more than 100 years after the establishment of the current borders, we could reach a situation in which the depiction of historical borders as they were – at least in textbooks – would not be considered a challenge to the territorial integrity of Romania. For this, things need to change in both Romania and Hungary²²².

Slovakia

After Slovakia’s independence, History textbooks for the Hungarian minority had been written by Hungarian authors. These textbooks are essentially focused on Hungarian history, but with a high degree of sensitivity towards the history of Slovaks. For instance, they include in their narrative a detailed story of Great Moravia (Kovács, Simon, & Simon, 2006, pp. 171-175), explain the national awakening movement impacting both Slovaks and Hungarians during the French revolution (Elek, Kovács, & Simon, 2007, pp. 147-151), the national movements of Croats, Serbs, Romanians and mainly Slovaks before 1848 (pp. 166-169), during the 1848-49 revolution (pp. 181-184), after it (pp. 225-229), and during the dualist monarchy (pp. 238-239, 249-255, 262-263). These textbooks are not relevant for studying a Slovakian historical narrative, but they are very interesting from the perspective of how a good unbiased Hungarian History textbook could be.

²²² In Hungary, for instance, by stopping to use historic borders as the identification with Hungarian statehood, for instance on car stickers as background to the country code ‘H’, so extended in recent years.

Serbia

The only analysed Yugoslav textbook of the socialist period has been identified in this thesis as a best practice for multicultural ethos and lack of nationalistic indoctrination. As a highly positive development, textbooks used by the Hungarian minority in Serbia continue to be a good example for telling a well-balanced history of events related to Hungary. These textbooks include a specific last chapter which is dedicated to the history narrative of the Hungarian minority, however, those contents do not contradict the narrative of the previous chapters, translated from Serbian. From the perspective of analysing the Serbian history narrative, only these translated chapters are relevant for this thesis.

Medieval history is still explained in a nuanced and factual manner, including events related to all countries of the Balkans and Hungary. Maps are generally detailed and they do not aim to increase the territories under Serbian control and recognise frequent Hungarian possessions also to the south of the river Sava. The textbooks even explain that rulers of Serbia and Bosnia often were vassals of the Hungarian king (Marjanovic-Dusanic & Suica, 2011, pp. 185, 188-189, 207), that a Hungarian king donated Belgrade as a fief to Stefan Lazarevic (Mihaljcic, 2016, p. 137) and how both countries benefitted from this feudal relationship (Marjanovic-Dusanic & Suica, 2011, p. 208), The Serbian immigration into Hungary – supported by the Hungarians kings to enhance its defences against the Turks – is also explained, highlighting the joint aims of Serbs and Hungarians (pp. 223-224).

There is some confusion in describing the situation after the end of the Turkish conquest in Hungary, as the relevant textbook refers to the ‘border between Austria and Turkey’, when Austria did not really exist yet in 1739 and the border was between the Kingdom of Hungary and Turkey (Batakovic, 2019, p. 48). The same page also refers to the ‘second migration of Serbs to Austria’ – in reality they went to Hungary. Page 64 also describes the first ‘great Serb migration (1690) to the territory of Austria’. However, on the other hand, page 54 refers to the direction of the movement as Hungary and page 67 calls it correctly as ‘the Hungarian part of the Habsburg Empire’. Page 68 quotes from a chronicle which clarifies that the direction of the great migration was Szentendre, just north of Buda, where the Serb patriarch arrived.

In contrast to the 1979 textbook, the revolutions of 1848 are not seen any more from the perspective of social progress, but of national identity, and as such, the Hungarian revolution is seen as an attempt to secure rights only for Hungarians (p. 109).

When explaining the international conflicts in the late 19th and early 20th century in the Balkans, the ethnic identity of the authors is obvious, but the tone of the narrative is objective and factual. There are a few instances where the story seems more favourable to Serbs than ideal, but the differences are small. For instance, at the outbreak of the First World War, the Serbian connections of Gavrilo Princip are not recognised and he is introduced as a citizen of Austria-Hungary (Duric & Pavlovic, 2019, p. 55). It is also clear that the events of the First World War are told from the perspective of Serbia (e.g. emphasising the heroic actions of Serbian soldiers against the slow movement of entente forces), but it is within what can be expected from any country that tells its own story of struggles.

Therefore, post-socialist Serbian textbooks showcase a somewhat enhanced nationalistic ethos, however, they still provide a well-balanced narrative. Overall, their tone seems similar to Hungarian textbooks of the 80s: accurate, but demonstrating an undeniable national pride.

7. CONCLUSIONS

The role historians had played in the development of nationalism and the national foundation myths has been highlighted by many distinguished scholars. The impact of history education in the development of a national mindset is also a frequently featured content of academic research. After the issue surfaced in the aftermath of the First World War, it was the subject of many studies after 1945²²³ and recently they have often focused on post-conflict areas²²⁴.

The nationalistic-patriotic indoctrination potential of education can also be evidenced by the *V-Indoc* (Varieties of Indoctrination) dataset which has been published as the result of inputs from 760 experts covering 160 countries since 1945 (Neundorff, et al., 2023): transitioning from different political colours of dictatorship into democracy can help to reduce the *patriotic indoctrination content in education*, as the example of countries like Spain demonstrate it. At the same time, lacking a democratic system does not necessarily cause patriotic indoctrination: as this dataset shows, the educational patriotism in Hungary during communist times was below world average and it increased only since 2010. Or, as the example of the United States of America shows, the level of patriotic indoctrination can be high in long-standing democracies²²⁵.

The topic of this thesis is comparative transnational textbook analysis, from the perspective of the historic content included in the textbooks, following the aim stated by Fuchs and Henne: ‘textbook revision today is still governed by its objective to rid textbooks of nationalist, chauvinist, and one-sided interpretations in order to contribute towards international peace and understanding’ (Fuchs & Henne, 2018, p. 27).

It has not been my objective to understand and evaluate the didactical quality of textbooks, therefore I have not analysed how the material is effectively taught in the classroom, what students actually learn from it, nor the written, production or pedagogical quality of textbooks. In a certain sense, I assume that students assimilate ‘correctly’ all contents included in the textbooks.

²²³ For example through research carried out by the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, founded in 1975 (<http://www.gei.de/en/home.html>). More details in *Section 2.3*.

²²⁴ For instance in Northern Ireland: (Smith M. E., 2005) (Barton & McCully, 2005), for other examples please see *Sections 2.1* and *2.3*.

²²⁵ Although the specific variable measured refers to indoctrination content in language studies and the celebration of patriotic symbols, it can be considered a reasonable initial proxy for the history curriculum.

For this thesis I have chosen to focus on how the history of British rule in Ireland has been narrated in textbooks from England, Northern Ireland and Ireland since 1980. According the *V-Indoc* dataset, Ireland and the United Kingdom are positioned among the lowest for patriotic indoctrination, even so, as we have seen, there are many examples of bias in history textbooks.

As a secondary case study, for comparative purposes only, I have also analysed the teaching of the history of the Kingdom of Hungary while it belonged to the Habsburg Empire (1526-1918), both in Hungary and in some of the neighbouring countries. As the above-mentioned datapoints regarding *patriotic indoctrination content in education* demonstrate, many of these countries had or have a higher degree of nationalistic tension in their educational content, thus some additional examples of bias could be identified.

British rule in Ireland is a highly appropriate case for deeper study, considering that between the 12th and 20th centuries Anglo-Irish history combined many events that could be interpreted from different national points of view: feudalistic conquest, medieval ethnic discrimination, religious discrimination, a proto-colonial relationship between two European countries, expropriations and redistribution of land ownership along ethnic and religious lines, several rebellions (or wars of independence), a very severe famine in the world's wealthiest economy, movements to achieve autonomy by peaceful means, allowing the indigenous population to buy back land property, a civil-war-like situation leading to partition of a country, a civil rights movement, paramilitary fights in the late 20th century in Western Europe, ... Brexit also meant that the 'Irish question' resurfaced again (Bew, Bew, Clark, McBride, & Ohlmeyer, 2019), and in this context the very limited knowledge of Anglo-Irish history by members of the British public has led to some representations of the Irish as 'the terrorists'²²⁶.

The textbook *The Struggle for Peace in Northern Ireland* very aptly explains the difference between 'street history' and 'real history' for 14 to 16-year-olds, describing 'street history' as '...the view of the ordinary person. It often involves selecting bits of history which fit the story the writer wants to tell, and leaving out other bits. Street history is not the whole story' (Dawson & Walsh, 2004, p. 28). In contrast, 'real history tries to tell the whole story. It is as unbiased as possible. It tries to give a more complete picture;

²²⁶ Examples in Section 2.2.

to tell the truth however hard that might be' (p. 29). As we have seen, sometimes even textbooks seem to have moved into the area reserved for 'street history'.

I believe that this thesis brings a new perspective into the methodology of analysing history textbook contents by combining the usual qualitative analysis with a quantitative analysis and with further deep dives. The quantitative analysis has been carried out on a large sample of 90 British textbooks used in England dealing with British history in general, published in the last 40 years, thus ensuring that the conclusions are drawn from a statistically relevant set of textbooks. This quantitative analysis consists of a frequency analysis of 44 events, evaluating whether each of them has been included in each and every analysed textbook. The 44 events together make up a highly abbreviated narrative of Anglo-Irish history and they have been compiled by myself from the contents of the analysed textbooks and relevant academic reference books²²⁷ based on their significance to explain the different perspectives of the joint Anglo-Irish history.

The definition of the above 44 events could give the perception that I believe that only one 'correct' version of history exists. This is far from my view. Nevertheless, in the specific case of the 44 events, my analysis has been supported by the benevolent circumstance that textbooks on all sides of the conflict actually agree about the factual events (what happened and when), even if narratives might differ about the evaluation of these events. However, this quantitative analysis does not measure how the events have been evaluated. The main challenge of the Anglo-Irish case study is not that alternative narratives of the same historic event factually contradict each other, but that often narratives are selective in terms of which events they include.

Across the 44 events of the abbreviated narrative from the 12th century to the late 20th century, on average 53% are included in the analysed textbooks (although only 30% in detail, 17% partially and 6% very limitedly). The most frequently mentioned events of Anglo-Irish history are Cromwell's conquest (included in 96% of the analysed textbooks, and among them in 74% in detail), Ireland choosing the wrong side during the 'Glorious Revolution' (mentioned in 90% of the textbooks, and in 77% in detail) and the Great Famine (featured in 86% of the textbooks, and in 45% in detail)²²⁸.

²²⁷ See Section 3.4 for details.

²²⁸ See Section 4.1 for detailed results.

However, when diving deeper behind these events – what caused them and what consequences they had – the contents are often lacking. For instance, the fact that in 1641 the number of Protestants killed by Irish rebels had been exaggerated in England, thus increasing the public outcry for reprisal, is mentioned in only 31% of the textbooks and among these in only 12% in detail. A significant absence, as its presence could potentially help teachers to explain what led to Cromwell's revenge. Similarly, the fact that by the end of the 18th century – as a result of the 16th and 17th century plantations and the Penal Laws that followed the 'Glorious Revolution' – only about 5% of the land in Ireland belonged to Catholics, is explained by a mere 31% of the analysed textbooks, and in detail by only 16%. The existence of the Penal Laws is only included in 49% of the textbooks, and among them only in 17% in detail.

Some events that would help to explain the Irish perspective are only seldom featured: Tony Blair's 1997 semi-apology about the Great Famine is the least explained – only one of the textbooks published after 1997 used in England mentions it. Churchill's offer to end Partition if Éire joined the Allied during the Second World War is the second least mentioned event (only 9% of the textbooks include this content).

The more condensed storyline that students would be able to draw from the events typically featured in British textbooks concentrates more on the rebellions of the Irish and less on the motivations behind, thus enabling one to adopt a stereotypical view of events. In addition, when the rebellions were led by Protestants and had a cross-community character, as at the end of the 18th century preceding the Union of 1801, they are seldom included in British textbooks. Although 71% of textbooks (among them 46% in detail) mention the establishment of the Union, its roots are much less featured in English textbooks. The failed cross-community uprising in 1798 – which however led to the Union with Great Britain – is only the 30th most mentioned event, only 40% of textbooks include it in any form, of which 13% in detail, 20% partially and 7% very limitedly. For 60% of British textbooks, this example of cross-community uprising/revolution/rebellion which followed the ideals of the French Revolution, and which was led by Protestants and was not supported by the Catholic Church, is not an event worth mentioning. The existence of a previous, late 18th century Protestant-led movement – mainly in Ulster, to achieve similar rights to those of the USA – is a critical event in the narrative of Irish history, as it shows that Irish patriotism at that time was not driven by Catholicism and

Protestants were at the forefront to achieve a degree of autonomy or even independence. However, 69% of textbooks omit this highly relevant information.

As a result of the *Black Lives Matter* movement, many authors have reflected in recent years about the incorrect representation of decolonisation in British textbooks. However, not much has been written about the limited treatment of a comparable situation in Ireland. Thus, for example, the early 19th century fight for ‘Catholic Emancipation’ – the right of Catholics to sit in the Westminster Parliament – and its 1829 achievement is only the 28th most mentioned event of Anglo-Irish history, only 44% of textbooks include it in some form, of which 28% in detail.

When narrating the Home Rule Crisis, the least commented point is the lack of government intervention against Loyalists in 1912-14 (only 38% of textbooks explain this, of which only 15% in detail), when they threatened the constitutional order by the establishment of a paramilitary and the consequent importation of vast amounts of weapons. On contrary, the most frequently included event of this period is the 1916 Easter Rising by nationalists (which was nonetheless not widely supported by the Irish population), mentioned by 64% of the textbooks (of which 48% in detail). This narrative could once again lead to many students interpreting that rebellions were exclusively concentrated on the Irish Nationalist side.

The narrative of the most recent history of Northern Ireland also shows some bias: the least mentioned content from this period (36th among the 44) is that the new state of Northern Ireland had 2/3 Protestant majority, however many parts – including full counties – had a Catholic majority (thus the boundaries were not set based on self-determination): 35% of textbooks explain this (of which only 12% in detail). The second least mentioned event is that in 1974 and 1985 Loyalists were not ready to accept the power-sharing formula and thus the ‘Troubles’ continued: 35% of textbooks include it (of which 22% in detail). At the same time, the second most frequently mentioned content of the period is that (after the failure of the 1974 power-sharing) terrorist pressure from the Provisional IRA continued: 57% of textbooks explain this, of which 43% in detail. Although the most mentioned content of the ‘Troubles’ is the sectarian discrimination against Catholics in Northern Ireland (in political rights, jobs and housing; 58% of textbooks explain it, of which 35% in detail), it is once again easy to identify a pattern where parts of the story speaking against the Irish point of view are more emphasised than those that support it.

The existence of a relatively large sample of 90 textbooks used in England also allows us to analyse the results by level of education, historical period of focus, publisher and decade of publication²²⁹. The results show that the level of inclusion of events related to Ireland is comparably higher in A-level textbooks (ages 16-17) in general and in textbooks dealing with the 16th-17th centuries and published in the 90s (especially if for Key Stage 3 – ages 11 to 14). Most of these 16th-17th centuries textbooks are titled by some synonym of ‘the making of the United Kingdom’, therefore, it seems reasonable that these textbooks should feature more Anglo-Irish events as historically ‘the making of the United Kingdom’ included Ireland – and Northern Ireland still forms part of the UK. However, before and after the 90s these contents decrease significantly in Key Stage 3 (KS3) textbooks: the rate of inclusion drops from about 80% to only 50%. Regarding the A-level textbooks, their impact is highly limited, as only 8% of the relevant population of 16-17-year olds chooses to study History at A-level and among the 128 topics available at the 3 main exam boards, only 2 are Ireland-focused and among other 32 topics that focus on British history – and where we could reasonably expect them to include events of Irish history – only 6 make detailed and 11 limited mentions of Ireland-related contents in their specifications.

Regarding the publishers, the highest level of inclusion could be found among textbooks published by Oxford University Press (also driven by the higher share of A-level textbooks) and KS3 textbooks published by Heinemann.

Comparably fewer Ireland-related events have been included in KS3 textbooks focused on 20th century history, textbooks dealing with the 18th-19th centuries and published in the 80s (mainly for GCSE – ages 14-15 – and many of them dealing with economic and social history, which however should tell the story of the Great Famine), and textbooks on the 20th century published in the 2010s. Another interesting conclusion of the analysis is that the few textbooks included in the sample which reach over many periods (e.g. the last millennium) treat comparably fewer Ireland-related events – maybe a hint that the thematical textbooks can easily find other ‘more convenient’ examples of case studies to tell than the complicated and necessarily auto-critical Anglo-Irish history and thus the time should not be over yet for history textbooks written in chronological order?

²²⁹ See *Section 4.2* for detailed results.

A qualitative analysis has been also carried out on the already mentioned 90 textbooks used in England plus on another 26 textbooks which are specialised in Anglo-Irish history and which have been published in England (for A-level or for specialised courses in KS3 or GCSE), Ireland (Junior Certificate and Leaving Certificate) or Northern Ireland (KS3, GCSE and A-level). This qualitative analysis goes beyond the above-mentioned abbreviated narrative of 44 events, also considering less striking events of Anglo-Irish history and at the same time evaluating their tone of representation. The master narrative that served as the basis for this qualitative analysis is distilled from the acclaimed work of Beckett: *The Making of Modern Ireland 1603-1923* (1981) and of McKittrick and McVea: *Making Sense of the Troubles* (2012). From this qualitative analysis – which represents the largest proportion of this thesis throughout the voluminous *Chapter 5* – the following examples of bias are the most relevant²³⁰:

Irish textbooks seem to downplay the importance of events not fitting into the national foundation myths: the relevance of Anglo-Norman conquest in bringing Feudalism to the island, the existence of contemporary criticism against the medieval Irish church, the 1641 uprising (when violence had been initiated by dispossessed Irish Catholics), examples of British statesmen trying to improve the situation in the 19th century, examples of Irish statesmen working on a solution within the framework of the United Kingdom... They also miss to mention the Glorious Revolution, which then led to serious consequences for Ireland:

- Half of the four analysed Junior Certificate textbooks (ages 12 to 15) fails to explain that the Anglo-Norman invasion brought English over-lordship and in 3 out of 4 cases they start with the explanation of feudalism in general, followed by an account of the invasion, potentially leaving a doubt in students about the fact that Norman conquest effectively brought feudalism to Ireland.

²³⁰ The majority of the identified types of bias also in case of the qualitative analysis refers to the omission of relevant contents. Therefore, the fundamental relevance of the master narrative contained in the books of Beckett and McKittrick and McVea is not that they explain a different version of the events than what is included in other sources, but that they include (nearly) all ‘relevant’ factual contents that are required for a storytelling that considers both sides’ points of view. Even if we move beyond the 44 high-level events of Anglo-Irish history analysed in the quantitative analysis, there is little debate about what happened and when, only about how we shall evaluate these factual events and which contents are included in the narrative.

- Irish textbooks also fail to explain the *Laudabiliter* (Papal document from 1155 allowing the English King to intervene in Ireland) or the contemporary criticism of the Irish Church, and they also omit other proof points of the medieval dependency of Ireland: the Statutes of Kilkenny of 1366 (which legislated about ethnic differentiation) and Poynings' Law of 1494 (which provided for an English veto over the legislation of the Irish Parliament). These highly significant events are only mentioned in two British or Northern Irish textbooks.
- Regarding the Irish Rebellion of 1641, Irish textbooks are rather short and in 2 out of 4 cases they play down the importance of the events, either by not quantifying the impact or by claiming that both sides committed similar atrocities. These textbooks focus rather on the propagandistic use of the massacres by the English.
- Irish textbooks frequently omit any mention to the Glorious Revolution, the Williamite Wars and the Battle of the Boyne: only one of the four books feature the topic as an introduction to the Penal Laws²³¹. Given the huge influence of these events on Irish history, this can be considered a significant omission.
- Irish textbooks mostly remain silent about Henry Grattan and the Volunteers, a Protestant-led autonomy/independence movement in Ireland, thus an outlier in the narrative of the tradition of Irish independence.
- The 1798 uprising is one of the favourite topics of Irish textbooks, representing it in detail, and in general with fairness. However, one of the textbooks seems to position it as a fight against the Protestant Ascendancy, when many Protestants were in its favour and Catholics also fought on both sides.
- Only one of four Irish textbooks includes Catholic Emancipation in its narrative. None of the 4 Irish Junior Certificate textbooks analyses the Repeal movement, which is a significant failure considering its heritage as

²³¹ And even then in a bit ironic tone explaining that William III had asthma and had to be carried over the shoulder of a soldier when he attempted to cross the Boyne (McCaughey, c2009, p. 244).

a mass political movement. Thus, also the figure of Daniel O'Connell remains unknown.

- The aspect of landlords paying most of the cost of the relief measures during the Great Famine is also missing from all analysed Irish textbooks, a significant omission when considering that on average 65% of all points related to the relief measures are explained.
- The 19th century Home Rule movement – which in its time concentrated a large majority of Irishmen – is often represented in equal weight as the then minority revolutionary tradition, thus giving the perception as if the nationalist revolutionary movement had more followers than it really had.
- Prominent British politicians, who were morally convinced of the need to help Ireland (and to an extent sacrificed their career because of it), are either completely missing from Junior Certificate textbooks (like Pitt the Younger and Gladstone) or only mentioned in the context of the insufficient assistance during the Great Famine (Peel's Brimstone).
- In line with this, the gradual changes implemented in Ireland – by the Westminster government – during the second half of the 19th century and the early 20th century are also frequently omitted. This is especially surprising in relation to the land question: its solution arguably changed Ireland more than the revolutionary movement.
- After Partition, no examples of the discrimination of Protestants are mentioned, although the special position of the Catholic Church is narrated in more detail. Even if this discrimination was more anecdotal than the one experienced in Northern Ireland by Catholics, its inclusion would help Irish textbooks to be more even-handed.

On the other hand, Irish textbooks can be clearly praised for their treatment of the Plantations: they also explain what economic benefits they brought to Ireland – improved agricultural production methods and establishment of new cities –, instead of only criticising the effective colonisation of the island.

It is also remarkable that the same bias can be found in most English and Irish textbooks regarding the Union of 1801: both tend to omit that many Catholics were in

favour of the Union while many Protestants were against it and that the lack of Catholic Emancipation at the time made Catholics and Protestants switch sides later. It seems an inconvenient truth for both sides. Only a few A-level textbooks from England and Northern Ireland tell this side of the story.

In case of Northern Irish textbooks there is a visible difference between two editorial lines, up to the narrative of the Troubles. The first one corresponds to textbooks published by Hodder Education (London) and it represents a narrative that feels closer to the traditional Protestant point of view. At the same time, textbooks published by Colourpoint Educational (Newtownards, Northern Ireland) seem to show more sensitivity towards both traditions.

- The differences are clearly visible in the treatment of the Cromwellian conquest. One of the narratives predominantly supports the traditional Protestant perspective of Cromwell being a ‘defender of the Protestant faith’, even picturing one of the Belfast murals which shows how Cromwellian soldiers ‘put to death a native Irish rebel’ and explain what the Protestant interpretation of the events is, without voicing any critique of the ethnic and religious cleansing. The other editorial line rather focuses on the description of Cromwell’s cruelties, using such a simple method as quoting Cromwell himself on his actions and motivations. The Cromwellian settlement (including expropriations, forced resettlement of Catholics to the less fertile West of Ireland, indentured labour in the Caribbean, etc.) is explained in detail in the second editorial line, but is fully missing in the first one²³².
- A similar difference exists in the treatment of the Penal Laws: one illustrates its narrative with a few examples and insists that the impact was similar for both Catholics and Presbyterians, while the other series provides a more detailed account, highlighting the differences in the

²³² It is possible to qualify these and similar examples as ‘alternative discourses’, however, we need to note that the main differences once again consist of a selective usage of supporting contents (e.g. the terms of the Cromwellian settlement). Whether Protestants can consider Cromwell as a defender of their faith, is not the question. The two related questions are that a) a textbook in a conflicted society also needs to explain the other point of view; and b) since the Holocaust and the Apartheid it is not anymore morally acceptable to defend religious and ethnic discrimination and cleansing, wherever it happens. No ‘alternative discourses’ on the Holocaust or the Apartheid are accepted and the Cromwellian settlement included many comparable terms.

prohibitions between the two communities, also making clear that the most damaging economic restrictions applied to Catholics.

- The textbook from Hodder Education also tries to depict the plantations as some kind of benevolent change, prompting students to ‘think about the process of planting something and explain what they were hoping to achieve’ (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008, p. 27) – it would be unimaginable for a modern textbook to describe European colonisation elsewhere in similar terms.
- The same line continues in the treatment of the Great Famine: out of 33 different relevant points that I believe a textbook specialized in Anglo-Irish history should cover about the Great Famine, the Hodder Education textbook only mentions 15 points, of which 10 relate to the relief measures, while the two textbooks published by Colourpoint Educational include 24 or 25 points each, of which 10 relate to the relief measures. This exemplifies the bias shown in the Hodder Education textbook. By omitting the reasons for the famine’s outbreak, its consequences, and the ensuing human suffering and by focusing only on the relief measures, the textbook’s narrative ergo whitewashes the role of the Westminster government.
- In depicting the Home Rule movement and Partition, textbooks published by Hodder on average show a support for Unionism in 9% of their narrative, while textbooks published by Colourpoint favour the Irish Nationalist perspective in 6% of the cases.

In the narrative of the Troubles, there is no significant difference between Hodder and Colourpoint, however, we can notice that the number of ‘myths’ treated as valid increased in later versions of textbooks published by Hodder, after the 2007 re-establishment of the power-sharing government.

Nevertheless, Northern Irish textbooks as a whole are a good example of narrating the past with a greater level of sensitivity towards different perspectives.

The qualitative analysis of textbooks used in England shows further proofs of bias, in addition to the points already mentioned among the results of the quantitative analysis²³³:

- Textbooks used in England frequently focus on the security threat to England when explaining the English Reformation's impact on Ireland, they also make the readers believe that the 'rebels' were Irish, when they were mainly Old English Catholics, and some textbooks justify the plantations by this 'threat' from Ireland or complain that the plantations were not profitable to England – without considering the point of view of those effectively colonised.
- Textbooks used in England tend to omit the description of the underlying reasons for the late 16th century rebellions in Ireland, especially the activity of adventurers (supported by the Crown) claiming the land owned by both Gaelic and Anglo-Norman lords.
- Half of textbooks used in England treating the Irish Rebellion of 1641 omit why the rebellion broke out (expropriation of lands), referring to it either as part of the storyline of the English Civil War or as one of the potential justifications for Oliver Cromwell's actions a few years later.
- During the English Civil War, the position of Irishmen is narrated as a rebellion against England, when they effectively supported the English King. Textbooks used in England also tend to omit the economic reasons behind the Cromwellian conquest, only one of 28 books refers to them. Less than half of textbooks used in England dealing with the Cromwellian conquest mention the land expropriations that followed after the victory and even less any other consequence of the Cromwellian conquest. The storytelling of the Cromwellian plantation became much less detailed in textbooks used in England during the last two decades. We can also note that in the 2000s and 2010s only about half as many textbooks included Cromwell's own account of what happened compared to the 80s and 90s,

²³³ The examples enumerated in continuation mainly consist of a selective usage of supporting contents or of narratives that only consider one perspective valid, without mentioning the alternative narrative that recognises the agency of the effectively colonised.

which can be perceived as an increasingly apologetic evaluation of his figure²³⁴.

- Textbooks used in England treat the Glorious Revolution in detail, however its Ireland-related events are explained much less thoroughly²³⁵. Apart from the outcome of the Battle of the Boyne, other aspects are often missing: the terms of the peace treaty and its lack of observation are only included in 5 textbooks. About a half or a third of English textbooks provide a narrative with certain bias: only half mentions that William arrived in England with a large navy and effectively invaded her, over a third stresses that James wanted to convert England into a Catholic country, the same proportion emphasizes the bloodless character of the revolution (forgetting about its Irish battles), and a third projects William III as the only rightful king (thus forgetting about the opinion also widely extended in England about the divine right of kings)²³⁶, therefore positioning Ireland as rebellious.
- Textbooks used in England sometimes try to smoothen the representation of the Penal Laws by insisting that either they had not been consequently enforced or that they had been ‘quickly’ (after nearly a century) repealed. The anti-Catholic riots in London that followed the first repeal law are only mentioned in one of the textbooks.
- The Protestant-led late 18th century independence movement of the Patriots, the Irish Volunteers and Grattan’s Parliament are only treated in the desired depth in two specialised A-level textbooks. Other textbooks

²³⁴ A deep dive analysis has been carried out to measure the frequency of four different reasons why Cromwell’s Irish campaign had been included in the textbook, five reasons for him going over to Ireland, five different aspects of the military actions, eight different types of consequences of the Cromwellian conquest and the tone of the overall evaluation. This analysis covers the 26 English textbooks about British history in general that included Cromwell’s Irish campaign plus 2 British textbooks specialised in Anglo-Irish history.

²³⁵ Another deep dive analysis of the Glorious Revolution measured the frequency of 21 different sub-events, four different overarching narratives, 29 different types of restrictions set by the Penal Laws, three different narratives of its effectiveness, two aspects of Swift’s complaint about the situation in Ireland and the mention of the Declaratory Act. For this analysis, 30 textbooks used in England (between specialised and non-specialised) have been considered for the narrative of the Glorious Revolution, and 20 for the narrative of the Penal Laws – those that included this content.

²³⁶ Another example where my point is not that a textbook does not narrate a specific version of history, but that it should include both competing narratives about which king can be considered to have had a legal claim.

that refer to this movement either do not explain who (Protestants) were behind the initiative or falsely give the perception that Catholics were ‘to blame’. As very few study History at A-level in the UK and the vast majority of A-level topics do not relate to Ireland, only a minuscule share of the population of England leaving school would have heard that the idea of Irish nationalism has been initiated by Protestants.

- The economic reasons of the Patriot movement, in form of trade restrictions, are only explained by two specialised A-level textbooks. This omission stands in contrast with the treatment of the American Revolution, which was based on similar economic grievances against Britain. This difference in the treatment could help to foster a perception in the reader that while Americans acted rationally based on economic reasons, the Irish were motivated predominantly by more irrational ideals such as nationalism.
- Textbooks used in England only seldom narrate the torture methods used by the government before the 1798 uprising (which had a significant role in the outcome) or the use of paramilitaries to foster sectarian conflict, while Irish textbooks feature these contents frequently. In some English textbooks it remains unclear that the people behind the United Irishmen were mostly Protestants and that both Catholics and Protestants were on both sides of the conflict of 1798.
- The argument for the Union of 1801 frequently shows an imperial perspective, highlighting the Irish ‘betrayal’ (thus denying them any rights for agency) when England was at war with France or stressing that the Union was needed in order to change the executive as the previous system proved Dublin unable to deal with the rebellion (which is incorrect considering that also the previous Dublin executive was appointed by London).
- The few textbooks which explain Catholic Emancipation tend to be very brief, attributing agency in the achievement to Parliament without recognising the role of the mass political movement in Ireland, led by O’Connell. Some textbooks used in England show significant bias through

omission or euphemistic representation of the Protestant opposition surrounding the achievement of Catholic Emancipation (or blaming Catholics for this by-product of their campaign); one-sided portrayal of the Catholic Association as a propaganda machine ‘agitating’ the peaceful population; and focus on the impacts of Catholic Emancipation on British politics (as a proof that Parliament did not represent the will of the people by approving this legislation). O’Connell’s role is evaluated by some English textbooks in a rather negative way, describing him as an elitist politician (as he did not object the increase of property qualification thresholds introduced by the British Parliament at the same time), claiming that his main heritage is religious division in Ireland and that the improvements of this era were mostly driven by benevolent British politicians.

- There is also some bias in textbooks used in England regarding the repeal movement by establishing direct connection between the nationalism of the Catholic-led repeal movement and the pre-1798 Protestant-led Irish nationalism – when these were very different groups of people. In addition, some books pay more attention to the impact of the Maynooth Grant in British party politics (‘financing the Catholics’) than to the actual repeal movement.
- Most textbooks used in England only tell the story of the Great Famine as a context to some other event: the repeal of the Corn Laws, the rise of Irish republicanism, the population change or the social conditions of the population. These textbooks on average only include 8 out of 33 relevant points²³⁷, this number being significantly higher in case of KS3 books: 13.7, compared to GCSE and A-level textbooks (4.8 and 5). These books also frequently refer to the Great Famine as a natural catastrophe due to the potato blight, without explaining why landholdings were small and

²³⁷ A deep dive analysis of the Great Famine covered five different reasons for including the event in the textbook and four potential overall evaluations of what happened. In addition, the frequency 33 different points have been measured: four different reasons for the famine, twelve different relief measures, seven different aspects of human suffering and ten different types of consequences. Also the number of dead and emigrated have been compared. For this analysis 25 non-specialised textbooks used in England have been considered. In addition, 3 specialised A-level textbooks used in England, 4 Irish Junior Certificate textbooks and 3 Northern Irish textbooks have been also reviewed against the same criteria.

how this led to potato monoculture. The continuation of food exports during the Great Famine is a controversial question, very few textbooks explain it, and in some cases only as reference to the (supposedly unfounded) complaints of the traditional Irish narrative.

- The narrative of the relief measures during the Great Famine also shows some bias: only six (out of 25) non-specialised textbooks used in England mention the change in the British government's attitude in 1846 which led to the cessation of direct help and thus starvation. Similarly, only 2 of these 25 textbooks explain that most of the poor relief was financed by landlords. Only two specialised A-level textbooks from England (and one from Northern Ireland) explain with clarity the financial construction behind the relief programmes. However, even two of these three books (both specialised A-level from England) in end-effect praise the British government's efforts to provide funding²³⁸.
- These two specialised A-level textbooks used in England overwhelmingly summarise the Great Famine as a critique of the supposedly traditional Irish nationalist perspective which blamed the British government for lack of action and even deliberate wrongdoing. At the same time these textbooks excuse the British government from responsibility – both of them have been published in 2016 and thus nearly two decades after Tony Blair's famous semi-apology, thus one could expect a higher degree of self-critique.
- Even though its impact on the Great Famine was limited, the repeal of the Corn Laws is the most frequently mentioned relief measure in textbooks used in England – as it also had other impacts in British politics. This once again demonstrates a Great-Britain-focused point of view when telling the story of Ireland.
- The decline of the Gaelic language as a consequence of the Great Famine is only mentioned in all Irish and in one of the specialised A-level British textbooks.

²³⁸ A third specialised A-level textbook from England provides a very different narrative: of the failure of the Westminster government.

- The Home Rule Bills are sometimes presented as irrational and not based on principles but on parliamentary gamble; the role Conservative politicians played in supporting Ulster Unionism is embellished; and it is portrayed as natural that Protestants can control Catholics but not the opposite.²³⁹
- When narrating the following Home Rule crisis, Ulster Unionists are sometimes represented as freedom fighters and Irish nationalists as villains; the success of the UVF gun-running is celebrated; morally reproachable Unionist actions are positioned as a reaction to previous Irish Nationalist wrongdoings; Irish violence is backdated by presenting Sinn Féin since its foundation as a party aiming for full independence and by claiming that the UVF started its activity in parallel with the UVF; and the responsibility for the failure to find a compromise is assigned to Irish Nationalists.
- The Anglo-Irish War (or War of Independence) is represented sometimes as terrorism; the role of the British government during the Easter Rising and the Anglo-Irish War is whitewashed; and evidence of the Catholic majority in the counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh is hidden in order to avoid any questioning on the rightfulness of the border.
- The Irish Constitution of 1937 is sometimes seen as an unlawful change of the 1921 Treaty; it is claimed that Ireland was sympathetic with Nazi Germany; and that it did not do enough against the IRA during the border campaign (1956-62).

²³⁹ The period after the Great Famine and up to Partition includes a very significant number of events. Based on Beckett's narrative, I have identified 293 different contents and measured the textbooks' narrative against these in a deep dive. Three different analysis have been applied to identify bias: a) tone of narrative showing differential support for a given side; b) content depth imbalance by featuring more contents that support the perspective of a given side and c) frequency of inclusion of doubtful contents. Although there is a slight overall bias in English textbooks, the main conclusion is that some specific textbooks feature a clear British/Unionist-leaning perspective. However, not even in these textbooks are all contents British/Unionist-friendly. The listed points are the most relevant examples of bias. For this analysis 44 non-specialised textbooks used in England have been considered. In addition, 5 specialised textbooks from England, 5 Irish textbooks and 8 Northern Irish textbooks have been also reviewed against the same criteria.

- Discrimination of Catholics in Northern Ireland is often presented as a claim and not a fact, sometimes adding that there were poor also among Protestants.
- The Troubles are sometimes incorrectly narrated as a conflict between those who wanted to remain in the UK and those who wanted to join Ireland, thus turning away the attention from the sectarian nature of the state of Northern Ireland. In this narrative, the civil rights movement is a cover for the IRA; the civil rights marches can be directly blamed for the riots; the riots did not have an over-proportional impact in Catholic homes; Protestant paramilitaries only appear several years later in the conflict and their acts of violence are minimised; the British army has been sent in to control Catholics who were intrinsically against the army; Bloody Sunday was not the fault of the Army; the Sunningdale power-sharing government did not collapse because of Loyalists; Loyalists were loyal supporters of the British government also in 1985 and 1998; and the end of the IRA ceasefire in 1996 was not preceded by Sinn Féin not being admitted to the peace talks.²⁴⁰

A secondary case study has been also prepared for comparative purposes, regarding the teaching of the history of the Kingdom of Hungary during the period it belonged to the Habsburg Empire (1526-1918)²⁴¹. The situation of the Kingdom of Hungary in this period is also remarkable, as on one hand the Habsburg dynasty tried to control Hungary, eliminating religious and administrative freedoms (sometimes these becoming attempts of assimilation), however, on the other hand, at the same time, Hungary also tried to control (and in certain periods assimilate) its national ‘minorities’ of diverse ethnicity (Slovakian, Romanian, Serbian, Ukrainian, ...). The textbooks subject to this analysis have been published since 1980, therefore some of them still have been published in the communist period.

Interestingly, as the previously mentioned *V-Indoc* (Varieties of Indoctrination) dataset highlights, there were significant differences among the ex-communist countries

²⁴⁰ In another ‘deep dive’, the above-mentioned ‘myths’ have been deducted from 135 different contents measured across 8 Northern Irish, 5 Irish, 6 specialised and 31 non-specialised textbooks used in England.

²⁴¹ See *Chapter 6*.

in terms of patriotic indoctrination content in education: while Romania scored a very high 0.85 to 0.9 (in a scale of 0 to 1) from 1950 until 1989, in Hungary the index measured a value of below 0.5 (and thus below global average) from 1948 up until the fall of communism in 1989. These 2 countries were the extremes, the Soviet Union stood close to the high end, and in the middle, we could find Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. After 1989 the dataset suggests a significant drop in the level of patriotic indoctrination in Romania and Czechia to 0.15-0.25, a more moderated reduction in Slovakia and Serbia, and a steady status in Hungary up to 2010 from when it began to rise up to a level of 0.75.

For this comparative study, in total 81 textbooks and 4 historic atlases have been analysed from Austria, Hungary, Romania, Serbia (Yugoslavia), (Czech)Slovakia and the Soviet Union²⁴². Of these 85 textbooks and atlases, 20 have been published during the socialist-communist era: 11 from Hungary, 3 from Czechoslovakia, 3 from the Soviet Union, two from Romania and one from Yugoslavia. The more limited number of available textbooks, distributed among more countries and different periods of publication made no quantitative analysis feasible for this secondary case study.

The analysis of these textbooks show interesting examples of how in some socialist countries the national foundation myths had been represented, applying the same techniques that one could expect from completely different (extreme right) ideologies: highlighting that the current territory of the country a long time ago (e.g. 1000 years) already belonged to the same nation; eliminating from the textbooks long periods where this was not the case; re-editing maps so that they support the same narrative; or re-evaluating historic figures from the perspective of nationalistic significance. A particularly interesting episode is the representation of the borders of the region during the 11th century: textbooks from the Soviet Union, Romania and Czechoslovakia each claim that specific feudal lords that they consider their ethnic forefather had a significant share of the territory of the kingdom of Hungary, however, the textbooks of each of these countries represent the remaining borders of Hungary as Hungarians would (e.g. the Soviet textbook shows that the Kievan Rus already in this time occupied the Transcarpathia region, while the current territory of Slovakia and Transylvania belonged to the Kingdom of Hungary; Romanian textbooks show that Transylvania was not part of

²⁴² The analysed textbooks from Romania, Serbia (Yugoslavia), (Czech)Slovakia and the Soviet Union correspond to the versions officially translated into Hungarian, for the Hungarian minorities living in those countries, with the exception of 2 Romanian and 2 Slovakian textbooks written specifically for the Hungarian minority.

Hungary but yes Transcarpathia and Slovakia and (Czech)Slovakian textbooks depict parts of Slovakia as not part of Hungary but yes Transcarpathia and Transylvania). Therefore, we should question how far the education content of communist countries represented a trans-/international ethos or rather it effectively remained a slogan hiding an often nationalistic/patriotic agenda. Paraianu explains how the four dogmas of Romanian Socialist historiography: ‘antiquity, continuity, independence and unity’ form the guideline for the textbooks of the period. My analysis shows that also (Czech)Slovakian and Soviet textbooks contain similar features: indoctrinating pupils and students the beliefs that our nation is ancient (and older than the neighbours), had been continuously living in the same territory (and the neighbours not), had always been independent (at least in certain aspects, if not politically than culturally, and the neighbours had not been independent continuously) and our nation was also united against the ‘others’.

Even after the end of communism, Romanian textbooks remained particularly obscure about geographic representations of the historic borders between the different realms of the region, tending to omit any connection between the Kingdom of Hungary and Transylvania, even in periods when Transylvania was integral part of such kingdom.

Related to the representation of the history of Central and Eastern Europe, another remarkable example is Serbia: already during Socialism Yugoslavian textbooks demonstrated a much more multicultural ethos: illustrating historical developments with examples from most European countries, showing an outspoken aim to learn about each other’s historical past, positioning nationalism as a Europe-wide phenomenon in the 19th century, showing critique for their own nationalism (e.g. role in 1848-49 and after 1918) and praising other nations’ national movements if they were progressive (e.g. Hungary in 1848-49). This line mostly continued after 1989: Serbian textbooks recognise that the medieval kingdom of Serbia was placed more to the south than it is today and that even its capital, Belgrade, was given as a fief to a Serbian ruler by the Hungarian king of the time. This recognition that the current national territory of a country had not always been ruled by people of its ethnicity is a highly welcome sign of maturity. I lack data to establish any conclusion about why this happens in case of Serbia and not in some other analysed countries, however, my hypothesis is that having had its own relevant medieval kingdom could help Serbians to obtain a certain sense of pride and thus there is no need to construct additional foundation myths.

Socialist textbooks from Hungary were less multiculturally aware than those of Yugoslavia, however there were many signs of transnational understanding: textbooks highlighted the similarities in the development between Poland, Czechia and Hungary (in the Middle Ages, against the Turks and the Emperor), recognised the glories of neighbouring countries, and they provided a non-celebratory and even critical narrative of medieval conquests beyond the borders of the historic Hungary. However, there are also contents which show a one-sided interpretation of history: the semi-independent Transylvania is clearly seen as the protector of Hungarian interests (which might have many proof points, however, it shows less sensitivity towards the Romanian point of view), in general little attention is paid to the minorities even if mentioning their existence and role throughout the centuries, or the 1867 Compromise is seen as a just settlement, although also recognising the following discrimination against minorities.

After 1989 there were both positive and negative changes in Hungarian textbooks: for instance, improving the depth of the narrative about the situation of the nationalities during the Habsburg Empire but on the other hand eliminating much of the content referring to the joint Central and Eastern European heritage. The most disturbing change is the overwhelming extension dedicated to the narrative of the Trianon Peace Treaty in the 2022 textbooks. Even if the listed grievances are real, this narrative becomes an annoying example of victimisation. With this, it is clear that the patriotic indoctrination content in education has increased in Hungary since 2012, however, a direct comparison with other countries evaluated in this thesis does not seem to be aligned with the very high absolute score obtained in the *V-Indoc* dataset.

The comparison between Austrian and Hungarian textbook narratives shows that each of the two nations mourn the moment of losing power in comparison to the age they consider glorious: in case of Austria this happened in the middle of the 19th century and in case of Hungary in 1918. Hence the different attitudes towards 1848-49, 1867 and 1918. Similarly, both countries have a strong emotional attachment to their ‘moments of glory’, for Austria the early 16th century, 1683-1697 and 1804-1815 and for Hungary 1848-49 and 1867. However, these differences are principally divergent evaluations of the joint past, and they do not imply a lack of agreement about factual events. Therefore, the comparison between Austrian and Hungarian textbooks shows much more similarity with the analysis of British rule in Ireland, than with the comparison of Hungarian-

(Czech)Slovakian-Romanian-Soviet textbooks. In this sense, a couple of specific types of bias shall be singled out in Hungarian and Austrian textbooks:

- The Hungarian narrative does not give much emphasis to the underlying structural tension of the dual monarchy (1867-1918), which maintained a privileged position only for Germans and Hungarians, even if mentioning Kossuth's opposition to the Compromise partly because of this. The tensions for the Hungarian textbooks lie in the fact that the symmetrical political structure was in contrast with the centralised army. In this narrative, there are no doubts that those territories of the Kingdom of Hungary, where the majority of the population was not Hungarian-speaking, should naturally also be ruled from Budapest. Thus, the nationalities' aim to achieve equal rights is often interpreted as some kind of a nuisance.
- Hungarian textbooks also narrate the end of the dual monarchy in 1918 with a much higher degree of emotional connection, with a feeling of nostalgia, while Austrian textbooks are capable of distancing themselves from the multi-national empire at this stage (however, not yet in 1848-49 or in 1867). Austrian textbooks demonstrate a high degree of maturity by recognising the inevitability of the collapse due the intrinsic inequalities among the different nations living in the monarchy, while Hungarian textbooks give the perception that the end of Austria-Hungary could have been avoided if some unlucky events do not happen. In the Hungarian narrative the nationalities' demands often appear as disturbing nonsense, while they are recognised as just in Austrian textbooks.
- Austrian textbooks use synonymously the name 'Habsburg Empire' and 'Austria' also between 1526 and 1804, thus providing some kind of national justification back to the 16th century, based on the glory of the expanding Habsburgs, when in effect Austria only represented the two provinces Upper and Lower Austria and the connection between the different realms was only the ruler, not a unified country.
- The special situation of the Kingdom Hungary within the Habsburg Empire is treated ambiguously throughout Austrian textbooks. Although

there are several references to this fact, they rather come as a complaint for the stubbornness of the Hungarian nobles wanting to keep their privileges. The incorrect perception of the reader will probably be that Hungary formed part of something called ‘Austria’ throughout the period against which the Hungarians frequently, regrettably and unsuccessfully rebelled – a similar situation to what we have already seen in case of Ireland²⁴³.

- Austrian textbooks represent the religious discrimination of Protestants as if it only impacted the territories outside of Hungary and as if Hungary would have ‘received’ some kind of privileges from the benevolent Habsburg ruler. This is not correct; for the existence of discrimination and forced Catholicisation also in Hungary; for how the relative tolerance had been achieved (not by the initiative of the ruler); and for how the Hungarian nobility continued to fight for the observation of religious freedom, being one of the reasons of the above frequent rebellions.
- There is also a bias in the Austrian narrative of the revolutions of 1848-49: when it is the French, German or Viennese revolutions, they are seen as progressive liberal movements, the Italian, Czech and Hungarian revolutions are presented as not so positive nationalistic initiatives (as they went against the Habsburg Empire). Also, the actions of the Habsburgs during 1848-49 are whitewashed, giving the perception as if they were acting in order to preserve the peace among the nations of the empire.
- Austrian textbooks depict the Compromise of 1867 as a favour given by Austria to the Hungarians, not as a settlement in line with the realistic situation of power – which also reminds us of the British narrative of the ‘end of Empire’.

As we have seen, there are many examples of bias in textbooks even in countries where the level of patriotic indoctrination can be considered low (the UK and Ireland). Selective representation of past events, focusing mostly on the characteristics that picture

²⁴³ With the significant difference that the constitutional situation of Hungary within the Habsburg Empire was more independent than the case of Ireland within the British Empire.

one's own nation in a more positive light, is a more frequent bias than one could expect. One of the most remarkable examples of omitting the inconvenient past is when both sides eliminate the same events or persons that do not fit into either national master narrative. For instance, the existence of a Protestant-led independence movement in late 18th-century Ireland or the initial Catholic support and Protestant opposition in Ireland regarding the 1801 Union. Textbooks from all sides downplay the importance of events which would provide an interpretation contradicting or weakening the nation-state's master narrative and reinforce myths difficult to support objectively (e.g. 'bloodless revolution'). Although textbooks in England, Ireland and Northern Ireland often represent both competing points of views, there are many ways to influence the reader about who can be considered 'us' against the 'others':

- Omitting 'inconvenient' parts of the story. Referring to Zambrano Quintero (2021), those who commit violence always find a supposedly 'just' reason in a previous violence suffered by themselves, thus limiting the narrative of violence to only one side creates a justification in the reader for any following atrocities against the 'other'.
- Reducing supporting data that could demonstrate the validity of the 'other' point of view. The suppressed data could be relevant numbers, dates, quotes or pictures visualising what has happened.
- Minimising the impact of the errors committed by our side by over-emphasising the corrective actions taken, underestimating the negative consequences or positioning both sides as if they were victims.
- Naming and shaming the 'other' for their mistakes but being impersonal about who was at fault when our side did something wrong, as if only the unforseeable fate was to blame, or justifying own mistakes by unavoidable external factors leading to it.
- Blaming the 'victim' for exaggerating the damage.
- Denying agency to previously suppressed people in achieving their rights (and attributing them to their benevolent rulers).
- Equalling the position taken in a civil-war-like situation to outright rebellion against the whole of the nation.

- Incorrectly representing the chronology: telling a story with a confusing timeline, causing the impression as if the other side's aggression would have occurred first, or attributing certain 'positive' events to our own side earlier than they really happened.
- Biased selection of adjectives attached to describing us vs. them. This can be especially relevant when evaluating historic persons or organisations. The simplification – which is a necessary feature of textbooks – can lead to focusing on the more negative parts of one's heritage or attribute ideas in the later life of that person or organisation to their early career, in order to 'disqualify' them from the beginning. The result of this biased representation could be that readers obtain the impression that the other side's heroes were not 'real' heroes.
- Making fun of the contrary.
- Using derogatory labelling for the other side's point of view.
- Showing clear preference for one of the competing points of view, by an unbalanced selection of the supporting quotes or facts, or by attributing more importance to one of the opinions for being from an 'expert'.
- Although the whole of the textbook explains nearly all relevant facts needed to provide a balanced point of view, the main narrative – which supposedly all students read – represents a biased perspective. The proof points which could support the opposite point of view are included in – potentially optional – more detailed chapters, often as source materials without the relevant evaluation by the authors.
- Activities that students are prompted to perform can lead to the reinforcement of biased narratives when they need to make a value judgement about 'who was to blame' and the previously presented supporting data is one-sided. In these cases, supposedly equidistant and correctly formulated questions can create the perception that the previously presented biased perspective is objectively correct.

- Also images can contribute to a one-sided narrative when they represent one of the competing points of view and the accompanying text or the following activities do not call out this partial point of view.
- Not calling out what is morally wrong (e.g. ethnic discrimination, religious cleansing) and avoiding parallels with similar events that the wide public considers unacceptable (e.g. colonial suppression).
- Not mentioning that the rights that our own nation aims to possess logically should be extended to the neighbouring nations as well (e.g. the other side's self-determination is described as a security threat to us).

It is also interesting to observe that many biased narratives are shared across different geographies, connecting the Anglo-Irish, Austrian-Hungarian and Hungarian-Slovakian-Romanian-Serbian-Ukrainian case studies:

- Textbooks from the nations which were in the 'oppressor's' position (British, Austrian and Hungarian), frequently position the demands of the 'oppressed' as an agitation in an otherwise idyllic environment, denying that their aspirations were just. Similarly, the attempts to silence such movements are often justified by preserving the peace or by explaining that it was usual at the time to act in this way. The leaders of these autonomy/independence movements are disqualified for being elitist, nationalist or simply for increasing division by challenging the 'peaceful status quo', when a supposed majority of the population of its own community was completely happy with the situation. What is even more surprising is that at the same time other similar autonomy/independence movements (usually against other 'oppressors') are seen as justified and the authors of the textbooks do not see the similarities between these situations.
- In these situations, when finally the rights of the 'oppressed' are recognised, it is seen as a wise and proactive action from a benevolent empire, without accepting the 'oppressed's' agency in achieving such change (in British and Austrian textbooks).

- If there is a drastic break of the ‘oppressed’ with the existing constitutional order, leaving their respective ‘empires’, textbooks from the ‘oppressors’ usually do not reflect on the missed opportunities to offer more limited concessions on earlier occasions, which could have prevented these revolutions. This happens in case of British textbooks regarding the missed opportunity of Home Rule against the complete independence finally achieved; in case of Hungarian textbooks in reference to the nationalities’ aspirations for autonomy – which then led to their complete separation – and also Austrian textbooks fail to recognise the reasonability of keeping Hungarian aims at bay by not challenging the April 1848 laws through military intervention.
- The claim that the victim over-represented the damage can also be seen in both British and Hungarian textbooks.
- Textbooks from the nations which had been ‘oppressed’ (Irish, Romanian and (Czech)Slovakian), frequently omit long periods which do not showcase ‘moments of glory’, in which virtuous opposition could be showcased against the ‘oppressor’. Step-by-step changes under the existing constitutional order leading to social or economic progress are also omitted from the narrative and the people in charge of making these changes – both from their own nation and from the ‘oppressor’ – are eliminated from the narrative. A softer version of this phenomenon can be observed in Hungarian textbooks, which represent the improvements implemented by the Habsburgs, but overwhelmingly still value them as inadequate as they went against the national aspirations.
- It is also remarkable that exceptions can be observed in case the ‘oppressed’ became powerful at the time of the textbook’s publication. This is the case of the British narrative of the insurgents that formed the United States of America (which had similar grievances to those of Ireland in the late 18th century) or the Czechoslovakian narrative of the Ukrainian minority after 1918, as explained during the socialist period (thus in reference to the Soviet Union).

- Another similarity is the treatment of controversial contents when – as a sign of progress, the different perspectives are represented – however, the textbook authors clearly deauthorise one of the perspectives for not being scientific (e.g. a few British textbooks about Irish historians and some Hungarian textbooks about the Romanian continuity theory). Even if there might be valid arguments against such points of view, this disqualification of the other for being ‘unscientific’ does not help to teach students that they should value different points of view.
- It also might be surprising that across all analysed countries – which, as we have seen, are (or were) at very different levels of perceived patriotic indoctrination level – there remain a set of national myths that only very few textbooks dare to challenge and which are far from obvious. For instance, in the UK ‘glorious = bloodless’ revolution and that Cromwell and William III represented the sole legality against their opponents; in Ireland the revolutionary tradition; in Austria the continuity with the Habsburgs; in Hungary the perceived natural right to rule the territory of the Carpathian Basin; in Romania, (Czech)Slovakia and Soviet Union the myths of antiquity, continuity, independence and unity.
- Looking for ancient justifications of the current borders is also a joint feature of textbooks across several countries: not just in socialist Romania-(Czech)Slovakia-Soviet Union can this be seen, but also in the United Kingdom, when the question of the border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland is explained. Frequently there is also a similar element of omitting information about the ethnic-religious distribution of the population at the time when the border has been set and there is a claim that ‘the majority’ was clearly in favour – without providing supporting data.
- Although I did not have a sufficiently large sample to analyse temporary evolution in all countries, in countries where I could do so, often the more recent textbooks showed less sensitivity towards the other. This was visible in Hungarian textbooks – specially from 2020 – and in case of British textbooks of the last two decades in general. Even in Northern Ireland I could see the worsening of the narrative in specific cases during

the last decade, contrary to what could be expected as the result of the peace process. (On contrary, Romanian textbooks clearly improved since the Ceausescu regime.)

- Textbooks specifically written for minorities tend to show more sensitivity towards the other side's perspective. This happens in Northern Ireland (in general more in case of one specific publisher), and in textbook contents written for the Hungarian minorities in Slovakia and Serbia. What this might tell us is that encouraging the representants of these minorities to contribute to textbooks written in the 'mother country' (that is: Hungary, Ireland and England) would help to enhance the well-balanced character of their textbooks, without the more formal and lengthy official processes of bilateral textbooks revision projects.
- It did not form part of the aims of this thesis to look into the didactical qualities of textbooks, nevertheless, with British, Irish and Romanian examples it seems that history textbooks organised by themes instead of chronology tend to include less contents of the 'other' as more convenient and less controversial examples can be found elsewhere. Many scholars have argued that chronology is essential in the understanding of historical processes, to which – based on this thesis – I can add that a thematic organisation of textbooks could invite to conveniently start the story where it fits our national myths, and portray the events as if we always only 'reacted' to aggressions or grievances committed by the 'other'.

However, there is a major difference in the history narrative of the different conflicts described above. In case of British rule in Ireland, the Austrian-Hungarian and the Serbian-Hungarian relationships, the question is not whether an event happened or not, but how shall we evaluate what had happened. In case of Hungary-Romania-Slovakia there was (or still is) a disagreement about many factual events, going as far as having different interpretations of what territory belonged to which country or even if a country (the Kingdom of Hungary) existed. In relation to this, the 'creative' use of maps has not been observed in Ireland, Austria, Hungary or Serbia, but yes in Czechoslovakia,

Romania and the Soviet Union²⁴⁴. In the UK, there is the special case of maps regarding the religious majorities in what is now Northern Ireland back in 1911, however, maps are usually not ‘doctored’, just interpreted incorrectly, creating the perception as if all the six counties had Protestant majorities.

Another difference in the Anglo-Irish case study is the availability of many different textbooks treating the same period and the same historic events. Therefore, for any example of biased narrative, we can find other textbooks from the same side of the conflict which tell a completely different story. This is not the case in Central and Eastern Europe, where either only one set of textbooks is (or was) available with a state-controlled narrative, or when despite having many alternative textbooks, the narrative in essence remains the same.

A further difference is that in Central and Eastern Europe often the same type of bias is visible through the entire textbook, as if it was part of political propaganda^{245 246}. Meanwhile, in British and Irish textbooks, examples of biased narratives are usually mixed with well-balanced story-telling in other places. In British textbooks sometimes this mix of different tones of narratives seems to be based on the author’s convictions, but in other places it feels as if different parts of the textbook would have been written for different audiences – as schools can choose which part of the textbook they teach. It would be an interesting (but difficult) topic to explore what instructions authors are given by publishers.

²⁴⁴ Here, the word ‘creative’ implies a value judgement about which version of the maps is ‘correct’. Although there will be debatable nuances in every map, international and supposedly neutral sources seem to coincide with the version that I consider ‘correct’ (Global Security, 2023).

²⁴⁵ This issue – together with the lack of diversity among textbooks from the same country – made it more complicated to identify a supposedly ‘correct’ version of history in narratives on the history of the Kingdom of Hungary. Some of these controversial points do not have a conclusive answer (e.g. continuity or immigration theory in Romania, even disputed among Romanian historians), thus I have treated these questions as open questions where textbooks either should explain both versions or none of them. On the other hand, there are other controversial questions where not only international (and supposedly impartial) sources coincide with one of the perspectives but also textbooks from other countries which were on the opposite side of the conflict. In these cases I have considered it ‘proven’ that a specific version of history is correct. Therefore, for instance, it seems to be confirmed that a Kingdom of Hungary with its own legislative, legal system, and administration existed within the Habsburg Empire during the overwhelming majority of the studied period. In a similar way, it is proven that Hungary discriminated against its nationalities during the dual monarchy. I refer to the most relevant disputed questions in *Appendix 6*.

²⁴⁶ Ira, Plets and Sonkoly in a different context explain how Western European countries experienced a ‘pluralisation of memory’ (corresponding to ‘politics of regret’) and at the same time post-communist countries ‘attempted to impose an official version of the memory of communism’ (corresponding to ‘politics of truth’) (Ira, Plets, & Sonkoly, 2023, p. 947).

In this sense, the many examples of unbalanced narratives explained in this thesis in relation to the history textbooks teaching British rule in Ireland do not seem as serious in comparison to what we can see between some countries in Central and Eastern Europe. Nevertheless, the types of bias observed in some English and Northern Irish textbooks become more sophisticated, it requires a certain level of intellectual exercise to identify some of them if someone is not an expert in the topic (e.g. changed order of narrative to give the perception that ‘other’s’ aggression happened before ‘our response’). Hence, their indoctrination potential can be higher as fewer teachers and students could question the narrative. We have seen with some examples that the ‘Irish question’ is not fully solved yet and that members of the British public can still portray a stereotypical view of the Irish, which – it seems – could be based on different types of bias perpetuated in some history textbooks.

It seems self-explanatory that textbooks need to make conscious decisions about which events to include and in which level of detail in their narrative, thus, there will be contents ‘missing’ for any ‘taste’ analysing the curriculum. However, the main recommendation I would like to make is that textbooks could and should avoid a degree of nationalistic indoctrination by ensuring that they also frequently feature stories where ‘our side’ did something wrong and the ‘other side’ something good, thus providing a healthy historic balance which can lead to a ‘parity of esteem’. There are of course some very positive examples, like Irish textbooks highlighting the positive effects of the Plantations, Austrian textbooks recognising the unsustainable privileged position of ethnic Germans and Hungarians in the dual monarchy or Serbian textbooks teaching that the northern part of what is today Serbia was not inhabited by Serbians for a very long time – examples that I wish many other textbooks would follow.

8. APPENDICES

8.1 Appendix 1: Chronology of Anglo-Irish history

Chapter 5 has reviewed the treatment of a very long list of events that compose the shared Anglo-Irish history between the 12th and 20th centuries. Given the length of the analysis, I considered that it is worth to reproduce a list of the different events so that it serves as a reference, supporting the comprehension of this joint history for those who are not very familiar with the details. This list has not been directly used as a framework for the qualitative analysis, it is rather a reflection of my own understanding of the succession of the relevant detailed events of Anglo-Irish history:

1155	Pope Adrian IV (the only English pope) issues the Laudabiliter which allows King Henry II of England to lead the re-conversion of the Church in Ireland. Previously the de facto autonomous Irish church did not follow many Roman Catholic norms
1166	Dermot MacMurrough is deposed as King of Leinster by Rory O'Connor, the new High King of Ireland. Dermot flees to France, Wales and England looking for help to regain his kingdom. Henry II allows him to gather support in his kingdoms. Dermot obtains support from Richard de Clare 'Strongbow' (who is not favoured by Henry II as he originally supported Stephen instead of Henry II's mother Matilda) and promises the hand of his oldest daughter in exchange
1169-1170	Norman forces arrive in Ireland and progress quickly taking Dublin and other cities
1171	Agreement between Henry II and the invading Normans: they recognize Henry II's overlordship and hand over the main castles. Henry II arrives in Ireland

1172	Henry II gives the title Lord of Ireland to his younger son John, who later becomes King of England
From 1172	Norman barons effectively take over the largest parts of Ireland. Outside their area the Gaelic chieftains rule according to Brehon Law, although nominally they also recognize the overlordship of the English king
1297	Establishment of the Irish Parliament, representing the Norman Conquerors
1316	Edward Bruce of Scotland (brother of Robert Bruce) aims to obtain lordship in Ireland in a military campaign, finally defeated in 1318. However, Gaelic chieftains increase their territories
1348-49	Bubonic Plague in Ireland, impacting stronger the cities under Norman control. As a result, the area under English royal control reduces to the Pale surrounding Dublin. There are semi-independent large Hiberno-Norman lordships and the rest of Ireland is ruled by Gaelic chieftains
1366	Statutes of Kilkenny, adopted by the Irish Parliament, states that many Norman settlers became like the 'Irish enemy' and forbids them to speak, dress, behave like the Irish or inter-marry. The law cannot be enforced outside of The Pale. The Hundred Years' War (1337-1453) and the Wars of the Roses (1455-87) put priorities for the English Kings elsewhere. English administration led by the Lord Deputy. Often held by the FitzGerald family of Kildare. Other important Old English families: FitzGerald of Desmond, Burke/de Burgh, Butler (Earls of Ormond).
1494	Poyning's Law gives the English Parliament veto over Irish legislation
1533	Henry VIII breaks from the Catholic Church and is excommunicated. Ireland remains mostly Catholic
1542	The Irish Parliament establishes the Kingdom of Ireland and Henry VIII becomes King of Ireland. Policy of surrender and regrant, by which both Old English and Gaelic lords obtain English titles.

1555	The Pope recognizes the Kingdom of Ireland under the Catholic ('Bloody') Mary I and the personal union with the Kingdom of England
1556	First large-scale plantations in Ireland, Offaly and Laois (King's and Queen's County), named after King Philip and Queen Mary I. Land confiscated from Gaelic lords who used to raid The Pale
1586	Munster plantations: after the failed Desmond Rebellions (Catholic Anglo-Irish family) the English aim to establish control through settling down a loyal population. Undertakers receive the right to bring tenants. Fewer than planned families arrive from outside and form a less dense network. The Desmond Rebellion was prompted by the appointment of a new English administration instead of the Anglo-Irish lords, by the activity of adventurers who laid claim on their land and by the aim to spread Protestantism
1593	Start of the Nine Years' War, by Hugh O'Neill, to oppose attempts to establish royal power in Ulster. The uprising spreads to other parts of Ireland
1603	End of the Nine Years' War, Treaty of Mellifont, on good terms for the Irish (e.g. pardons and re-grant of titles). The Nine Years' War nearly bankrupted England that did not have a standing army. Over 100 thousand dead, mostly civil population due to famine resulting from burnt land approach by royal forces
1603	After death of Elisabeth I, James I becomes king, uniting the Scottish, English and Irish crowns in personal union
1607	Flight of the Earls (O'Neill and O'Donnell) to organize military support from abroad
From 1608	Ulster Plantations. After the Flight of the Earls large part of the land in Ulster is declared vacant. The Crown reorganizes land ownership to allow for compact Protestant English and Scottish settlements. Undertakers are forbidden to have Irish tenants (a limitations not always kept)

1610-40s	Pressure on Catholic landlords to prove their legal title to the land, and forfeiting large parts of their land for obtaining such title. Forfeited land used for further plantations providing income to the Crown. Catholic land ownership reduces from ~90% in 1600 to ~60% in 1641
1600s	Throughout this period, contemporary English accounts describe the Irish as uncivilized and the English colonisation as a civilizing movement
1641	Irish Rebellion. Catholics organize a plot and there is a popular rise to reclaim their lost land, which ends in pogroms against Protestants (who obtained their land in previous decades), especially in Ulster. Many 1000s die. Contemporary English pamphlets exaggerate the number of dead further and prompt popular clamour in England
1641-1653	Irish Confederate Wars or Eleven Years' War. Catholics (Old-English and Gaelic) organise Confederate Ireland that effectively rules most of Ireland. English Royal forces remain in charge of Dublin and some other cities. The English Parliament pays for a Scottish Covenanter Army that lands in Ulster in 1642 to protect Scottish settlers, retaliating against Catholics. In March 1642 both Charles I and Parliament sign the Adventurers' Act that promises to pay back lenders financing the campaign against Ireland from the sale of Irish rebels' land (obtained after a future English victory). Stalemate for the duration of the English Civil War, 1643-46. Bloody battles 1646-47. During the 2nd English Civil War, from 1648, Confederates join Royalists, although this leads to a short civil war within confederates. In total during 1641-1653 an estimated 200,000 died, around 15% of Ireland's population
1649	Cromwell lands the Model Army in Ireland to fight Royalists and Confederates. Cromwell aims to retaliate for the 1641 Irish Rebellion, with many massacres, e.g. Drogheda. At the end of the war, thousands of Irish are sent to the Caribbean or North America for indentured labour.
From 1653	Cromwell holds the Catholics collectively responsible for the 1641 Rebellion. Even if they have not been involved, their land ownership

	is largely lost or exchanged for land in Connaught (far away to cause trouble and worst quality land). The wages of the Model Army are paid in land in Ireland. Catholic landholding reduces from ~60% in 1641 to ~15%.
From 1651	Several Navigation Acts limit who can trade with England and its colonies. Originally designed against the Dutch, it allows English goods to be exported customs-free to Ireland but customs apply in the opposite direction
1662-1665	On the restoration of the monarchy, some of the land ownership is returned to Catholics (mainly Old English), reaching ~22%
1679	Habeas Corpus: detention needs to be justified in a court (if requested). Important limitation of royal power of Charles II by Parliament
1685	The Roman Catholic James II becomes king
1688	Glorious Revolution: James II becomes less and less popular after declaring religious freedom and after his wife giving birth to a Catholic heir. Protestant prominences invite William of Orange to the throne (Calvinist, grandson of Charles I and husband of James II's daughter Mary, she would have been next in succession, long-standing enemy of Catholic Louis XIV of France). William arrives on 5th November with an Army of ~35,000. James II flees to France on 23 December 1688. The Revolution is called glorious as it took place without a battle (in England). The (bloody) battles took place later in Ireland. 7 December: Protestant Apprentice Boys close the Londonderry city walls before the approaching army that remained loyal to James II (siege of Derry during 1689)
1689	The English Parliament declares the crown vacant and the Declaration of Rights is read (13Feb1689), coronation (11Apr1689). William and Mary are not crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury as he believes James II is still the rightful king. The Scottish Estates also accept that the crown is vacant (11Apr1689), William and Mary also become King and Queen of Scotland in May. Significant number of people, the

	Jacobites, believe in the Divine Right of Kings and thus believe Parliament cannot proclaim new kings. The Declaration of Rights becomes law on 16Dec1689. It limits the royal prerogative and establishes a parliamentary democracy. It also establishes succession rules in favour of Protestants (Anne, Mary's sister)
1689	James II lands in Ireland (12Mar1689) where most remained his supporters
1689	Religious toleration of Protestant Nonconformists (24May1689), very relevant for Scotland and Ulster. Does not allow them to sit in Parliament. Toleration does not extend to Roman Catholics
1690	William lands in Ireland. On 1st July 1690 he wins against James II in the Battle of the Boyne, after which James leaves again for France
1691	Treaty of Limerick (3Oct1691) finishes the war in Ireland, on favourable terms.
1699	The English Parliament prohibits the import of Irish woollen goods
1701	James II dies in exile and his son James is recognized by Catholic states and Rome as the rightful king ('Old Pretender')
1701	Act of Settlement, excludes Catholics from succession. This law does not apply in Scotland which would wish to retain more rights for Scottish Stuarts, who are Catholics
1707	Treaty of Union (England and Scotland), creation of the Kingdom of Great Britain. For England, provides security of succession in Scotland and for Scotland access to markets (England and colonies), while keeping separate Scottish legal systems and religion
Early 1700s	A series of Penal Laws are introduced limiting personal and religious freedom of Catholics: cannot buy land, division of land on death, preference for Protestants in inheritance of Catholic land, no intermarriage, no weapon ownership, no entry into the armed forces, no horse ownership over a value of 5 pounds, forbidden to enter legal professions or to become members of parliament, no right to vote, no

	right to teach, cannot attend university, cannot travel abroad for education, bishops outlawed, ...
1715	Jacobite Uprising in Scotland, the 'Old Pretender' also arrives
1719	Declaratory Act: declares that the Irish Parliament is subordinate to the British Parliament, thus the British Parliament can legislate over Ireland and the British House of Lords is the last judiciary instance instead of the Irish House of Lords
1750s	Patriots formed, Protestants who consider themselves Irish and want self-government
1766	On the death of the Jacobite 'Old Pretender' the Holy See recognizes the Hanoverian Dynasty, thus providing political coverage for smoothening of the Penal Laws.
1776	By 1776 only 5% of land holdings in Ireland belong to Catholics
From 1778	Most Penal Laws gradually repealed (1778, 1782, 1792, 1793). Even the first repeals lead to anti-Catholic riots in London (Gordon riots 1780, killing 700 people)
From 1778	Removal of Irish trade restrictions
1782	Legislative independence acknowledged for the Irish Parliament (Grattan's parliament): Constitution of 1782, also based on US influence (American War of Independence 1775-1782) and as a reaction to the establishment of the Irish Volunteers (Ulster Presbyterian movement to support American republicanism and at the same time claiming to protect from Spain/France). The executive remains controlled from London
1791	Enlightenment movement based on French influence: Society of United Irishmen formed, initiated by liberal protestants, also including Catholics and non-conformist protestants
1793	Catholics allowed to vote, serve in the military and become lawyer (but cannot become MP)
1795	Founding of the Orange Order (loyalists)

1795	Maynooth College set up and funded to allow education of Catholic priests. Previously priests were educated in France and this becomes too dangerous given the French revolution and war. The Catholic Church does not support United Irishmen given the anti-religious experience in France
1796	Aborted French expedition to Ireland, 14,000 men, they cannot land at Bantry Bay
1798	Irish Rebellion / Uprising – started in Dublin on 23May1798, however intelligence allows for last minute government intervention and the leaders are detained. Nevertheless, the rebellion spreads to many provinces. By mid-July most forces are defeated. 22Aug1798, 1,000 French land in County Mayo, the Irish Republic is proclaimed, however, main forces defeated after a few days. On 12Oct1798 another 3,000 French sailors try to land in Donegal but are defeated by the Royal Navy in a sea battle. One of the detained is Theobald Wolfe Tone, the Protestant leader of United Irishmen. Altogether at least 10,000 dead, mainly civilians. Guerrilla warfare continues for a few years
1801	Act of Union, creation of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, motivated by 1798. The Dublin Parliament is closed, Ireland has 100 MPs in the Westminster House of Commons (out of 658). The British administration in Ireland remains, referred to as ‘Dublin Castle’. It is led by: Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (represented the King), Chief Secretary for Ireland (appointed by the British Prime Minister) and Under Secretary for Ireland (leads the civil service). Finances remain separate
1801	Originally Catholic emancipation has been promised for the Act of Union, however King George III blocks it saying it would contravene his coronation oath. Prime Minister Pitt the Younger resigns. Many Catholics supported the Union as they thought it could help them. By not allowing their full emancipation they became opponents of the

	Union. Many Protestants were against the Union, however after it, they learn to appreciate its advantages
1803	Failed Irish rebellion of 1803, led by Robert Emmet (protestant, executed together with other leaders). Includes 'Proclamation of Irish Independence'
Early 19th century	The linen industry grows strongly in East Ulster
1829	Catholic Emancipation – Catholics are allowed to sit in the UK Parliament. Result of a popular movement led by Daniel O'Connell, setting up the Catholic Association in 1823, establishing 'Catholic Rent' in 1824 and winning a by-election in 1828 that forces to discuss the issue
1829	In parallel to Catholic Emancipation, the electoral franchise is raised, reducing the Irish electorate from ~216,000 to ~37,000
From 1828	The debate and approval of Catholic Emancipation brings resistance and riots from Irish Protestants
1830-38	Tithe War: Catholics (and non-conformist Protestants) had to pay taxes (tithe) to the established Anglican Church of Ireland which they considered unjust and which led to violence. The Tithe War finishes when the tithe becomes payable by landlords instead of tenants
1832	Great Reform Act reorganising parliamentary seats and extending the right to vote. However, the franchise remains more reduced in Ireland
1832	Introduction of National Schools, improving literacy, however classes are only in English
1835-1840	Reforms in Ireland due to Whig-Irish alliance, introduction of the Poor Law and Municipal Corporations
1840-44	Repeal movement, led by Daniel O'Connell. Uses similar tactics as for Catholic Emancipation (e.g. monster meetings, 'Repeal Rent'). It fails given cross-party unity in England and his use of only pacific means

	(e.g. cancellation of the 1843 Clontarf monster-meeting after last minute banning)
1845	Peel's reforms to build up support in the Catholic clergy: increase of the Maynooth grant
1845	Start of the Great Irish Famine. Potato blight destroys most of Ireland's staple crop. Potato mono-culture given small plot sizes, after subdivisions following the rapid growth of population and driven by the limited amount of land available to Catholics (due to the plantations and the Penal Laws)
1846	Repeal of the Corn Laws, which kept prices for all types of cereals high, supporting local agriculture. This change allowed cheaper imports and feeding the population easier. However, this brings down the Conservative government of Robert Peel. Previously the government also imported maize from the Americas and sold it cheaply. Also provided public works to employ people
1846	New Whig government, which limits further intervention in Ireland in spirit of free trade and the belief that Ireland was overpopulated. Direct corn import is stopped, public work schemes are implemented, but they are insufficient. This leads to mass starvation. Poor Relief stepped up in 1847, to be paid by local landowners. Evictions, as landlords are liable to pay poor rates (which is used to finance the workhouses and outdoor relief) after their tenants. Some of them instead prefer to pay for their tenants' emigration to North America in 'coffin ships'. Several epidemics increase the death toll
1846-1848	Split of Young Ireland from the O'Donnell in 1846, leading to very small scale rising in 1848, led mostly by romantic Protestants
1850	End of the Great Famine, leading to ~1m deaths and ~1m people emigrating
1850	Irish Franchise Act widens electorate; however, it is still behind the rest of the UK

From 1850s	The emigration from Ireland continues, first to Britain, establishing large immigrant populations in the large industrial cities and leading to discrimination against them. Many travel further to the US where a strong Irish diaspora is created. As the result, population in Ireland declines further, from 8.2 m in 1841 to 4.4 m in 1911, reducing its weight in the UK from 31% to 11%. The famine hit the Irish speaking Gaeltacht stronger, hence the decline of the Irish language continues
From 1848	Dominion status for Canada (Canadian Confederation from 1867, although some parts with self-governance since 1848), Australia (Commonwealth of Australia from 1901, some parts self-governed from 1856), New Zealand (1907), Newfoundland (1907) and South Africa (1910, some parts self-governed from 1872)
From 1850s	Shipbuilding becomes a major industry in Belfast, of global importance by the end of the century (e.g. Titanic built at Harland & Wolff)
1867	Fenian Rising: small scale and defeated rising, organised by the Irish Republican Brotherhood and financed from Irish emigrants to the US
1867-68	Second Reform Act of 1867 in England and Wales extends voting right to 1/3 of all adult men. The 1868 extension in Scotland is full, in Ireland is much more restrictive
1869	Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland (people of other religions do not need to pay tithes) under Gladstone (his first ministry)
From 1860s	Movement to improve tenant rights in all Ireland, similar to the 'Ulster Custom', ensuring the Three Fs: fair rent, free sale and fixity of tenure. The movement had both a social and national element (as Irish Catholics lost their land property in the 17th century). Gladstone's Irish Land Act in 1870 improves rights for tenant farmers but does not regulate rent. In 1879-81 it converts into a 'Land War', demanding fair rent after drop in agricultural prices and increase in rents and evictions. 1879: Irish National Land League. Boycotting. Coercion Act suspending Habeas Corpus and expulsion of 36 Irish MPs due to

	obstruction. Second Land Act of 1881 recognising ‘Three Fs’ but not solving the issue of arrears. Parnell’s arrest and release in exchange for his support of pacification (‘Kilmainham Treaty’), the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Act 1882 extends the benefits to tenants in arrears. Phoenix Park murders of the Irish secretary and under-secretary, leading to a general rejection of violence
From 1870	Irish Home Rule movement: Home Rule Association founded in 1870 by Isaac Butt (a Protestant lawyer), Home Rule League in 1873, Home Rule Party in 1874 and Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP) in 1882. Latter led by Charles Stewart Parnell, a Protestant landowner. Significant influence in Westminster (1885: 85 out of 105 Irish members of Parliament plus 1 MP in Liverpool), leading to first Home Rule Bill
1872	Ballot Act introduces secret ballot instead of open vote (which was easily influenced by landlords), in the whole of the UK
From 1884	Gaelic revival: conservation/promotion of Irish language and literature via the Gaelic League (1893) and Irish sports via the Gaelic Athletic Association (1884)
1884	Third Reform Act, extends voting rights further, using the same rules in the whole of the UK. In Ireland, the IPP wins all seats in the south except for Trinity College Dublin
1886	1st Home Rule Bill, introduced by Gladstone, defeated in the Commons
1886	Riots in Belfast against the Home Rule Bill. Revival of the Orange Order. One of the Northern Irish fears is that a home-rule Ireland would establish its own trade policy and that would favour the Southern agriculture vs. the Northern industry
1886	Split of the Liberal party into supporters and opponents of the Home Rule, later opponents become Liberal Unionists and join the Conservatives in the Conservative and Unionist Party. Gladstone loses power. Conservatives support Ulster Unionists

1887	Irish Coercion Acts: since the Union nearly 100 different acts suspended civil rights in Ireland temporarily. In 1887 it became a permanent law; it suspended many civil and political rights in Ireland and established trials by magistrate instead of jury. This law only applied in Ireland
1889	The Catholic Church withdraws support from Parnell given his extramarital affair - leading to the split of the IPP
1893	Gladstone regains power in 1892 and introduces the 2nd Home Rule Bill in 1893 (this time Irish MPs would remain in Westminster). Accepted in the Commons, vetoed in the Lords
1903	Land Purchase Act (Wyndham's Land Act) allows for tenants to buy the land they labour in preferential conditions, with government loans
1905	Ulster Unionist Council formed – involving all Protestant stakeholders and allowing Unionism to speak with one voice, a ‘government in waiting’ should Home Rule become a reality and the North disobey the Dublin parliament
1906	Liberals obtain overwhelming majority after elections. Their policy supported Home Rule, however without defining date or scope
1910	UK Elections held to confirm mandate for Liberals to limit power of the Upper House, which previously blocked social legislation (People's Budget of 1909 introducing progressive income taxes). The liberals rely on support from the IPP, led by John Redmond
1911	Parliament Act: Upper House veto abolished, instead they can hold up any law the Commons approve for 2 years
1912	3rd Home Rule Bill introduced by Asquith (April 1912). Passed by House of Commons, defeated in the House of Lords. 2 years wait to become law
1912	Edward Carson and James Craig organise Ulster Protestant opposition, prompting the signature of the Ulster Covenant by ~250,000 men in which they promise to fight against Home Rule (Sept 1912). A similar

	declaration is signed by as many women. The UVF, Ulster Volunteer Force, a paramilitary, is established in January 1913, soon with 100,000 members
1913	Irish Volunteers established (IVF), a nationalist paramilitary (25Nov1913)
1914	Curragh Mutiny, 20 March 1914: when hearing plans to be deployed in Ulster, British army officials offer their resignation. The UK government states that it won't intervene militarily against Ulster Protestants in their opposition to Home Rule
1914	Gunrunning: illegal landing of German guns in Northern Ireland (Larne, 24-25 April 1914, large quantities) for the Protestant paramilitaries, no government intervention
1914	Atmosphere of potential civil war in Ulster, unsuccessful attempt to reach agreement (Parliament in March 1914 and Buckingham conference in 21-24 July 1914). Proposals debated include a temporary vs. permanent opt-out from the Home Rule, and whether it is county by county, for the 4 or 6 or 9 Ulster counties
1914	Gunrunning: illegal landing of German guns to arm the IVF (Howth beside Dublin, much lesser quantities, 26Jul1914), intervention from the authorities as the event happens in daylight, 4 dead
1914	3rd Home Rule Bill is enacted (14Sep1914), however it is suspended for the duration of the First World War
1914	Ulster Volunteers join the British Army as volunteers and are allowed to form a separate military unit: 36th (Ulster) Division
1914	Irish Volunteers split. The majority, renamed National Volunteers, follow Redmond's lead and many join the British Army, however they are integrated into existing military units (instead of forming a new united division like the Protestants)

1914-1916	A smaller part of the IVF supports different approaches to Redmond, within themselves split over whether to wait until the end of the war or to act sooner against the British government
1915	Asquith's wartime coalition government includes Carson (May1915), Redmond declines the invite to join, until Home Rule is not effectively implemented
1916	Easter Rising in Dublin (24Apr1916), Proclamation of the Irish Republic, defeated in 6 days
1916	Execution of 15 leaders of the Rising, over 1,000 convicted, some atrocities by the British Army. The British reprisal turns Irish public opinion, which initially was against the Rising. Sinn Féin (funded in 1905 by Arthur Griffith), a small political party which originally wanted a dual monarchy like Austria-Hungary and did not take part in the Rising, is taken over by surviving leaders of the Rising, advocates for independence and gains popularity against the IPP which supports Home Rule within the UK. Immediate Home Rule planned, with exclusion of the 6 counties, Redmond (believing it is temporal) and Carson (believing it is permanent) accept, however many conservatives in the coalition government reject the plan
1918	UK Parliament decides in April 1918 to extend the conscription to Ireland, which generates strong opposition, strengthening support for Sinn Féin
1918	UK General Elections (all men above 18 and women above 30 can vote), Sinn Féin wins most seats in Ireland, 73 out of 105 (14Dec1918)
1919	Sinn Féin members of UK Parliament refuse to take their seats and instead gather in Dublin forming Dáil Éireann, which issues a Declaration of Independence (21Jan1919)
1919-1921	Anglo-Irish War or (Irish) War of Independence. The Irish Volunteers gradually became known as IRA (Irish Republican Army), the army of the proclaimed republic. Mostly guerrilla warfare as the forces are insufficient for conventional warfare. On the UK side, the RIC (Royal

	Irish Constabulary, militarised police force) is strengthened by temporary special forces, known as the 'Black and Tans' and the 'Auxiliaries', to fight against the IRA, recruiting ex-WW1 serviceman. The Black and Tans and the Auxiliaries became known for their violence, also against the civil population, e.g. burning of Cork as a reprisal act (11-12Dec1920)
1920	The Government of Ireland Act of the UK (23 Dec 1920) partitions Ireland, creating 2 parliaments, in Belfast and in Dublin. Northern Ireland consists of the 6 northern counties, in total 2/3 Protestants and 1/3 Catholic. Of the 6 counties, 4 have Protestant majority. The Northern Ireland Parliament sits for the first time on 22 June 1921. Sectarian violence in Northern Ireland, many Catholic interests destroyed and many forced to flee
1921	Truce on 11Jul1921. The Anglo-Irish Treaty (6Dec1921) establishes the Irish Free State, with dominion status, its MPs have to recognize the king as head of state, Ireland accepts that Northern Ireland can opt out, creation of 3 Treaty Ports for the use of the British Navy. Border Commission set up to review the border along ethnic and religious lines, although its recommendations (in 1924-25) seem biased and thus the 2 sides agree to remain at the initial state
1922-23	The IRA and republicans are split about the Treaty, the Irish Civil War starts between the opponents (Irish Republican Army) and supporters (Irish National Army) of the Treaty in Ireland, the supporters – also supported by the majority of the population – win.
1931	Statute of Westminster: the UK recognises the right of any dominion to change the UK laws for its territory
1937	The Irish Free State becomes Éire, formally still a Dominion, but with an own president. It also extends territorial claims to the entire island
1932-38	Anglo-Irish Trade War (or Economic War). Ireland withholds annuities payments for the land purchased by farmers decades earlier

	which leads to 20% duties on Irish agricultural exports to the UK. This leads to economic hardship in Ireland
1938	As part of the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1938, the UK transfers the Treaty Ports to Ireland
1939-1945	During the Second World War, Ireland remains neutral. Churchill requests Ireland to join the war, offering unification in exchange, de Valera refuses. Ireland however allows Allied military aircraft to fly over its territory between Northern Ireland and North America. Ireland also sends firefighters after Belfast being bombed, supports the Allied with intelligence and returns captured Allied soldiers to Northern Ireland, while keeps captured German soldiers as prisoners of war
1949	Ireland becomes a Republic, fully independent from the UK and leaves the Commonwealth
1973	Both the UK and Ireland join the European Community (1Jan1973)
Since 1922	Wide-spread discrimination against Catholics in Northern Ireland (N.I.) in political rights (local and UK elections), employment and housing. Local electoral system changed from proportional representation to first-pass-the-post in 1922 and boundaries redrawn (gerrymandering). The Protestant majority believed Catholics were inherently disloyal to N.I. after the Partition. The police force (RUC - Royal Ulster Constabulary) and the part-time B-Specials (Ulster Special Constabulary) were overwhelmingly Protestant
1963	Terence O'Neill becomes N.I. Prime Minister. He improves relations with Catholics and Ireland, leading to the first meeting between heads of government in 1965
1966	Loyalist paramilitary forces re-established claiming O'Neill is too soft: Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), leading to the first three deaths of the Troubles. Ian Paisley – a Protestant preacher who considered the Pope the 'Anti-Christ' – leads the opposition to O'Neill

1967	A civil rights movement started in N.I., establishing NICRA (Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association), also based on the success story of the civil rights movement in the US, organising peaceful protests
1968	Civil rights marches start (24Aug1968), protestant paramilitaries attack marches to prompt their ban. 5Oct1968 march in (London-)derry banned by N.I. government, but still goes ahead, leading to brutal police actions transmitted live on TV. O'Neill's government pushed to immediate reforms by London.
1968-1969	Many Unionist (led by Ian Paisley) are against more rights for Catholics and organize the 'O'Neill Must Go' campaign that leads to O'Neill's resignation (28Apr1969), also prompted by a Protestant bombing which however was incorrectly attributed to the IRA
1969	Battle of the Bogside in (London-)Derry (12Aug1969) when Catholics aim to stop the annual Unionist march (remembering the city holding out against King James in 1689) across the Catholic area of the city and the police wanted to allow the march. The riots spread to Belfast where mostly Catholics (but also Protestants) suffer the consequences of being expelled from their neighbourhood where the opposite religion was in majority (leading to an estimated 7,000 Catholics to emigrate)
1969	Irish Taoiseach Jack Lynch condemns the RUC on TV and says that the Irish Government 'can no longer stand by and see innocent people injured and perhaps worse' (13Aug1969), but only establishes field hospitals across the border
1969	The UK government send in Army troops to guarantee peace (14Aug1969), mostly to protect Catholics
1969	The Catholic community initially welcomes the Army
1969	The Army starts building 'Peace Walls' (10Sep1969)
1969	Sectarian violence happened on both sides, however, the IRA was very weak at this stage, characterised by the acronym 'IRA = I Ran Away'. The IRA split into Official and Provisional in December 1969, the

	Provos in favour of armed struggle and starting to organise themselves in 1970 via recruiting and training
1970	Falls Curfew (3-5Jul1970), when 3,000 families living in the area are treated badly by the British Army searching for IRA armament, acting based on outdated intelligence and ordered to the area by the N.I. government. This leads to Catholics considering the Army as taking sides and see the emerging IRA as their potential 'protector'
1971	The Ulster Defence Association (UDA) and the Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF) are formed as Loyalist paramilitaries
1971	The N.I. government introduces internment (without trial) on 9Aug1971 and employs it initially only against Republicans (350 initial detainees, none Protestant)
1972	UK intelligence thought the Provisional IRA (PIRA) was stronger than in reality, leading to nervous Army actions killing civilians unprovoked during the banned civil rights march on 30Jan1972 (Bloody Sunday), when protesting against internment. The first enquiry whitewashes government actions
1972	The autonomous N.I. government is suspended, direct rule from London (28Mar1972)
1972	The PIRA gains support among Catholics, funding from the US diaspora and engages in increased terror attacks (e.g. 21Jul1972, Bloody Friday, 20 bombs in Belfast). The Irish National Liberation Army (INLA) is also active
1973-1974	UK and Irish government agree on power-sharing in N.I. and on the involvement of the Irish government into the affairs in N.I. (Sunningdale Agreement, 9Dec1973). Catholics welcome this; Unionists organise strikes to bring down the power-sharing government (from 15May1974 to 28May1974). Although the majority of Unionists were against power-sharing and voted accordingly in the earlier Westminster elections, the involvement of the UDA was needed to ensure the success of the strike. Return of direct rule

1974	Continued violence from both sides. E.g. UVF bombs in Dublin and Monaghan on 17May1974 (during the Ulster Workers' Council Strike) with 30 dead. Birmingham bombing of the PIRA (21Nov1974) with 22 dead
Since 1970s	The PIRA runs a parallel justice system, initially set up in the no-go-zones (for both political and normal 'crimes'), involving shootings, beatings, expulsions and shaming (tarring and feathering, holding of placards, shaving off heads, ...) Loyalist paramilitary 'punishments' overtook Republicans since the Good Friday Agreement
1975	The PIRA terror attacks in England prompted pressure to find the responsible, leading to miscarriages of justice: Guildford Four, convicted in 1975, released in 1989. Tony Blair as PM apologised in 2005. The Maguire Seven, convicted in 1976, served full sentences of up to 14 years. The convictions were declared unsound in 1991
1976-1981	Initially people held in jail because of the Troubles are considered 'special category', similar in fact to a prisoner of war. When this status is removed, they rebel (dirty war, hunger strikes, incl. Bobby Sands)
From 1981	The party ideologically aligned with PIRA, Sinn Féin – seeing the mass support for Bobby Sands – starts to contest UK elections and wins seats, even if not taking them
1984	Brighton Conservative Party Conference bombing by PIRA (12Oct1984)
1985	Anglo-Irish Agreement by Margaret Thatcher: intergovernmental conference, permanent secretariat, devolution only if power-sharing
1985	N.I. Unionists consider the agreement a betrayal, end unconditional collaboration with Conservatives in Westminster and organise massive protests
1989	Documented collusion between Protestant paramilitaries, RUC and the British Army, including murder of lawyer Pat Finucane (12Feb1989). Disclosed in the Stevens Inquiry (2003), Cory Report (2004) and

	Desmond de Silva Inquiry (2012), also recognizing obstruction. In 2011 David Cameron recognise collusion to the family
1993	Downing Street Declaration of the Ireland and UK governments (15Dec1993): concept of self-determination accepted; Ireland agrees to change its territorial claim to N.I. in the constitution, preceeded by talks between John Hume and Gerry Adams and their earlier declaration
1994	PIRA ceasefire first (31Aug1994), then Unionist paramilitaries (13Oct1994, by the Combined Loyalist Military Command, representing the Ulster Volunteer Force, Ulster Defence Association and Red Hand Commandos)
1995-1996	UK government does not allow Sinn Féin to join face-to-face talks before decommissioning, despite contrary recommendation from the international commission (24Jan1996, ‘twin-track’, Mitchell Principles of Non-Violence)
1996	Canary Wharf bombing by PIRA (09Feb1996) ending ceasefire
1996	UK government agrees Sinn Féin can join peace talks if abiding by Mitchell Principles of Non-Violence, however this does not happen until 9Sep1997
1996	Specific elections take place to secure a seat at the table (N.I. Forum), Sinn Féin and DUP increase share of vote (30May1996)
1996	Manchester bombing by PIRA (15Jun1996), continued violence on both sides
1997	Tony Blair wins UK general elections (2 May 1997) and on 1 Jun 1997 states that ‘those who governed in London at the time failed their people through standing by while a crop failure turned into a massive human tragedy’ referring to the Great Irish Famine
1997	PIRA ceasefire (20Jul1997) and signing up to the Mitchell Principles of Non-Violence (9Sep1997). Gerry Adams said he was ‘deeply sorry about what happened’ 10 years before in Enniskillen

1998	Good Friday (Belfast) Agreement (10Apr1998), featuring power-sharing and North-South collaboration, supported by most sides, however not by the DUP (led by Paisley). Approval by referendum on 22May1998 both in Ireland (94% yes) and N.I. (71% yes), however it is estimated that among Protestants in Northern Ireland the support came from just above half of the electorate
1998	Omagh bombing by dissident Real IRA killing 29 (15Aug1998), leading to effective stop of large-scale paramilitary activity
2001	Between 1966 and 2012 3,739 casualties, 58% of the dead were killed by republicans, 30% by loyalists and 10% by British security forces
2005	Decommissioning of arms by the Provisional IRA (28Jul2005 announcement and confirmation by Sep2005) and after by the protestant paramilitary Loyalist Volunteer Force
2006	St. Andrews Agreement (Sinn Féin acknowledging the Police Service of N.I., DUP accepting collaboration with Republicans)
2007	2nd N.I. Executive with Ian Paisley and Martin McGuinness
2010	UK: Saville Inquiry re. Bloody Sunday states that the shootings were unjustifiable and that none of the killed or wounded posed a threat of death or serious injury to the British Army

8.2 Appendix 2: Northern Ireland GCSE Specifications

(Council for the Curriculum, Examinations and Assessment, Northern Ireland, 2017, pp. 16-21)

Option 1: Changing Relations: Northern Ireland and its Neighbours, 1920–49

In this option, students focus on the changing relationships between the north and south of Ireland and Britain following the partition of the island of Ireland. Students examine the changing relationships against the backdrop of peace, war and neutrality. They also explore the significant impact of World War II on relations between Northern Ireland and its neighbours.

Content	Elaboration of Content
The partitioning of Ireland	• Key terms of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920 • Reactions to the Government of Ireland Act in the north and south of Ireland • The setting up of the Irish Free State under the Anglo-Irish Treaty; the Boundary Commission, 1924–25
From Irish Free State to Éire	• de Valera and his role in the dismantling of the Anglo-Irish Treaty by 1937 • The reasons for and terms of the 1937 Constitution • The impact of the 1937 Constitution on relations between Éire, Northern Ireland and Britain
The Economic War	• The causes of the Economic War and its effects on Britain, Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State • The end of the Economic War • The terms of the Anglo-Irish Agreements of 1938 and their significance for relations between Britain, Northern Ireland and Éire

Northern Ireland and World War II	• The reaction of Northern Ireland's government to the outbreak of war • Differing attitudes towards conscription • The war effort in Northern Ireland • Northern Ireland's industrial, agricultural, military and strategic contributions to the war
Éire's neutrality and its impact on relationships during the war	• The reasons for de Valera's policy of neutrality • Attitude of the people of Éire towards neutrality • The response of Northern Ireland and Britain to Éire's neutrality • Benevolent neutrality in practice and attempts to persuade Éire to enter the war • Reaction to Britain's offer to end partition in Northern Ireland and Éire
German attacks and their impact on Britain, Northern Ireland and Éire	• The events and significance of the Battle of Britain • The Blitz on Northern Ireland: events and significance, including the exposure of poverty, poor housing and poor health • The impact of the Luftwaffe raids on the lives of people in Northern Ireland • Éire and the Blitz: the State of Emergency, banning of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and the effects of World War II on the lives of the people in Éire
Life in post-war Northern Ireland and Éire, 1945–49	• The reaction at Stormont to the election of a Labour government at Westminster • The reasons for the establishment of the Welfare State in Britain and Northern Ireland • The reasons for the differing attitudes in Northern Ireland to the introduction of the Welfare State • The impact of the Welfare State in Northern Ireland: family allowances, unemployment benefit, national assistance, housing and the National Health Service

	• The 1947 (Northern Ireland) Education Act and its social impact • Social and economic developments in Éire after 1945
Constitutional changes and effects on relationships	• Éire's announcement of its intention to become a Republic • Reaction among the people of Northern Ireland to Éire's intention • The significance of the Anti-Partition League and the 'chapel gate election' • Declaration of the Republic of Ireland, 1949: effects on relationships between Britain, Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic • The Ireland Act, 1949: reactions in Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic, the immediate effects on the relationship between the Republic of Ireland, Northern Ireland and Britain.

Option 2: Changing Relations: Northern Ireland and its Neighbours, 1965–98

In this option, students focus on the changing relationships between Northern Ireland, Britain and the Republic of Ireland, and among the different communities in Northern Ireland, against the backdrop of political and civil unrest. Students also explore the introduction of direct rule, the increase in paramilitary violence, the attempts to find a political solution and the impact on Northern Ireland and its neighbours.

Content	Elaboration of Content
The O'Neill years	• O'Neill's policies and actions to improve the economy: successes and failures • O'Neill's attempts to improve community relations in Northern Ireland and the differing responses to his efforts • O'Neill's attempts to improve relations with the Republic of Ireland and the differing responses in Northern Ireland to his efforts
The campaign for civil rights	• The influence of the civil rights movement in the United States of America on Northern Ireland

	• Reasons for the emergence of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA), its demands and methods and the differing attitudes towards it • Early civil rights marches, including British government and police responses, O'Neill's five-point reform programme and the differing responses to it • The effectiveness of NICRA • Reasons for the emergence of the People's Democracy: actions and impact • Reasons for the downfall of O'Neill
A deteriorating situation, 1969–72 •	• Increasing tensions and violence, summer 1969 • The reasons for and consequences of the intervention of the Irish and British governments • The re-emergence of the Irish Republican Army (IRA), the split in the IRA and the objectives of the newly formed Provisional IRA • The re-emergence of the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) and its objectives, and the setting up of the Ulster Defence Association (UDA) and its objectives • Reasons for and effects of internment, escalation of violence, civil rights protests against internment, and Bloody Sunday and responses to it • Reasons for the fall of Stormont and the introduction of direct rule • Reaction in Northern Ireland and in the Republic of Ireland to the British government's decision to suspend Stormont
The search for a political solution – attempt at power-sharing, 1973–74	• The reasons for and responses to the introduction of a power-sharing Executive to Northern Ireland and a Council of Ireland; the effects of the Ulster Workers' Council strike on the attempt at power-sharing in Northern Ireland; the reintroduction of direct rule

Changing Republican strategy	• The reasons for the hunger strikes, 1980–81; the impact of the hunger strikes, including change in Republican strategy; the effect of Sinn Féin’s electoral success on the SDLP
Changing relations – towards closer co-operation	• Reasons for closer co-operation between the Irish and British governments in the 1980s; the terms of the Anglo-Irish Agreement: its significance for relations between Britain, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland and for how Northern Ireland would be governed
The Downing Street Declaration, 1993	• The Hume–Adams initiative; the Downing Street Declaration: the key terms and responses to the Declaration in Northern Ireland and its significance for paving the way for the ceasefires
The Good Friday Agreement, 1998	• The key terms and responses to the Agreement, including the referendum; the significance of the Agreement for relations between Britain, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland

8.3 Appendix 3: Primary Sources – British Rule in Ireland

47 Key Stage 3 textbooks dealing with British history in general and used in England:

- 9 textbooks about the **12th to 15th centuries** (of which 6 published in the 90s, 1 in the 2000s and 2 in the 2010s),
 - Adams, Ros: *Medieval Realms*, London: Pearson Education, 1991 (Adams, 1991)
 - Dawson, Ian & Watson, Paul: *Medieval Realms 1066-1500*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991 (Dawson & Watson, 1991)
 - Mason, James: *A Sense of History: Medieval Realms*, Harlow: Longman Group UK, 1991 (Mason J. , 1991)
 - Cootes, R J: *Medieval Realms*, Walton-on-Thames: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1992 (Cootes, 1992)
 - Reynoldson, Fiona: *The medieval realms*, Oxford: Heinemann Educational Books, 1995 (Reynoldson, 1995)
 - Kelly, Nigel; Rees, Rosemary & Shuter, Jane: *Living through History: Medieval Realms*, Oxford: Reed Educational and Professional Publishing, 1997 (Kelly, Rees, & Shuter, 1997)
 - Wilkes, Aaron: *Invasion, Plague and Murder. Britain 1066-1485*, Dunstable (UK): Folens Publishers, 2003 (Wilkes A. , 2003 (1))
 - Sparey, Elizabeth; Berry, Graham; Jackson, Peter & Pearson, Jo: *Collins Key Stage 3 History, Book 1: 1066-1750*, London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2010 (Sparey, Berry, Jackson, & Pearson, 2010)
 - Dawson, Ian; Bates, Neil; Fisher, Alec & McFahn, Richard: *Making Sense of History 1066-1509*, London: Hodder Education, 2014 (Dawson, Bates, Fisher, & McFahn, 2014)
- 19 textbooks about the **16th to 17th centuries** (of which 1 published in the 80s, 13 in the 90s, 3 in the 2000s and 2 in the 2010s),

- Larkin, P J: Island Story: Britain from the Tudors to Queen Anne, Amersham: Hulton Educational Publishers, 1984 (Larkin, 1984)
- Kelly, Rosemary: A place in time Britain 1450-1700, Cheltenham: Stanley Thornes Publishers, 1990 (Kelly R. , 1990)
- Richard, Alison & Brown, Carole: Folens History. The making of the UK, Dunstable (UK): Folens, 1990 (Allison & Brown, 1990)
- Aylett, J F: Past Historic: The Making of the United Kingdom 1500-1750, London: Hodder & Stoughton Educational, 1992 (Aylett, 1992)
- Culpin, Christopher: Collins Living History: The Making of the United Kingdom 1500-1750, London: Collins Educational, 1992 (Culpin, 1992)
- Hepplewhite, Peter & Tonge, Neil: Discovering History: The Making of the United Kingdom, Ormskirk: Causeway Press, 1992 (Hepplewhite & Tonge, 1992)
- Maltman, Charles & Dawson, Ian: The making of the United Kingdom, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992 (Maltman & Dawson, 1992)
- Mason, James: A Sense of History: The Making of the United Kingdom, Harlow: Longman Group UK, 1992 (Mason J. , 1992)
- Snellgrove, L E: The making of the United Kingdom, Walton-on-Thames; Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1992 (Snellgrove, 1992)
- Buxton, Steve: Unity & Conflict, Sevenoaks: Hodder & Stoughton, 1993 (Buxton, 1993)
- Kennedy, Patricia: Foundation History: The Making of the United Kingdom, Oxford: Heinemann Educational, 1994 (Kennedy, 1994)
- Shephard, Colin & Lomas, Tim: Discovering the making of the UK, London: John Murray Publishers, 1995 (Shephard & Lomas, 1995)
- Kelly, Nigel; Rees, Rosemary & Shuter, Jane: Living through History; the Making of the United Kingdom, Oxford: Heinemann Educational, 1998 (Kelly, Rees, & Shuter, 1998 (2))

- Reynoldson, Fiona & Taylor, David: Living through History: the Making of the United Kingdom (Foundation), Oxford: Heinemann Educational, 1998 (Reynoldson & Taylor, 1998)
- Brooks-Tyreman, Alan; Shuter, Jane & Smith, Kate: Digging deeper 2. Britain 1500-1750, Oxford: Heinemann Educational Publishers, 2000 (Brooks-Tyreman, Shuter, & Smith, 2000)
- Wilkes, Aaron: Renaissance, Revolution and Reformation. Britain 1485-1750, Dunstable (UK): Folens Publishers: 2003 (Wilkes A. , Renaissance, Revolution and Reformation. Britain 1485-1750, 2003 (2))
- Clare, John D.: Investigating History: Britain 1500-1750 (Foundation Edition), London: Hodder & Stoughton Educational, 2004 (Clare J. D., 2004)
- Clare, John D.; Fisher, Alec & Kennett, Richard: Making Sense of History 1509-1745, London: Hodder Educational, 2014 (Clare, Fisher, & Kennett, 2014)
- Peal, Robert: Collins Key Stage 3, Early Modern Britain 1509-1760, London: HarperCollinsPublishers, 2016 (Peal, 2016)
- 8 textbooks about the **18th to 19th centuries** (of which 1 published in the 80s²⁴⁷, 2 in the 90s, 2 in the 2000s and 3 in the 2010s)
 - Kelsall, Freda: How we used to live in Victorian times, London: Macdonald Educational, 1978 (Kelsall, 1978)
 - Lee, Andrew: How it was: The workshop of the World, London: B. T. Batsford, 1993 (Lee, 1993)
 - Kelly, Nigel; Rees, Rosemary & Shuter, Jane: Living through History Book 3, Britain 1750-1900 and the Twentieth Century World, Oxford: Heinemann Educational, 1998 (Kelly, Rees, & Shuter, 1998 (1))
 - Collier, Martin & Marriott, Bill: Colonisation and Conflict 1750-1990, Oxford: Heinemann Educational Publishers, 2002 (Collier & Marriott, 2002)

²⁴⁷ This textbook has been published in 1978, however, it has been analysed as part of the 80s cluster

- Wilkes, Aaron: Industry, Revolution and Empire, Britain 1750-1900, Dunstable (UK): Folens Publishers, 2004 (Wilkes A. , 2004 (1))
- Murphy, Derrick; Gosling, Mark & Martin, Dave: Collins Key Stage 3 History, Book 2: 1750-1918, London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2010 (Murphy, Gosling, & Martin, 2010)
- Clare, John D.; Bates, Neil; Fisher, Alec & Kennett, Richard: Making Sense of History 1745-1901, London: Hodder Education, 2015 (Clare J. D., Bates, Fisher, & Kennett, 2015 (2))
- Peal, Robert: Collins Key stage 3, Modern Britain 1760-1900, London: HarperCollinsPublishers, 2017 (Peal, Collins Key stage 3, Modern Britain 1760-1900, 2017)
- 10 textbooks about the **20th century** (of which 4 published in the 80s, 1 in the 90s, 2 in the 2000s and 3 in the 2010s)
 - Hagerty, James: Modern Britain, London: Hutchinson & Co. Publishers, 1980 (Hagerty, 1980)
 - Reynoldson, Fiona: Twentieth-century British History, Book One 1900-14, London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1985 (Reynoldson, 1985 (1))
 - Reynoldson, Fiona: Twentieth-century British History, Book Two 1919-39, London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1985 (Reynoldson, Twentieth-Century British History, Book Two, 1919-1939, 1985 (2))
 - Reynoldson, Fiona: Twentieth-century British History, Book Three 1945 to the 80s, London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1986 (Reynoldson, 1986)
 - Smith, Nigel: Britain since 1945, Hove: Wayland Publishers, 1990 (Smith, 1990)
 - Ross, Stewart: Britain since 1930, London: Evans Brothers, 2003 (Ross, 2003)
 - Wilkes, Aaron: Technology, War and Identities. A World Study After 1900, Dunstable (UK): Folens Publishers, 2004 (Wilkes A. , 2004 (2))

- Wilkinson, Alf; Martin, Dave; Pearson, Jo; Wilkinson, Sue & Wrenn, Andrew: Collins Key Stage 3 History, Book 3: Twentieth Century, London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2010 (Wilkinson, Martin, Pearson, Wilkinson, & Wrenn, 2010)
 - Clare, John D.; Bates, Neil; Fisher, Alec & Kennett, Richard: Making Sense of History 1901-Present Day, London: Hodder Education, 2015 (Clare J. D., Bates, Fisher, & Kennett, 2015 (2))
 - Selth, Robert: Collins Key Stage 3, Twentieth Century World, London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2019 (Selth, 2019)
- 1 textbook reach over **several** of these **time periods** and it has been published in the 2010s.
- Riley, Michael; Ford, Alex; Goudie, Kath; Kennett, Richard & Snelson, Helen: Understanding History, Britain in the wider world, Roman times-present, London: Hodder Education, 2019 (Riley, Ford, Goudie, Kenneth, & Snelson, 2019)

20 GCSE textbooks dealing with British history in general and used in England:

- No textbooks about the **12th to 15th centuries**
- 4 textbooks about the **16th to 17th centuries** (of which 2 published in the 80s, 1 in the 90s, none in the 2000s and 1 in the 2010s)
 - Lane, Peter: Elizabethan England, London: Batsford Academic and Educational, 1981 (Lane, 1981)
 - Harris, Nathaniel: Spotlight on Elizabethan England, Hove: Wayland Publishers, 1985 (Harris, 1985)
 - Regan, Geoffrey: Elizabethan England, London: B. T. Batsford, 1990 (Regan, 1990)
 - Royle, Wesley: Elizabethan England c1568-1603, London: Hodder Education, 2016 (Royle, 2016)
- 8 textbooks about the **18th to 19th centuries** (of which 7 published in the 80s and 1 in the 90s)

- Hill, C P & Wright J C: British History 1815-1914, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981 (Hill & Wright, 1981)
- Wood, Sydney: Living in Victorian Times, London: John Murray Publishers, 1985 (Wood, 1985)
- Culpin, Christopher: Making modern Britain, London: Collins Educational, 1987 (Culpin, 1987)
- Sauvain, Philip: British Economic and Social History. 1850 to the present day, Cheltenham: Stanley Thornes Publishers, 1987 (Sauvain, 1987)
- Martell, John: A history of Britain from 1867, Walton-on-Thames: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1988 (Martell, 1988)
- Martin, Howard: Britain since 1800: Towards the welfare state, Basingstoke and London: Macmillan Educational, 1988 (Martin, 1988)
- Shuter, Paul & Child, John: The changing face of Britain, Oxford: Heinemann Educational, 1989 (Shuter & Child, 1989)
- Rees, R A: Britain 1815-1851, Harlow: Longman Group UK, 1990 (Rees R. A., 1990)
- 6 textbooks about the **20th century** (of which 1 published in the 80s, 3 in the 90s, none in the 2000s and 2 in the 2010s)
 - Gibbons, S R: Britain 1945 to 1985, Glasgow and London: Blackie and Son, 1986 (Gibbons, 1986)
 - Cloake, J A: Britain in the Modern World, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994 (Cloake, 1994)
 - Butler, Lawrence & Jones, Harriet: Britain in the Twentieth Century, A Documentary Reader, Volume I, 1900-1939, Oxford: Heinemann Educational, 1994 (Butler & Jones, 1994)
 - Butler, Lawrence & Jones, Harriet: Britain in the Twentieth Century, A Documentary Reader, Volume II, 1939-1970, Oxford: Heinemann Educational, 1995 (Butler & Jones, 1995)
 - Walsh, Ben: Modern World History. Option B: The 20th century, London: Hodder Education, 2013, Third Edition (Walsh, 2013)

- Culpin, Christopher: Britain in peace and war 1900-1918, London: Hodder Education, 2016 (Culpin, Britain in peace and war 1900-1918, 2016)
- 2 textbook reach over **several** of these **time periods** and they have been published in the 2010s
 - Waterson, Lorraine & Williams, Tim: British Depth Studies, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016 (Waterson & Williams, 2016)
 - Wilkinson, Alf: The Power and the People, London: Hodder Education, 2016 (Wilkinson, Power and the People, 2016)

23 A-level textbooks dealing with British history in general and used in England:

- 1 textbook about the **12th to 15th centuries**, published in the 2000s
 - Dicken, Mary; Holland, Andrew & Fellows, Nicholas: Late Medieval England 1199-1455, London: Hodder Education, 2015 (Dicken, Holland, & Fellows, 2015)
- 6 textbooks about the **16th to 17th centuries** (of which 2 published in the 2000s and 4 in the 2010s)
 - Pendrill, Colin: The English Reformation 1485-1558, Oxford: Heinemann Educational Publishers, 2000 (Pendrill, 2000)
 - Warren, John: Elizabeth I: Meeting the challenge, England 1541-1603, London: Hodder Education, 2008, 3rd edition (Warren, 2008)
 - Carpenter, Rebecca: Religious Conflict and the Church in England c1529-1570, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015 (Carpenter, 2015)
 - Daniels, Judith: The English Revolution 1625-1660, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015 (Daniels, 2015)
 - Dicken, Mary & Fellows, Nicholas: England 1485-1603, London: Hodder Education, 2015 (Dicken & Fellows, 2015)
 - Farr, David: Stuart Britain and the Crisis of Monarchy 1603-1702, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015 (Farr, 2015)

- 8 textbooks about the **18th to 19th centuries** (of which 2 published in the 90s, 1 in the 2000s and 5 in the 2010s)

- Catterall, Peter (editor): Britain 1815-1867, Oxford: Heinemann Educational, 1994 (Catterall, Britain 1815-1867, 1994 (1))
- Catterall, Peter (editor): Britain 1867-1918, Oxford: Heinemann Educational, 1994 (Catterall, Britain 1867-1918, 1994 (2))
- Paterson, David: Liberalism and Conservatism, 1846-1905, Oxford: Heinemann Educational Publishers, 2001 (Paterson, 2001)
- Wells, Mike: From Pitt to Peel 1783-1846, London: Hodder Education, 2015 (Wells, 2015)
- Wells, Mike & Dicken, Mary: Britain 1846-1951, London: Hodder Education, 2015 (Wells & Dicken, 2015)
- Christie, Nikki & Christie, Brendan: Britain: losing and gaining and empire, 1763-1914, London: Pearson Education, 2016 (Christie & Christie, 2016)
- Fortune, Alisa: Challenge and Transformation. Britain c. 1851-1964, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016 (Fortune, 2016)
- Rogers, Rick & Williams, Brian: The British experience of warfare, c1790-1918, London: Pearson Education, 2016 (Rogers & Williams, 2016)

- 8 textbooks about the **20th century** (of which 2 published in the 80s, none in the 90s, 1 in the 2000s and 5 in the 2010s)

- Brown, Richard & Daniels, Christopher: Twentieth Century Britain, Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1982 (Brown & Daniels, 1982)
- Madgwick, P J; Steeds, D & Williams, L J: Britain since 1945, London: Hutchinson Education, 1982 (Madgwick, Steeds, & Williams, 1982)
- Rowe, Christopher: Britain 1929-98, Oxford: Heinemann Educational Publishers, 2004 (Rowe, 2004)
- Hugh J M A: The making of Modern Britain 1951-2007, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015 (Hugh, 2015)

- Lynch, Michael: Britain 1900-1957, London: Hodder Education, 2015, 2nd edition (Lynch, 2015 (1))
- Lynch, Michael: Britain 1951-2007, London: Hodder Education, 2015, 2nd edition (Lynch, 2015 (2))
- Wells, Mike & Fellows, Nicholas: Britain 1930-1997, London: Hodder Education, 2015 (Wells & Fellows, 2015)
- Thomas, Jo & Willis, Michael: Wars and Welfare: Britain in Transition 1906-1957, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016 (Thomas & Willis, 2016)

26 textbooks dedicated to Anglo-Irish history:

- 2 textbooks for **KS3 and GCSE** dedicated to specific coursework on the origins of the Northern Irish conflict from **England** (published in 1993 and 2001)
 - Reid, Austin: Ireland Since 1923. Politics or Violence? London: Longman Group, 1993 (Reid, 1993)
 - Doherty, Barry: Northern Ireland since c.1960. Oxford: Heinemann Educational, 2001 (Doherty, 2001)
- 2 textbooks for **GCSE** under the **Schools History Project (SHP)** from **England** (published in 1999 and 2004)
 - McAleavy, Tony: Conflict in Ireland. From Origins to the Peace Agreement. London: Collins Educational, 1999 (McAleavy, 1999)
 - Dawson, Ian & Walsh, Ben: The Struggle for Peace in Northern Ireland. London: Hodder Education, 2004 (Dawson & Walsh, 2004)
- 4 **A-level** textbooks from the **United Kingdom** (published between 2008 and 2016)
 - Murphy, Derrick; Walsh-Atkins, Patrick & Whiskerd, Neil: Britain 1815-1895 and Ireland 1798-1922, London: HarperCollinsPublishers, 2008 (Murphy, Walsh-Atkins, & Whiskerd, 2008)

- Murphy, Derrick; Goodlad, Graham & Staton, Richard: Britain 1895-1951 with Woman and Suffrage c1860-1930 and Ireland 1914-2007, London: HarperCollinsPublishers, 2008 (Murphy, Goodlad, & Staton, Britain 1895-1951 with Woman and Suffrage c1860-1930 and Ireland 1914-2007, 2008)
 - Kidson, Adam: Ireland and the Union, c1774-1923, London: Pearson Education, 2016 (Kidson, 2016)
 - Adelman, Paul & Byrne, Mike: Great Britain and the Irish Question 1774-1923, London: Hodder Education, 2016 (Adelman & Byrne, 2016)
- 4 **Junior Certificate** textbooks from **Ireland** (published between 2002 and 2011)
 - Lucey, Dermot: The Past Today, Complete Junior Certificate History, Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2002 (Lucey, 2002)
 - McCaughey, Patsy: Discovering History, Junior Certificate, Dublin: Mentor Books, c2007 (McCaughey, c2009)
 - Hayes, Charles: New Complete History, Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2009 (Hayes C. , 2009)
 - Delap, Seán & McCormack, Paul: Junior Certificate Uncovering History, Dublin: Folens Publishers, 2011 (Delap & McCormack, 2011)
- 1 **Leaving Certificate** textbook from **Ireland** (published in 2016):
 - Brockie, Gerard & Walsh, Raymond: Modern Ireland, Dublin: Gill Education, 2016, Third Edition (Brockie & Walsh, 2016)
- 9 **Key Stage Three** textbooks from **Northern Ireland** (published between 1995 and 2012), corresponding to 2 different editorials, Hodder (4 textbooks) and Colourpoint (5 textbooks):

- Dean, Sheelagh; Stafford, Cheryl & Thompson, Catherine: History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1169-1500, London: Hodder Education, 2007 (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2007)
 - Dean, Sheelagh; Stafford, Cheryl & Thompson, Catherine: History for NI Key Stage 3: Ireland 1500-1900, London: Hodder Education, 2008 (Dean, Stafford, & Thompson, 2008)
 - Dean, Sheelagh; Kelly, Vivien & Taggart, Julie: History for NI Key Stage 3: A study after 1900, London: Hodder Education, 2009 (Dean, Kelly, & Taggart, 2009)
 - Gillespie, Sandra & Jones, Gerry: Northern Ireland and its Neighbours since 1920. Abingdon: Hodder & Stoughton, 1995 (Gillespie & Jones, 1995)
 - Turner Johnston, Sheila & Johnston, Norman: History in close-up: the medieval world, Newtownards: Colourpoint Educational, 2011 (Turner Johnston & Johnston, 2011)
 - Hodge, Audrey M: History in close-up: the age of discovery, Newtownards: Colourpoint Educational, 2011 (Hodge, 2011)
 - Turner Johnston, Sheila: History in close-up: the twentieth century, Newtownards: Colourpoint Educational, 2010 (Turner Johnston, 2010)
 - Rees, Russell; Hodge, Audrey M; Johnston, Norman & Turner Johnston, Sheila: History in Close-Up: Union and Partition, Newtownards: Colourpoint Educational, 2012 (Rees, Hodge, Johnston, & Turner Johnston, 2012)
 - Gillespie, Gordon: Troubled Images. The Northern Ireland Troubles and Peace Process 1968-2007, Newtownards: Colourpoint Books and Linen Hall Library, 2007 (Gillespie G. , 2007)
- 2 **GCSE** textbooks from **Northern Ireland** (published in 2004 and 2017):

- Madden, Finbar & McBride, Jim: History for CCEA GCSE, London: Hodder and Stoughton Educational, 2004 (Madden & McBride, History for CCEA GCSE, 2004)
- Madden, Finbar & Clare, John D.: CCEA GCSE History, London: Hodder Education, 2017, Third Edition (Madden & Clare, 2017)
- 2 **A-level** textbooks from **Northern Ireland** (published in 2018 and 2022):
 - Rees, Russell Dr: Ireland under the Union 1800-1900, for CCEA A2 level, Newtownards: Colourpoint Educational, 2018 (Rees R. D., 2018)
 - Jefferies, Henry: CCEA A2 Unit 2 History, Partition of Ireland 1900-25, London: Hodder Education, 2022 (Jefferies, 2022)

8.4 Appendix 4: Detailed results of the quantitative analysis of British textbooks by historic events

Table 1	Ranking ¹	Absolute numbers						Percentages					
		Out-of-scope	Included			Not included	Total excl. out-of-scope	Included				Not included	Weighed score 2
			In detail	Partially	Very limitedly			In detail	Partially	Very limitedly	Total		
Cromwell wanted to revenge 1641 and the massacres of the roundheads left deep memories in Ireland.	1	63	20	2	4	1	26	74%	7%	15%	96%	4%	81%
1688-1691: Ireland supported James II (the incumbent and Catholic king) against the William III (the Protestant challenger) after the 'Glorious Revolution' took place in England and it found itself once again on the losing side.	2	60	23	3	1	3	27	77%	10%	3%	90%	10%	83%
1845-51: Worst event in Irish History: the Great Famine.	3	61	13	3	9	4	25	45%	10%	31%	86%	14%	58%
12th century: Norman England conquered Ireland but only controlled part of it.	4	58	15	9	1	7	25	47%	28%	3%	78%	22%	62%
In 1641 dispossessed Catholics rebelled persecuting and murdering Protestants.	5	65	15	3	1	6	19	60%	12%	4%	76%	24%	67%
1801: the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland had been established, the Irish Parliament was integrated into Westminster.	6	66	11	5	1	7	17	46%	21%	4%	71%	29%	57%
16th century: several failed Irish Catholic revolts took place against English rule, led by Catholic lords threatened in their property and old customs.	7	57	6	14	3	10	23	18%	42%	9%	70%	30%	42%
Plantations: the Irish equivalent of colonisation. Land was taken from Catholics and given to Protestants from England and Scotland. Some of the reasons were the English fear of Catholic Spain using Ireland against her and the reaction to previous Irish 'rebellions'.	8	52	11	12	3	12	26	29%	32%	8%	68%	32%	47%
Great Famine: from a population of 8m, 1m died and 1m emigrated.	9	62	12	3	4	9	19	43%	11%	14%	68%	32%	52%
Late 19th century: fight for Irish autonomy: 'Home Rule'.	10	57	11	5	6	11	22	33%	15%	18%	67%	33%	45%
1916: Easter Rising by nationalists, not supported by the population.	11	65	12	3	1	9	16	48%	12%	4%	64%	36%	55%
Home Rule finally approved in 1912-14 but postponed due to the First World War.	12	64	13	3	0	10	16	50%	12%	0%	62%	38%	56%
The plan of Irish Home Rule led to resistance from Ulster Protestants, threatening armed conflict.	13	63	11	3	2	11	16	41%	11%	7%	59%	41%	48%
1918-21: elected Irish MPs did not take up their seats in Westminster and instead proclaimed independence: Anglo-Irish War, closed by the Anglo-Irish Treaty establishing the Irish Free State, a dominion of the British Empire.	14	63	9	6	1	11	16	33%	22%	4%	59%	41%	45%
After splitting from Catholicism, Henry VIII had made himself King of Ireland in 1542 and unsuccessfully tried to convert Ireland. The political power was transferred from the Old English to the newly arrived Protestants.	15	56	7	11	2	14	20	21%	32%	6%	59%	41%	38%

1. Defined by the percentage of total included, 1 = highest %, 44 = lowest %
2. 100% weighting for included in detail, 50% for partially, 25% for very limitedly

Table 2	Ranking ¹	Absolute numbers						Percentages					
		Out-of-scope	Included			Not included	Total excl. out-of-scope	Included				Not included	Weighted score ²
			In detail	Partially	Very limitedly			In detail	Partially	Very limitedly	Total		
The British response to the Easter Rising swung public opinion and late 1918 those favouring independence obtained a landslide victory in the elections.	16	66	10	4	0	10	14	42%	17%	0%	58%	42%	50%
12th to 15th centuries: a large part of Ireland remained under control of native Irish lords who lived much like earlier and many Anglo-Irish lords took up Irish customs.	17	52	12	9	1	16	22	32%	24%	3%	58%	42%	44%
Northern Ireland became a sectarian state discriminating against Catholics (in political rights, jobs and housing).	18	64	9	4	2	11	15	35%	15%	8%	58%	42%	44%
After the failure of the 1974 power-sharing, continued terrorist pressure from the Provisional IRA.	19	67	10	2	1	10	13	43%	9%	4%	57%	43%	49%
Following the US example, the discrimination of Catholics led to a civil rights movement in the late 60s.	20	64	6	8	0	12	14	23%	31%	0%	54%	46%	38%
1920: following Ulster Protestant aims, Partition of Ireland creating Northern Ireland.	21	62	10	4	1	13	15	36%	14%	4%	54%	46%	44%
The Troubles: the lack of a peaceful solution to the aims of the civil rights movement led to an armed conflict between the British armed forces, nationalist and loyalist paramilitaries, with many atrocities from all sides.	22	67	5	7	0	11	12	22%	30%	0%	52%	48%	37%
18th century: Penal Laws ensured Protestant domination of Catholics (no political rights, limited property rights, seriously limited religious freedom).	23	55	6	6	5	18	17	17%	17%	14%	49%	51%	29%
Much of the Protestant community and the government of Northern Ireland did not accept the challenge of the civil rights movement.	24	65	4	8	0	13	12	16%	32%	0%	48%	52%	32%
Arguably the Westminster government could have done more to protect its citizens during the Great Famine.	25	62	6	3	4	15	13	21%	11%	14%	46%	54%	30%
Late 19th century: a series of land reforms allowed Irish tenants to obtain fair tenancy terms and later ownership of the land previously owned by absentee landlords.	26	62	6	3	4	15	13	21%	11%	14%	46%	54%	30%
1913-14: Catholics also establish paramilitary organisations.	27	64	9	3	0	14	12	35%	12%	0%	46%	54%	40%
Early 19th century: fight for 'Catholic Emancipation': the right of Catholics to sit in the Westminster Parliament.	28	72	5	2	1	10	8	28%	11%	6%	44%	56%	35%
In 1973 and 1985 Anglo-Irish agreements established a degree of power-sharing between Protestants and Catholics.	29	67	5	5	0	13	10	22%	22%	0%	43%	57%	33%
Failed cross-community uprising in 1798, which however led to the Union with Great Britain.	30	75	2	3	1	9	6	13%	20%	7%	40%	60%	25%

1. Defined by the percentage of total included, 1 = highest %, 44 = lowest %
2. 100% weighting for included in detail, 50% for partially, 25% for very limitedly

Table 3	Ranking ¹	Absolute numbers						Percentages					
		Out-of-scope	Included			Not included	Total excl. out-of-scope	Included				Not included	Weighted score ²
			In detail	Partially	Very limitedly			In detail	Partially	Very limitedly	Total		
1912-14: lack of government intervention against Loyalists.	31	64	4	6	0	16	10	15%	23%	0%	38%	62%	27%
Good Friday (Belfast) Agreement in 1998 in line with 1973 and 1985, featuring power-sharing and North-South collaboration. Arms decommissioning agreed.	32	77	5	0	0	8	5	38%	0%	0%	38%	62%	38%
1972: end of the devolved government in Northern Ireland: direct rule from Westminster.	33	67	6	1	1	15	8	26%	4%	4%	35%	65%	29%
1974 and 1985: Loyalists were not ready to accept the power-sharing formula and thus the 'Troubles' continued.	34	67	5	3	0	15	8	22%	13%	0%	35%	65%	28%
Further emigration after the 1850s: Ireland has never recovered its pre-famine population levels.	35	64	5	3	1	17	9	19%	12%	4%	35%	65%	26%
The new state of Northern Ireland had 2/3 Protestant majority, however many parts - including full counties - had a Catholic majority. The boundaries were not set based on self-determination.	36	64	3	4	2	17	9	12%	15%	8%	35%	65%	21%
Late 19th century: a large part of the British political life was influenced by the Irish question.	37	63	6	2	1	18	9	22%	7%	4%	33%	67%	27%
As a result of the Penal Laws and plantations, only about 5% of the land in Ireland belonged to Catholics by the end of the 18th century.	38	58	5	5	0	22	10	16%	16%	0%	31%	69%	23%
1641: the number of Protestants killed has been exaggerated in England, increasing the public outcry for reprisal.	39	64	3	4	1	18	8	12%	15%	4%	31%	69%	20%
Late 18th century: Protestant-led movement, mainly in Ulster, to achieve similar rights to those of the USA.	40	77	0	3	1	9	4	0%	23%	8%	31%	69%	13%
1949: Eire left the Commonwealth and became a republic	41	66	4	1	1	18	6	17%	4%	4%	25%	75%	20%
1937: Ireland became Eire and loosened its ties with the UK, given the 1931 Statutes of Westminster. At the same time, it established territorial claims on Northern Ireland	42	66	1	4	1	18	6	4%	17%	4%	25%	75%	14%
Second World War: Churchill offered to end partition if Eire joined the Allied	43	68	2	0	0	20	2	9%	0%	0%	9%	91%	9%
Tony Blair in 1997 apologised for lack of action during the Great Famine.	44	75	1	0	0	14	1	7%	0%	0%	7%	93%	7%

1. Defined by the percentage of total included, 1 = highest %, 44 = lowest %
2. 100% weighting for included in detail, 50% for partially, 25% for very limitedly

8.5 Appendix 5: Primary Sources – History of the Kingdom of Hungary

41 **Hungarian** textbooks and 4 history atlases:

- Age 10 (upper primary school, year 5)
 - Filla, István: Történelem és állampolgári ismeretek az általános iskola 5. osztálya számára (History and citizenship for the 5th class of elementary schools), Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó (Textbook Editorial), 1989 (10th edition) (Filla, 1989)
 - Németh, György & Sólyom, Márk: Történelem 5 (History 5), no location (presumably Eger): Oktatókutató és Fejlesztő Intézet (Institute for Educational Research and Development), 2016 (1st edition) (Németh & Sólyom, 2016)
 - Gróf, Péter & Dr. Szabados György: Történelem tankönyv 5 (History textbook 5), Budapest: Oktatási Hivatal (Education Authority), 2020 (Gróf & Dr. Szabados, 2020)
 - Borhegyi, Péter & Dr. Szabados György: Történelem tankönyv 5 (History textbook 5), Budapest: Oktatási Hivatal (Education Authority), 2020 (Borhegyi & Szabados, 2020 (1))
- Age 11 (upper primary school, year 6)
 - Balla, Árpád: Történelem és állampolgári ismeretek az általános iskola 6. osztálya számára (History and citizenship for the 6th class of elementary schools), Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó (Textbook Editorial), 1989 (9th edition) (Balla, 1989)
 - Borhegyi, Péter; Kojanitz, László; Nagy, Lajos; Sólyom, Márk & Tarnóczai, Géza: Történelem 6 (History 6), Eger: Eszterházy Károly Egyetem - Oktatókutató és Fejlesztő Intézet (Eszterházy Károly University – Institute for Educational Research and Development), 2016 (Borhegyi, Kojanitz, Nagy, Sólyom, & Tarnóczai, 2016)

- Dr. Horváth, Andrea; Horváth, Levente Attila; Dr. Kövér, Lajos & Dr. Pelyach István: Történelem 6, A kora újkortól a polgári átalakulásig (History 6, from the early modernity to the bourgeois transformation), Szeged: Mozaik Kiadó, 2017 (1st edition) (Dr. Horváth, Horváth, Dr. Kövér, & Dr. Pelyach, 2017)
- Borhegyi, Péter & Dr. Nánay, Mihály: Történelem Tankönyv 6 (History textbook 6), Budapest: Oktatási Hivatal (Education Authority), 2021 (Borhegyi & Dr. Nánay, 2021 (1))
- Tóth, Attila: Történelem 6 az általános iskolák számára (History 6 for the elementary schools), Budapest: Oktatási Hivatal (Education Authority), 2021 (Tóth, 2021)
- Age 12 (upper primary school, year 7)
 - Devecseri, Lászlóné & Kislaki, Károly: Történelem az általános iskola 7. osztálya számára (History for the 7th class of elementary schools), Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó (Textbook Editorial), 1981 (17th edition) (Devecseri & Kislaki, 1981)
 - Helméczy, Mátyás: Történelem és állampolgári ismeretek az általános iskola 7. osztálya számára (History and citizenship for the 7th class of elementary schools), Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó (Textbook Editorial), 1989 (8th edition) (Dr. Helméczy, 1989)
 - Horváth, Levente Attila; Dr. Kövér, Lajos & Dr. Pelyach István: Történelem 7, az újkor története (History 7, the history of modernity), Szeged: Mozaik Kiadó, 2013 (8th edition) (Horváth, Dr. Kövér, & Dr. Pelyach, 2013)
 - Cieger, András; Zeidler, Miklós; Bartos, Károly; Kojanitz, László & Légrádi, Judit Fruzsina: Történelem Tankönyv 7 (History Textbook 7), Eger: Eszterházy Károly Egyetem (Eszterházy Károly University), 2018 (Cieger, Zeidler, Bartos, Kojanitz, & Légrádi, 2018)
- Age 13 (upper primary school, year 8)
 - Balla, Árpád; Bernáth, János & Dr. Helméczy, Mátyás: Történelem és állampolgári ismeretek az általános iskola 8. osztálya számára, II. kötet

(History and citizenship for the 8th class of elementary schools, 2nd band), Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó (Textbook Editorial), 1988 (5th edition) (Balla, Bernáth, & Dr. Helméczy, 1988)

- Bíró, Ferencné: Történelem és állampolgári ismeretek az általános iskola 8. osztálya számára, I. kötet (History and citizenship for the 8th class of elementary schools, 1st band), Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó (Textbook Editorial), 1989 (6th edition) (Bíró, 1989)
- Horváth, Péter & Ispánovity, Márta: Történelem 8. az általános iskolák számára (History 8 for the elementary schools), Budapest: Oktatási Hivatal (Education Authority), 2016 (Horváth & Ispánovity, 2016)
- Ötvös, István; Katona, András & Bódy, Zsombor: Történelem Tankönyv 8 (History Textbook 8), Eger: Eszterházy Károly Egyetem (Eszterházy Károly University), 2016 (Ötvös, Katona, & Bódy, 2016)
- Age 14 (secondary school class I, year 9)
 - Száray, Miklós: Történelem I. a középiskolák számára (History I for secondary schools), Budapest: Nemzedékek Tudása Tankönyvkiadó (Knowledge of Generations Textbook Editorial), 2001 (Száray, 2001)
 - Czeglédi, Sándor: Történelem I., tankönyv középiskolák részére (History I, textbook for secondary schools), Budapest: Református Pedagógiai Intézet (Protestant Pedagogical Institute), 2012 (Czeglédi, 2012)
 - Dr. Németh György & Borhegyi Péter: Történelem 9 (History 9), Oktatáskutató és Fejlesztő Intézet (Institute for Educational Research and Development), 2016 (dr. Németh & Borhegyi, 2016)
 - Száray, Miklós & Dr. Szabados, György: Történelem tankönyv 9 (History textbook 9), for secondary schools in general, Budapest: Oktatási Hivatal (Education Authority), 2020 (Száray & Dr. Szabados, 2020)
 - Borhegyi, Péter & Dr. Szabados, György: Történelem tankönyv 9 (History textbook 9), for grammar schools, Budapest: Oktatási Hivatal (Education Authority), 2020 (Borhegyi & Szabados, 2020 (2))
- Age 15 (secondary school class II, year 10)

- Dr. Eperjessy, Géza: Történelem a gimnázium II. osztálya számára (History for the 2nd class of grammar schools), Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó (Textbook Editorial), 1987 (7th edition) (Dr. Eperjessy, 1987)
- Walter, Mária: Történelem a gimnázium II. osztálya számára (History for the 2nd class of grammar schools), Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó (Textbook Editorial), 1988 (Walter, 1988)
- Walter, Mária: Történelem a középiskolák II. osztálya számára (History for the 2nd class of secondary schools), Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó (National Textbook Editorial), 1995 (11th edition) (Walter, 1995)
- Ujvári, Pál: Történelem a középiskolák II. osztálya számára (History for the 2nd class of secondary schools), Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó (National Textbook Editorial), 1996 (8th edition) (Ujvári, 1996 (2))
- Szabó, Péter & Závodszy, Géza: Történelem II. a középiskolák számára (History II for the secondary schools), Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó (National Textbook Editorial), 2002 (Szabó & Závodszy, 2002)
- Czeglédi, Sándor: Történelem II., tankönyv középiskolák részére (History II, textbook for secondary schools), Budapest: Református Pedagógiai Intézet (Protestant Pedagogical Institute), 2005 (Czeglédi, 2005)
- Borhegyi. Péter: Történelem 10 (History 10), Eger: Eszterházy Károly Egyetem - Oktatókutatató és Fejlesztő Intézet (Eszterházy Károly University – Institute for Educational Research and Development), 2016 (Borhegyi, 2016)
- Száray, Miklós: Történelem tankönyv 10 (History textbook 10), Budapest: Oktatási Hivatal (Education Authority), 2021 (Száray, 2021)
- Borhegyi. Péter & Dr. Nánay, Mihály: Történelem tankönyv 10 (History textbook 10), Budapest: Oktatási Hivatal (Education Authority), 2021 (Borhegyi & Dr. Nánay, 2021 (2))
- Age 16 (secondary school class III, year 11)
 - Dr. Závodszy, Béla: Történelem a gimnázium III. osztálya számára. Az újkor története (History for the 3rd class of grammar schools. The history

of modernity), Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó (Textbook Editorial), 1987 (8th edition) (Dr. Závodszy, 1987)

- Ujvári, Pál: Történelem a középiskolák III. osztálya számára (History for the 3rd class of secondary schools), Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó (National Textbook Editorial), 1996 (3rd edition) (Ujvári, 1996 (1))
- Dr. Závodszy, Béla: Történelem III. (History 3), Budapest: Nemzedékek Tudása Tankönyvkiadó (Knowledge of Generations Textbook Editorial), 2001 (Dr. Závodszy, 2001)
- Borhegyi, Péter & Paksa, Rudolf: Történelem Tankönyv 11 (History textbook 11), Eger: Eszterházy Károly Egyetem (Eszterházy Károly University), 2018 (Borhegyi & Paksa, 2017)
- Száray, Miklós: Történelem 11 a középiskolák számára (History 11 for the secondary schools), Budapest: Oktatási Hivatal, 2022 (Száray, 2022)
- Borhegyi, Péter & Dr. Nánay, Mihály: Történelem tankönyv 11 (History textbook 11), Budapest, Oktatási Hivatal, 2022 (Borhegyi & Dr. Nánay, 2022)
- Age 17 (secondary school class IV, year 12)
 - Jóvért Szirtes, Ágota: Történelem a gimnázium IV. osztálya számára. A legújabb kor története (History for the 4th class of grammar schools. Contemporary history), Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó (Textbook Editorial), 1984 (3rd edition) (Jóvért Szirtes, 1984)
 - Salamon, Konrád: Történelem IV. a középiskolák számára (History IV for the secondary schools), Budapest: Nemzedékek Tudása Tankönyvkiadó (Knowledge of Generations Textbook Editorial), 1999 (Salamon, 1999)
 - Czeglédi, Sándor: Történelem IV., tankönyv középiskolák részére (History IV, textbook for secondary schools), Budapest: Református Pedagógiai Intézet (Protestant Pedagogical Institute), 2007 (Czeglédi, 2007)
 - Borhegyi, Péter; Bódy, Zsombor & Kojanitz, László: Történelem Tankönyv 12 (History textbook 12), Eger: Eszterházy Károly Egyetem (Eszterházy Károly University), 2017 (Borhegyi, Bódy, & Kojanitz, 2017)

- History atlases
 - Kartográfiai Vállalat: Történelmi Atlasz a középiskolák számára (Historical atlas for the secondary schools), Budapest: Kartográfiai Vállalat (Cartographical Company), 1986 (3rd edition) (Kartográfiai Vállalat, 1986)
 - Cartographia Kft.: Középiskolai Történelmi Atlasz (Secondary School Historical atlas), Budapest: Cartographia Kft., 1998 (Cartographia Kft, 1998)
 - Katona, András (ed.): Történelmi Atlasz középiskoláknak (Historical atlas for the secondary schools), no location (probably Budapest): Oktatási Hivatal - Oktatókutató és Fejlesztő Intézet (Education Authority – Institute for Educational Research and Development), 2017 (Katona, 2017)
 - Katona, András (ed.): Képes Történelmi Atlasz 10-16 éveseknek (Historical picture atlas for 10-16 years old), Budapest: Oktatási Hivatal - Oktatókutató és Fejlesztő Intézet (Education Authority – Institute for Educational Research and Development), 2019 (Katona, 2019)

7 **Austrian** textbooks:

- Age 11 (year 6)
 - Wald, Anton; Scheucher, Alois; Scheipl, Josef & Ebenhoch, Ulrike: Zeitbilder 2, Von der Urgeschichte bis zum Mittelalter (Time Pictures 2, From prehistory to the middle ages), Vienna: Österreichische Bundesverlag Schulbuch GmbH & Co. KG, 2017 (1st edition) (Wald, Scheucher, Scheipl, & Ebenhoch, 2017)
- Age 12 (year 7)
 - Scheucher, Alois; Wald, Anton & Ebenhoch, Ulrike: Zeitbilder 3, Von der Beginn der Neuzeit bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg (Time Pictures 3, From the start of Modernity to the First World War), Vienna: Österreichische Bundesverlag Schulbuch GmbH & Co. KG, 2018 (1st edition) (Scheucher, Wald, & Ebenhoch, 2018)

- Age 13 (year 8)
 - Ebenhoch, Ulrike; Kronberger-Schmid, Barbara; Scheucher, Alois & Wald, Anton: Zeitbilder 4, Geschichte, Sozialkunde und Politische Bildung (Time Pictures 3, History, Social Studies and Political Education), Vienna: Österreichische Bundesverlag Schulbuch GmbH & Co. KG, 2019 (1st edition) (Ebenhoch, Kronberger-Schmid, Scheucher, & Wald, 2019)
- Age 14 (year 9)
 - Scheipl, Josef; Scheucher, Alois & Ebenhoch, Ulrike: Zeitbilder OS SB 5, Vom der Antike bis zum Ende des Mittelalters (Time Pictures OS SB 5, From the antiquity until the end of the middle ages), Vienna: Österreichische Bundesverlag Schulbuch GmbH & Co. KG, 2017 (1st edition) (Scheipl, Scheucher, & Ebenhoch, 2017)
- Age 15 (year 10)
 - Scheucher, Alois; Ebenhoch, Ulrike; Staudinger, Eduard & Scheipl, Josef: Zeitbilder 6, Vom Beginn der Neuzeit bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges (Time Pictures 6, From start of the modernity until the end of the First World War), Vienna: Österreichische Bundesverlag Schulbuch GmbH & Co. KG, 2018 (1st edition) (Scheucher, Ebenhoch, Staudinger, & Scheipl, 2018)
- Age 16 (year 11)
 - Staudinger, Eduard; Ebenhoch, Ulrike; Scheucher, Alois & Scheipl, Josef: Zeitbilder OS SB 7, Vom Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges bis in die Gegenwart (Time Pictures OS SB 7, From end of the First World War until present), Vienna: Österreichische Bundesverlag Schulbuch GmbH & Co. KG, 2019 (1st edition) (Staudinger, Ebenhoch, Scheucher, & Scheipl, 2019)
- Age 17 (year 12)
 - Scheucher, Alois; Staudinger, Eduard; Scheipl, Josef & Ebenhoch, Ulrike: Zeitbilder OS SB 8, Vom Beginn der Zweiten Republik bis in die Gegenwart (Time Pictures OS SB 8, From start of the Second Republic until present), Vienna: Österreichische Bundesverlag Schulbuch GmbH &

Co. KG, 2020 (1st edition) (Scheucher, Staudinger, Scheipl, & Ebenhoch, 2020)

5 Slovakian textbooks:

- Age 11 (primary school year 6)
 - Skladaný, Marián; Jílek, Tomáš; Badurík, Jozef & Butvinová, Marta: Történelem az alapiskola 6. osztálya számára (History for the 6th class of elementary schools), Translated by Párkány, Antal, Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo, 1989 (2nd edition) (Skladaný, Jílek, Badurík, & Butinová, 1989)
- Age 12 (primary school year 7)
 - Jílek, Tomáš; Dohnal, Milon & Butvinová, Marta: Történelem az alapiskola 7. osztálya számára, 1. kötet (History for the 7th class of elementary schools, First band), Translated by Párkány, Antal & Hamzová, Valéria, Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo, 1982 (Jílek, Dohnal, & Butinová - 1, 1982)
 - Jílek, Tomáš; Dohnal, Milon & Butvinová, Marta: Történelem az alapiskola 7. osztálya számára, 2. kötet (History for the 7th class of elementary schools, Second band), Translated by Hamzová, Valéria & Párkány, Antal, Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo, 1982 (1st edition) (Jílek, Dohnal, & Butinová - 2, 1982)
- Age 14 (secondary school class I, year 9)
 - Kovács, László; Simon, Attila & Simon, Beáta: Történelem a gimnázium 1. osztálya számára (History for the 1st class of grammar schools), Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo, 2006 (1st edition) (Kovács, Simon, & Simon, 2006)
- Age 15 (secondary school class II, year 10)
 - Elek, József; Kovács, László & Simon, Attila: Történelem a gimnázium 2. osztálya számára (History for the 2nd class of grammar schools),

Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo, 2007 (1st edition)
(Elek, Kovács, & Simon, 2007)

3 **Ukrainian (Soviet)** textbooks

- Age 12 (year 7)
 - Agibalova, J.V. & Donszkoj, G.M.: A középkor története, tankönyv a 7. osztály számára (Medieval history, textbook for the 7th class), Translated by Barzsó, Tibor, Kijev-Uzsgorod: Ragyanszka Skola Kiadó, 1991 (2nd edition) (Agibalova & Donszkoj, 1991)
- Age 14 (year 9)
 - Narocsnyickij, A.L.; Averjanov, A.P.; Jelimov, A.V. & Kertman, L.K.: Az újkor története 1640-1870. Tankönyv a középiskolák 9. osztálya számára (History of the modernity 1640-1870. Textbook for the 9th class of secondary schools), Translated by Tárczy, Andor, Kijev-Uzsgorod: Ragyanszka Skola Kiadó, 1987 (Narocsnyickij, Averjanov, Jefimov, & Kertman, 1987)
- Age 15 (year 10)
 - Averjanov, A.P.; Kertman, L.K.; Krivoguz, I.M.; Manuszevics, A.J.; Manfred, V.A.; Orlov, V.A. & Furszenko, A.A.: Az újkor története 1871-1917. Tankönyv a középiskolák 10. osztálya számára (History of the modernity 1871-1917. Textbook for the 10th class of secondary schools), Translated by Rohány, Gyula, Kijev-Uzsgorod: Ragyanszka Skola Kiadó, 1989 (Averjanov, et al., 1989)

16 **Romanian** textbooks, of which 14 are translations from Romanian and 2 specific textbooks written for the Hungarian minority in Romania

- Age 9 (year 4)
 - Almas, Dumitru & Fotescu, Eleonora: Hazánk története. Tankönyv a IV. Osztály számára (The history of our homeland. Textbook for the 4th class).

Bucharest: Editura Didactica Si Pedagogica, 1981 (Almas & Fotescu, 1981)

- Ochescu, Maria & Oane, Sorin: A románok története. Tankönyv a IV. osztály számára (The history of Romanians. Textbook for the 4th class), Translated by Kerekes, György. Bucharest: Teora, 1998 (Ochescu & Oane, 1998)
- Mihailescu, Cleopatra & Pitila, Tudora: Történelem IV. osztály (History 4th class), Translated by Török, Tamás; Zatoschil Ballai, Zsuzsa & Albert, Andrea, Bucharest: Aramis Print, 2018 (Mihailescu & Pitila, 2018)
- Age 10 (year 5)
 - Ghiorghita, Liuba & Oane, Soria: Történelem tankönyv az V. osztály számára (History textbook for the 5th class), Translated by Kerekes, György, Bucharest: Teora, 1998 (Ghiorghita & Oane, 1998)
- Age 11 (year 6)
 - Pippidi, Andrei; Dvorski, Monica & Grosu, Ioan: Történelem tankönyv a VI. osztály számára (History for the 6th class), Translated by Jancsó, Árpád, Bucharest: Editura CORINT, n.d. (however, based on a reference, it is posterior to 1996) (Pippidi, Dvorski, & Grosu, c.1997)
 - Stan, Magda: Történelem tankönyv a VI. osztály számára (History for the 6th class), Translated by Sipos, István; Imre, Zsolt-József & László, László, Bucharest: Editura Didactica Si Pedagogica, 2019 (Stan, 2019)
- Age 12 (year 7)
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 - Kádár, Gyula: Adalékok a romániai magyarság történetéhez, I. A magyarság története kezdeteitől 1541-ig (Addendum to the history of the Hungarians in Romania, Part I, The history of Hungarians from its beginnings to 1541), Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sfântu Gheorghe): Háromszék Kiadóvállalat, 1991 (Kádár, 1991)
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 - Stefanovics, Danijela; Ferjancic, Snezana & Nedeljkovic, Zorica: Történelem az általános iskola 5. osztálya számára (History for the 5th class of elementary schools), Translated by Hardi Irsai, Angéla, Belgrade: Zavod za udzbenike, 2007 (1st edition) (Stefanovics, Ferjancic, & Nedeljkovic, 2007)
- Age 11 (upper primary school, year 6)
 - Mihaljcic, Rade: Történelem az általános iskola hatodik osztálya számára (History for the 6th class of elementary schools), Translated by and the specific section related to the Hungarian history written by Hardi Irsai, Angéla, Belgrade: Zavod za udzbenike, 2016 (2nd edition) (Mihaljcic, 2016)
- Age 12 (upper primary school, year 7)
 - T. Batakovic, Dusan: Történelem az általános iskolák 7. osztálya számára (History for the 7th class of elementary schools), Translated by Hardi Irsai,

Angéla, the specific section related to the Hungarian history written by Csehák, Kálmán & Pál, Tibor, Belgrade: Zavod za udzbenike, 2019 (2nd edition) (Batakovic, 2019)

- Age 13 (upper primary school, year 8)
 - Kovacevic, Dusko M.; Mikavica, Dejan; Baslin, Branko & Simunovic-Beslin, Biljana: Történelem az általános iskola 8. osztálya számára (History for the 8th class of elementary schools), Translated by and the specific section related to the Hungarian history written by Pál, Tibor, Belgrade: Zavod za udzbenike I nastavna sredstva, 2002 (1st edition) (Kovacevic, Mikavica, Baslin, & Simunovic-Beslin, 2002)
 - Rajic, Suzana; Nikolic, Kosta & Jovanovic, Nebojsa: Történelem az általános iskola 8. osztálya számára (History for the 8th class of elementary schools), Translated by Zséli, Kornélia & Pál, Tibor, the specific section related to the Hungarian history written by Pál, Tibor, Belgrade: Zavod za udzbenike, 2009 (2nd edition) (Rajic, Nikolic, & Jovanovic, 2009)
 - Duric, Dorde & Pavlovic, Momcilo: Történelem az általános iskola nyolcadik osztálya számára (History for the 8th class of elementary schools), Translated by Fülöp, Gábor, Belgrade: Zavod za udzbenike, 2019 (2nd edition) (Duric & Pavlovic, 2019)
- Age 14 (secondary school, year 1)
 - Gacesa, Nicola; Perovic, Milutin; Popov, Cedomir; Rakic, Lazar; Csehák, Kálmán: Történelem az egységes közepfokú nevelés és oktatás I. osztálya számára [History for the first class of the unified secondary school education]. Novi Sad: Tankönyvkiadó Intézet / Zavodza Izdavanja Udzbenika, 1979 (Gacesa, Perovic, Popov, Rakic, & Csehák, 1979)
 - Ferjancic, Snezana & Katic, Tatjana: Történelem a gimnáziumok I. osztálya számára (History for the 1st class of grammar schools), Translated by Fülöp, Gábor, Belgrade: Zavod za udzbenike I nastavna sredstva, 2005 (1st edition) (Ferjancic & Katic, 2005)
- Age 15 (secondary school, year 2)

- Marjanovic-Dusanic, Smilja & Suica, Marko: Történelem az általános, illetve a társadalomtudományi és nyelvi gimnáziumok II. osztálya számára (History for the 2st class of general, social sciences or language grammar schools), Translated by Fülöp, Gábor, the specific section related to the Hungarian history written by Pál, Tibor, Belgrade: Zavod za udzbenike, 2011 (1st edition) (Marjanovic-Dusanic & Suica, 2011)

8.6 Appendix 6: History narrative of the Kingdom of Hungary

As previously mentioned, also for the comparative case study a narrative of the relevant historic events has been prepared. I have also mentioned that for analysing the history teaching of the Kingdom of Hungary during the Habsburg Empire it did not make much sense to use this narrative as an exhaustive guide for a quantitative analysis, given the lack of sufficient sample size, the fact that the main differences are on a higher macro level and also because it is very difficult to establish a combined narrative considering that large parts of the shared history are contested. Nevertheless, I believe it could be of considerable benefit for the readers of this thesis – who might not be very familiar with the history of this region – that I reproduce below my narrative of the relevant events. Most of the events are of common knowledge, thus they do not require references, nevertheless I have marked the sources in case of affirmations which could form part of contested history:

895/6-907 Hungarian Conquest of the Carpathian basin, previously part of three different entities: Great-Moravia, the Frankish Empire and the First Bulgarian Empire. Estimated 400,000 Hungarians outnumbering about half as many autochthonous Slav, Germanic, Avar and Daco-Romanian population (Bidelaux & Jeffries, 1998, p. 193). Probable date of finalising Moravian rule within the Carpathian Mountains: 907 (battle of Pozsony-Bratislava-Pressburg, Hungarian win over the Bavarian army). Significant influence of the Slav language in the Hungarian, e.g. many words related to Christianity come from Southern Slavic, others from German. (Ács, 1986, pp. 26-27) A duchy is created around Nyitra, governed by the heir to the Hungarian leadership. (Szarka, c. 1993, p. 40) The population of a few North-Western counties remains Slav until the 13th century. (Ács, 1986, pp. 90-91) Lack of agreement about the presence of Romanians in Transylvania (e.g. theory of Daco-Romanian continuity or of immigration) at this time. My personal point of view is that it is equally unlikely that a) each and every Daco-Romanian would have left the area after the withdrawal of the Roman Empire c. 271 and that b) a large Romanised population and state

structure remained there without much written record for nearly 1,000 years. Also lack of agreement about when Hungarians reached Transylvania and the Carpathians in general (e.g. dates vary between the early 10th to the late 11th centuries).²⁴⁸

- Until 955 Hungarians plunder most of Western Europe.
- 1000/1 Establishment of the Kingdom of Hungary with St Stephen I (István), who obtains a crown from the Pope, which implies independence from the Holy Roman Empire. His father, Géza, already converted in 973 by a Bavarian bishop. Earlier, in 953, Byzantine Christianisation of the Transylvanian leader ('gyula') named Zombor (father of Stephen's wife) (Ács, 1986, pp. 26-27) (Wikipedia re. gyula, 2022).
- 11th century Stephen establishes 10 bishoprics but leaves buffer zones in the mountainous border-areas.
- 11th century The kingdom's population is multi-ethnic: apart from the population there before the Hungarian conquest, and the Hungarians, also 'guests' (hospes) arrive mainly from Western Europe. Compared to the size of the country, the population was small e.g. around 1m (Ács, 1986, p. 30). Official language is Latin.

²⁴⁸ A remarkable narrative can be found in Alexandru Madgearu's *The Romanians in the Anonymous Gesta Hungarorum, Truth and Fiction*. Although the author undoubtedly represents the continuity theory ("mobile continuity": a *Romania antiqua*, where Romanized people survived, and whence Romanians spread in the Slavized areas. *Romania antiqua* was composed of several islands, the most important located in central and western Transylvania.' (Madgearu, 2005, p. 144)), in his review he also criticises a significant number of previous Romanian authors and he concludes that the only 'Romanian' entity was in Northern Transylvania, under Gelou, established sometimes in the 9th century, with Romanian and Slav population, extending not much beyond the current county of Cluj and which had been conquered by the Hungarians around 930. The entity in Southern Transylvania and the Banat (to the south of the river Maros-Mures) is described as part of the Bulgarian Empire, and also has been conquered by the Hungarians around 930. He also adds that both became part of Saint Stephen's kingdom around 1003, after the king winning against the local Hungarian chieftain. His analysis also demonstrates that the narrative included in the *Gesta Hungarorum* (which is the only historic source of Gelou and of the other two rulers Glad and Menemorout) that one of Árpád's chieftain's Töhötöm won against Gelou and consequently Gelou's followers swore fealty to Töhötöm must be wrong, as it happened about 30 years later, by another Hungarian chieftain and no swearing took place. He also adds that 'no doubt, the source is a tendentious and propagandistic work that left aside events not suitable with this exultation over the Hungarian past' (Madgearu, 2005, p. 21), however still considers the existence of Gelou proven in essence based on this only written source (plus on the potential reason that a place name Gilau also exists). Another important point in the book is the description of the existence of some Romanised population in Pannonia at the arrival of the Hungarians, mixed with Slavs. In my opinion, the above work describes credibly that there had been some Romanised population in both Pannonia and Transylvania when the Hungarians conquered the territory (even if 'Christian objects (...) disappear in Transylvania after the 7th century' (Madgearu, 2005, p. 141)), however it fails to prove the existence of a 'Romanian' political entity.

- 1102 Personal union with the Kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia, which becomes a land of the Hungarian Crown. A governor (bán), deputy of the king, is appointed.
- 12th century Holy Crown: the crown represents the nation, which consists of the nobility, the king is not considered the sovereign, the sovereign is the crown, the king only preserves the crown.
- 1222 Golden Bull, limiting royal rights, start of regular parliaments, it declares that the entire nobility enjoys the same rights and the right of armed resistance of the nobility against the king (the king's economic strength declined due to leading participation in the 5th crusade and granting too much of the lands of the crown to nobles).
- 1224 Privilegium Andreanum, describes the collective privileges of the 'Saxons' (they came from all parts of the Holy German Empire) in Hungary (settled in Transylvania in the previous century around 1160, their autonomy remains under 1876). The 'Saxons' of Zips (in Upper Hungary) receive their privileges in 1271, forming a system independent from the counties, developing the cities and in them industry and commerce (Bellér, 1981, pp. 21-24, 113).
- 1241/42 Mongol invasion, leading to 20-60% population loss, more on the plains (Britannica/Hungary/History, n.d.). As a result of the scarcity of labour the peasants' rights remain considerably high (e.g. freedom of movement). The king impulses the construction of stone castles by nobles (for which he donates them land), establishment of heavy cavalry. This allows to successfully defeat the second Mongol invasion in 1285.
- 13th century Settlement of the Cummins and Jassins, fleeing from the Mongols, and of other peoples from neighbouring countries after the Mongol Invasion. The Cummins and Jassins integrate slowly into the feudalistic system and Christianity (up to the 15th century) and the Jassins maintain their territorial autonomy until 1876 (Ács, 1986, pp. 78-90). In medieval times, there were 35 villages in 27 different counties which name was 'German' (Németi), 8 villages in 7 counties called 'Italian' (Olaszi), 17 villages in 15 counties 'Czech' (Csehi), 12 villages in 10 counties 'Croatian' (Horváti), 17 villages

- in 15 counties 'Russian' (Oroszi) and 13 villages in 9 counties Slovakian (Tóti), showing results of immigration (Ács, 1986, p. 92).
- 1278 Ladislaus IV The Cummin (Kun László) with his Cummin cavalry supports Rudolf of Habsburg against Ottokar (Czech King) in the decisive Battle of Marchfeld at Dürnkrut in Austria, allowing the Habsburgs to obtain the lands which later became Austria.
- 13th-14th centuries Documented presence of Romanians/Vlachs in Transylvania (many including the permission to settle in a given land), ennobling their leaders (who merge into the Hungarian nobility). Typical form of taxation is different from the rest: 1/50th of the sheep (Ács, 1986, pp. 95-99).
- 13th-14th centuries Universitas Valachorum: Vlachs are invited to the Transylvanian Estates in 1288, 1291 and 1355.
- 1301-8 After the extinction of the House of Árpád, interregnum, oligarchs and finally Angevins on the throne: Charles I Robert (1308-1342, Károly Róbert). During the interregnum Máté Csák in Upper Hungary is one of the most influential magnates.
- 14th century The Kingdom of Hungary as a major regional force: Bosnia, Serbia, Wallachia and Moldavia vassals for some time.
- 1330 Wallachia becomes independent under Basarab, Charles I Robert tries to re-establish the dependence but is beaten back. Basarab builds an independent church structure with the establishment of the orthodox archbishopric of so-called 'Ungro-Vlachia'. The language used in his church and administration is Old Church Slav, the alphabet is Cyrillic (until the 19th century).
- 1335 Meeting in Visegrád of the Hungarian, Czech and Polish kings to agree trade routes which bypass Vienna.
- 1342-1382 'Golden Age' of the medieval Hungary under Louis I the Great (1342-1382, Nagy Lajos), who in 1370 also becomes King of Poland.
- 1351 Louis I the Great renews the Golden Bull, however noble landholdings cannot be sold or lost, after death of a noble family their landholding returns to the king.
- 1359 Bogdan establishes the independence of Moldavia against Louis I the Great. (Bogdan and other settlers seem to have originated from Máramaros county of Hungary before).

- 14th century Increase of silver and gold mining, providing around a third of the production of the known world, mining driven mainly by German settlers in Upper Hungary around the 7 mining towns. These towns do not form part of the Zips (lying further West) (Ács, 1986, pp. 70-75).
- 1381 Privilegium pro Slavis by Louis the Great, giving the Slavs of Zsolna-Zilina-Sillein equal rights as the Germans already enjoyed, taking part in the self-governance of the city. Similar fights in other cities between Germans and Hungarians, e.g. between 1403 and 1438 only Germans can be judges or public servants in the city of Buda-Ofen, which is the capital of the Kingdom of Hungary (Bellér, 1981, pp. 32-34)
- 1387-1437 Sigismund (Zsigmond) I of Luxemburg inherits the throne, long fights with oligarchs during prolonged civil war, he later also becomes Holy Roman Emperor and King of Bohemia.
- 1389 After Serbia losing the battle of Kosovo, direct conflicts with the Ottomans start. Sigismund leads a crusade against the Ottomans in 1396, but is beaten. In order to obtain a strong ally, also Mircea cel Batrin recognises Sigismund's over-lordship in Wallachia, Sigismund helps him to recover the territory but after insufficient support from Sigismund, from 1417, Mircea pays tribute to the Sultan (Szász, c. 1993, pp. 29-30).
- 1412 Sigismund mortgages 13 Zips towns to the Polish king.
- 1420 Final loss of Dalmatia to the Venetians.
- Early 15th century Sigismund tries to establish vassal states against Ottomans in Wallachia and giving lands to Serbs (e.g. 1404 agreement with Stephan Lazarevich, who recognises the over-lordship of Sigismund, and receives land in many places around Hungary, including the North-East), the population between the Danube and the Sava becomes Serbian (Ács, 1986, pp. 108-109).
- Early 15th century Sigismund as emperor fights followers of Huss, some of them enter Upper Hungary (today Slovakia) in 1428 and 1433, burnings and sacking towns
- 1437 Peasants' revolt in Transylvania (Hungarians and Romanians/Vlachs): Union of the Three Nations (Unio Trium Nationum) to defeat them: Saxon and Szekler leaders and (mostly Hungarian) Noblemen, which persist as the ruling classes of Transylvania until the 19th century.

- 1437-39 First Habsburg ruler elected, Albert I (also Duke of Austria and King of Bohemia).
- 1440-44 As Albert's posthumous son is still a baby, the Diet elects Vladislav of Poland as king (I. Ulászló). Albert's widow does not want to give up her rights and calls in Jan Jiskra with Czech mercenaries who effectively control Upper Hungary, also propagating Hussitism. After Vladislav's death Jiskra still keeps control of most of Upper Hungary until 1452 (several battles with John Hunyadi), returns in 1457 and supports Matthias from 1462 (Wikipedia re. Jan Jiskra, 2022).
- 1443-1444 Failed multi-national crusade against the Turks led by Vladislav (Ulászló) and John (János) Hunyadi reaching Sofia and Varna.
- 1444-1457 Second Habsburg ruler elected, Ladislaus V (László), posthumous son of Albert I. John Hunyadi, son of a Wallachian who serving Sigismund received estates in Transylvania, becomes governor of Hungary until 1453 and commander-in-chief until 1456.
- 1448-1477 Vlad Tepes is voivode of Wallachia on 3 occasions, navigating between the Ottomans and the Kingdom of Hungary. 1456 and 1476 he regains power with help of the Kingdom of Hungary. Successful fights against the Turks, however he flees to Transylvania in 1462 and from 1462 to 1475 he is a prisoner of King Matthias of Hungary, for his acts against the Saxons of Brassó-Brasov-Kronstadt (earlier impalements) and for supposedly supporting the Ottomans (Wikipedia re. Vlad Tepes, n.d.).
- 1456 Successful defence of Belgrade (Nándorfehérvár) against Ottomans by John Hunyadi, he dies after the siege.
- 1458-90 Matthias (Mátyás) I Hunyadi (Corvinus), strong central power and professional army (the 'Black Army' also including Czech, Hungarian and Serbian – Hussar - cavalry) based on increased taxation. Limited success to fight to Turks (e.g. Bosnia), settlement of over 200,000 Serbians (giving them privileges so that other people from the Balkans can follow their example) (Ács, 1986, p. 110), successful military campaigns to the West (holding Moravia and Silesia for nearly 20 years and Vienna for 5 years), prominent renaissance culture, large library.

- 1490-1516 Hungarian nobles, after losing influence during Mathias and fearing strong royal power, elect the Bohemian King Vladislav as Hungarian King (Ulászló II). Perish of the Black Army due to lack of financing.
- End of 15th century It is estimated that around 20-33% of the country's population could be non-ethnic Magyar:
 'By the end of the 15th century, the Slovaks and Ruthens of the north, the Germans of the free boroughs, Szepes (Zips), and Transylvania, and the Vlachs, or Romanians, of the country's eastern region numbered hardly more than 20 to 25 percent of the total.' (Britannica/Hungary/History, n.d.)
- On the other hand, a 2017 Hungarian historical atlas estimates the share of Hungarians being 66% of a total of 3.1m including Slavonia and Transylvania (Katona, 2017, p. 23).
- From 15th century The Hungarian economy focuses on agricultural production (mainly livestock) and mining, leaving industry and trade in the hands of foreigners and participating very little in the new trade routes that result from the 'discoveries'. Additionally, its mines become a monopoly of the Fuggers and lose importance (Bidelaux & Jeffries, 1998, pp. 203-204, 207) (Ács, 1986, pp. 75-78).
- 1514 A planned crusade against the Ottomans turns into a peasant rebellion led by George (György) Dózsa (executed in extreme torture). After its defeat serfs are bound to the land and are liable for one day's labour service per week. The nobility summarises the law in Verböczy's Tripartitum.
- 1526 Weak royal power under the teenage Louis II (Lajos, 1516-1526), disastrous royal finances, lack of unity among magnates and the fear of peasants lead to the loss of Belgrade in 1521 and in 1526 to a devastating Ottoman victory at Mohács and the sacking of Buda, huge number of captives being brought to Turkey. 2 new kings elected by two different Diets, Ferdinand I of Habsburg and John (János) I Szapolyai. The territory of the country is effectively split into 2 (West vs. East). The Croatian Diet (Sabor) also supports Ferdinand in January 1527 and the Slavonians support Szapolyai.
- 1529 Szapolyai swears fealty to the Turks, the Turkish army supports him.
- 1529 Unsuccessful siege of Vienna by the Ottomans.

- 1532 Siege of Köszeg, effectively stopping the Turks to reach Vienna again.
- 1520-30s Immigration of about 60-100,000 Croatians to Western Hungary and Austria: 54 villages in county Vas, 51 in county Sopron, 4 in county Moson, 2 in county Zala, 2 in county Győr, 54 in Lower Austria and 20 in county Pozsony and Moravia (Ács, 1986, p. 114).
- 1538 Treaty between Szapolyai and Ferdinand, delimiting the Eastern Kingdom of Hungary. If Szapolyai dies without a heir, Ferdinand becomes sole king.
- 1540 Szapolyai dies but an heir is born before his death, John II Sigismund (János Zsigmond) of Szapolyai, thus no unification.
- 1541 The Ottomans occupy Buda and the central part of Hungary, the country is split into three.
- From 1541 The Northern and Western part (including Croatia) is under Habsburg rule as Royal Hungary (Britannica/Hungary/History, n.d.). The Hungarian Diet and the crown are moved to Pozsony-Bratislava-Pressburg, where also the coronations take place. Royal Hungary does not form part of the Holy Roman Empire and is ruled by its own laws, which needs to be specifically accepted by each (Habsburg) king at the coronation oath. However: 'ever since the original disaster at the Battle of Mohács the Hungarian lands have been used as a buffer and their inhabitants seen as expendable' (Winder, 2013, p. 344).
- From 1541 Many nobles and ethnic Hungarians move north from the Turkish occupied territory, moving north the Hungarian-Slovakian language border. (Szarka, c. 1993, p. 60) Many of them assimilate into the Slovakian surroundings. (Ács, 1986, p. 206) Most nobles settle in the cities keeping their tax exemption, in 1608 all cities are obliged to let nobles build or buy houses. (Bellér, 1981, pp. 46-47) The Diet of 1608 also approves that in the cities where Germans, Hungarians and Slovaks live together, they have to elect the members of the city council together and in turns (Szarka, c. 1993, p. 67). At the same time, Serbians are settled into the Turkish occupied territories, which earlier became inhabited (Ács, 1986, p. 136).
- From 1541 Foreign soldiers of the fortresses are not always paid by the Habsburgs and in these cases sometimes they revolt or give up the castles. Tax income from Hungary provides for approximately half of the annual cost of

- manning and maintaining the fortresses, the rest comes from other Habsburg territories (Szabó & Závodszky, 2002, p. 182).
- From Small-scale ‘excursions’ across the border from both sides, also collecting
- 1541 taxes from serfs/peasants beyond the borders (who thus have an effective double taxation)
- 1552 Unsuccessful siege of Eger, but many other fortresses are lost.
- 1566 Siege of Szigetvár. Suleiman aims to reach Vienna again; however, he loses too much time in the siege of Szigetvár and it becomes too late before winter. Suleiman dies during the siege. Michael (Miklós) Zrínyi and the remaining defenders decide to die fighting. Zrínyi comes from a Croatian noble family, he was Croatian Ban previously, although he obtained significant landholdings in Hungary proper and became a Hungarian aristocrat.
- 1568 Peace of Adrianople (today Edirne), accepting Turkish ownership of the territory gained, the Emperor pays a 30,000 Hungarian gold forints ‘gift’ per year.
- 1557-1568 Religious freedom: the Diet of Transylvania first allows Lutheranism (Evangelical Church) and then also Calvinism (Reformed Church) and Unitarism. The Christian Orthodox religion is tolerated, although stone-built churches are not allowed. In 1571 an Orthodox bishopric is established by Prince Stephan Báthory in Gyulafehérvár-Alba Iulia-Weissenburg. Religious books printed in Romanian to foster advance of Protestantism. Debrecen is the religious centre of Calvinism, with a university college.
- But the Calvinism of Transylvania’s rulers became a crucial, perhaps unintended element in Hungarian resistance to Habsburg rule. Indeed, it could be argued that it was the shelter provided by the Ottomans for Hungarians Calvinism that kept Hungary alive as an idea and prevented the whole lot from succumbing to an invasion of Body-Snatchers-style fate as pliant Austrian peasants. The implosion of the independent principality later in the seventeenth century did not change this: as long as the Habsburg defined themselves by their Catholicism (which they always did now, despite occasional gestures), the plurality of Transylvania remained as an alternative model and core of Hungarian self-belief. (Winder, 2013, p. 214)

1570 Treaty of Speyer which ends the existence of 2 respective kings and recognises Szapolyai John Sigismund as Prince of Transylvania and Lord of Part of the Kingdom of Hungary ('Partium'), technically as a vassal of the Habsburg King Maximilian I (Miksa). In practice, the Principality of Transylvania pays tributes to the Ottomans, however enjoys a high degree of autonomy even in foreign policy. It has its own Diet based on the 3 nations, the princes are elected by the Diet. Transylvania's annual tax to the Ottomans is relatively low, apparently 15,000 gold in 1575, while Moldova's 60,000 and Wallachia's 155,000. High taxes in Moldova and Wallachia also impelled immigration into Transylvania (Szász, c. 1993, pp. 34-35).

Bethlen and his predecessors carved out for themselves an autonomy from the Turks sufficient to make them rulers of an at least semi-independent Hungarian state, although one that always operated in the knowledge that it could be annihilated by Constantinople if it stepped too far out of line. (Winder, 2013, p. 212)

1571-1586 Stephan (István) Báthory is the Prince of Transylvania, from 1576 also King of Poland.

End of 16th century Most of Hungary becomes Protestant. Lutheranism is predominant among ethnic Germans (in the towns) and Slovaks (in Upper Hungary), Calvinism among Hungarians and Unitarianism has followers among Hungarians in Transylvania. Significant printing activity in many languages of the country (Bidelaux & Jeffries, 1998, p. 209).

17th century Ongoing Counter-Reformation in Royal Hungary, one of the main figures is Péter Pázmány, archbishop of Esztergom from 1616 to 1637, coinciding with Ferdinand II's rule (1619-1637). As a result, many aristocrats return to the Catholic faith and Catholic and Protestant nobles look at each other as enemies. Establishment of a university at Nagyszombat-Trnava-Tyrnau in 1635.

1586-1602 Sigismund (Zsigmond) Báthory as Prince of Transylvania joins the Holy League against the Ottomans in 1595, in 1595 both Wallachia and Moldavia accept his over-lordship. Successful battles against the Turks, together with Michael the Brave and the Moldavians. He abdicates several times (Szász, c. 1993, p. 40)

- 1591/3-1606 Long Turkish War, ended by the Peace of Zsitvatorok-Radvaň nad Dunajom. Important fortresses lost: Esztergom, Kanizsa, Eger. Many other castles changed ownership several times, on the entire front.
- 1599-1601 Michael the Brave (Vitéz Mihály), from Walachia - with the support of the Szeklers (who rebelled against the withdrawal of their privileges by the Transylvanian rulers) - becomes ruler of Transylvania for 11 months (governor in the name of Rudolf, Habsburg Emperor), from 1600 for a short period also rules Moldavia. He does not change the composition of the ruling estates/nations, but helps to improve the status of Orthodox priests (not serfs anymore). The nobles and Rudolf's general Basta fight Michael the Brave, he flees to Prague to Rudolf. Rudolf sends him back together with Basta, but Basta's officials kill Michael. (Szász, c. 1993, pp. 40-43)
- 1601-1604 Imperial General Basta's terror in Transylvania, e.g. Germanization and Catholicisation.
- 1604-1606 Stephen (István) Bocskai is prince of Transylvania and also elected king of Hungary by the Hungarian Diet, a title he does not accept. Instead he negotiates peace (Treaty of Vienna) with the Habsburgs, for increased religious tolerance against Protestants in Royal Hungary, return of confiscated property, election of the palatine, etc. (Bocskai is depicted on the Geneva Reformation Wall as one of the 10 main figures of the Calvinist Reformation). Bocskai employs the landless mercenary soldiers (hajdú) and settles them giving them in exchange part of his land, making them free of feudal services. His political will shows his conviction about the mission of Transylvania and why he did not accept the crown (gifted by the Turks, kept today in Vienna):

As long as the Hungarian Crown is with a nation mightier than us, with the German, and the Hungarian Kingdom is also dependent of the Germans, it will be necessary and expedient to have a Hungarian prince in Transylvania, for he shall provide protection and be of use to them. If, may God grant, the Hungarian Crown were at Hungarian hands in Hungary under a crowned king, we urge the Transylvanians neither to secede from it, nor to resist to it, but rather to make efforts, according to their abilities and with united will, to subject themselves to that Crown in the ancient way. (Wikipedia re. Stephen Bocskai, n.d.)

- 1613-1629 Gábor Bethlen is Prince of Transylvania, supports mining and industry.
- 1619-1621 Gábor Bethlen takes part in the Thirty Years' War, occupies most of Royal Hungary and is elected as King of Hungary by the Diet. He does not want to be crowned, agrees to a peace and receives the lordship of 7 counties of Royal Hungary for his lifetime.
- Bethlen's principality formed one of the two surviving Christian-held remnants of the old Kingdom of Hungary, carved out of the disaster of the Ottoman invasion a century before ... Bethlen Gábor's Hungarians saw themselves as the final unextinguished bastion of Magyardom, whereas Royal Hungary was a mere haggard adjunct to Habsburg pretensions. (Winder, 2013, p. 212)
- 1630-1648 George (György) I Rákóczy is Prince of Transylvania. From 1644 he also participates in the Thirty Years' War, after an Osman warning agrees to peace and secures again the 7 counties from the East of Royal Hungary (for his lifetime, 2 of them also in inheritance). Transylvania is one of the sovereign parties to the Treaty of Westphalia closing the Thirty Years' War.
- 1648-1660 George (György) II Rákóczy is Prince of Transylvania, his reign signals the end of the 'Golden Age of Transylvania'. His aim is to gain the Polish throne, for this he leads a military campaign in alliance with Sweden, also with support of Wallachia and Moldavia (which recognise his overlordship). The Ottomans warned him not to participate. After military defeat, the Turks attack Transylvania and it loses Nagyvárad-Oradea-Grosswardein, the Wallachian and Moldavian voivodes are dismissed.
- 17th century There is a historic debate about the mix of nationalities in the enlarged Transylvania (including the Partium), ranging from 30 to 60% for Romanians.
- 17th-18th centuries Slovaks consider themselves both part of the Kingdom of Hungary and as part of a forming Slavic nation. The word in Slovakian for Slovakia (Slovensko) appears from 1685 (Szarka, c. 1993, pp. 73-76). This is especially so in case of the nobles, who speak Slovakian but consider themselves Hungarian nobles (Szarka, c. 1993, pp. 78-79).

- 1664 Peace of Vasvár, allowing the Turks to keep newly conquered territories (e.g. Érsekújvár-Nové Zámky-Neuhäusel), despite losing the final battle at Szentgotthárd. Michael (Miklós) Zrínyi, Croatian ban, was one of the main leaders of the anti-Turkish action. He is also a poet-writer, in Hungarian, and aims for the liberation from the Turks and the Habsburgs (interestingly, his brother, Péter Zrínyi, also becomes Croatian ban, his first language is Croatian, and he translates his brother's main work into Croatian).
- 1670 Angered by the too soft treaty clauses of the Peace of Vasvár, Hungarian nobles start to organise themselves against the Habsburgs. In 1670 a small-scale military uprising takes place in Croatia and Upper Hungary, however behind are the most important Catholic aristocratic families, including the palatine Francis (Ferenc) Wesselényi, the Croatian ban Peter Zrínyi etc. Many leaders give themselves up, in total 300 condemned (loss of property, some executed) in 1671. As a result, the office of palatine had not been occupied for 10 years (the palatine is considered the king's deputy when the king is not in the country, which was nearly always the case, plus, the nobles had their right of resistance against the king since 1222).
- 1674 Increased persecution of Protestants, e.g. 300 Lutheran priests from Upper Hungary are condemned to death and to loss of property, although later the sentences are commuted to being sold as galley slaves (Bellér, 1981, p. 49):
- The Habsburg narrative for the Hungarians has always been about their treachery, mendacity, religious splitism and lack of gratitude ... Royal Hungary ... (principally what are now Slovakia and Transdanubia) ... had always stayed under Habsburg control. These had been subjected from the 1670s to the same iron-fist-in-an-iron-glove re-Catholicizing that Bohemia had experienced in the 1620s. In what amounted sometimes to ethnic war, generations of soldiers and Jesuits hammered Royal Hungary. This ended up creating loyal Catholic pro-Habsburg Hungarians, but it also threatened, as it had for Czech speakers, what seemed a permanent crushing of ethnic identity. It was hard to be loyal if the price of loyalty was effectively to become German. (Winder, 2013, p. 340)
- 1677 'Kurutz' (anti-Habsburg) uprising starting from the east of Royal Hungary, Emmerich (Imre) Thököly becomes their leader, occupies most of Upper Hungary and is recognized by the Sultan as King of Upper Hungary from

- 1683 (also Upper Hungary's Slovaks and Germans support him, also based on religious questions, he is also labelled the 'Slovak King'). Thököly participates in the Siege of Vienna on the Turkish side but has to flee the country after the Habsburgs win against the Ottomans.
- 1686 Reconquest of Buda and most of Hungary from the Turks in the following year.
- 1687 The Hungarian Diet accepts the hereditary title of the Habsburgs to the Hungarian Crown (before the Diet had the right to elect the king) and the nobles give up their right of armed resistance (dating from 1222). The reconquered territory is considered as a new acquisition by the Habsburgs and they only recognise the previous landholdings (e.g. before the Turkish occupation) if written proof is produced and after paying a fee for weaponry services. Most of the newly acquired land comes under new ownership, mostly German nobles.
- There was a near perfect match between the needs of the Habsburg dynasty and the German aristocracy, who filled almost all military and official jobs and who issued a great flow of orders, proclamations and instructions and who dominated scientific and religious ideas. (Winder, 2013, p. 341)
- 1690 Belgrade lost again to the Turks, which leads to the exodus of the Serbian Orthodox patriarch to the by now thinly populated central part of Hungary, establishing its seat in Szentendre (north of Budapest). Previously the Habsburgs asked the Serbs to fight the Turks in order to free further territories in the Balkans, offering them that in case they fail, they can settle in Hungary, also obtaining religious collective autonomy, tax exemptions and not being subject to the counties' jurisdiction (Ács, 1986, pp. 157-160)
- 1690 After death of Transylvanian Prince Apafi, Transylvania is ruled as a separate province by Vienna, belonging however to the Hungarian Crown. E.g. Leopold I (Lipót) (1657-1705) does not style himself as prince of Transylvania, only king of Hungary. A document is issued to summarise the autonomous governance of Transylvania (Diploma Leopoldinum) (Wikipedia re. Diploma Leopoldinum, n.d.).
- 1697 The synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church accepts the Union with the Roman Catholic church in Transylvania (recognising the pope and thus

becoming part of an ‘accepted’ religion), the ‘unitus’ Greek Catholic church however is not widely followed and in 1761 the Orthodox bishopric is re-established. Ino-chentie Micu-Klein, a bishop, fights for equal rights of Romanians (also using in his requests the claim that Romanians inhabit the land since Trajan), however, gets rejected in Vienna (Szász, c. 1993, pp. 55-56). The existence of the unite church was of utmost importance in establishing the connection again with the Latin language and heritage of the Romanians, also leading to the adoption of Latin alphabet instead of the Cyrillic in the 19th century (Ács, 1986, pp. 243-244).

- 1697 Final decisive win at Zenta against the Ottomans.
- 1699 Peace of Karlowitz, most of territory of the Kingdom of Hungary is freed from the Ottomans, with the exception of the Banat of Temesvár.
- 1705 Joseph I (József) and later his successors issue an inaugural diploma which lists the legislation on which their reign is based. These do not accept the resistance clause of the 1222 Golden Bull and allow the King to his own interpretation of the Law, different from the one supported by the Diet.
- 1703-1711 A peasant’ revolt turns into a war of independence led by Francis (Ferenc) II of Rákóczy, the largest landowner of Hungary, a Roman Catholic magnate. However, also many Hungarians remain faithful to the Habsburgs. The Diet declares the dethronement of the Habsburgs in 1707.

‘The Hungarians were clinging to the very edge of political power and – excluded by prejudice, religious bars and language – threatened to become non-people, not unlike the Romanians whom they in turn kept down’ (Winder, 2013, p. 342)

Rákóczy tries to take advantage of the Spanish War of Succession, however, when the French front requires lesser forces the Habsburgs beat the uprising. Among the different nationalities, the Transylvanian Saxons do not support Rákóczy (but yes, the Germans of Upper Hungary), nor do the Serbs from the military frontier.

They offered too the first taste of post-liberation ethnic tension, as many Serbs chose to rally to the Habsburgs rather than the rebels, making it clear that an external ruler could, through careful distribution of favours and punishments, keep in play antagonisms that made successful uprisings

impossible. This became one of the chief pleasures of various regents and governors over the coming two centuries. (Winder, 2013, p. 265)

The Treaty of Szatmár ending the war agrees favourable terms, confirming the special status of Hungary within the Habsburg Empire: separate legislation, decentralised government of the counties by the nobles, aristocratic freedoms (religion and taxation):

.. established a highly decentralized comitat (county) system of aristocratic self-administration, aristocratic liberties (including freedom of conscience and exemption of landowners from direct taxation) and a separate legal system and code. This was the origin of Hungary's special (some say anomalous or privileged) status within the Habsburg Empire. (Bidelaux & Jeffries, 1998, p. 214).

The rebellions did just enough to ensure that the Habsburgs would always treat Hungary as a separate state – but in every other way were a disaster, leaving huge areas of wilderness of burned-out estates, castles and towns, with many dispossessed families and a depopulation as bad as in areas fought over with the Ottomans. (Winder, 2013, pp. 264-265)

Before 1848 the Austrian Empire can be regarded in constitutional law as a unitary monarchy on a differentiated federalist basis, whereby the special position of Hungary within the framework of this united state was always evident. (Zeilner, 2008, p. 45)

Hungary took the exceptional position from the beginning, being the only country of the empire over which the Habsburg absolutism did not become triumphant, which never lost completely its state independence, which was a continuous source of international complications for the Habsburgs, which created later the dualistic constitution of the monarchy, the exceptional power of which made a confederative rearrangement of the nations impossible. (Jászi O. , 1929, p. 26)

After the treaty, Croatia, Transylvania and the military frontier form part of the lands of the Hungarian Crown but are administered separately. Rákóczy – who was against the treaty - emigrates to Turkey.

18th century By the beginning of the 18th century, the central part of Hungary was very thinly habited and uncultivated as a result of the Turkish occupation, ongoing border hostilities and the Rákóczy-war of independence (e.g. a large part of it becomes the 'puszta' meaning bare/deserted in Hungarian,

the original Hungarian population survives mostly where swamps provided protection (Ács, 1986, pp. 135-136)). Massive arrival of new inhabitants from all sides, including many Germans, Serbs, Romanians (Vlachs) and Ukrainians (Ruthens). Germans settlements are concentrated around Buda and Pest, the Southern part of Transdanubia (referred to as ‘Swabian Turkey’ in German), South-Hungary (Banat and Vojvodina) and around county Szatmár. (Bellér, 1981, p. 58) Settlers receive tax exemptions. Settlers initially had to be Catholic (against the Protestant Hungarians) (Ács, 1986, p. 168).

From the twelfth century onwards the only way to start afresh [after the Tatar raids] was to offer extraordinary privileges to a new and hopeful group – generally from sufficiently far away that they might not have a clear grasp of what they were letting themselves in for. (Winder, 2013, p. 193)

Ethnic Hungarians moved from the territories which were outside of the previous reach of the Ottoman Empire into the freed land (which is generally more fertile) and their place is taken by Slovaks, Romanians etc. In addition, it is estimated that about 100-150,000 Slovaks moved south, mainly to the Great Plain, but also forming new ‘peninsulas’ around the language border. (Szarka, c. 1993, pp. 71, 80) The language border itself moved 10-40 km to the South, making previously mixed territories into fully ethnic Slovakian (Ács, 1986, p. 151). The 2017 Hungarian official secondary school history atlas estimates that there were 4.3m inhabitants in the Kingdom of Hungary (including Croatia and Transylvania) in 1720, of which 1.7m or 40% were Hungarians (Katona, 2017, p. 37)

It was this unpropitious environment which now became the focus for as major a movement of Europeans as the contemporaneous ones by settlers into the thirteen colonies. The Hungarian themselves moved south-east, repopulating large areas of what would become modern Hungary, alongside many Slovaks who moved into the regions north and east of Buda. Romanians headed west, into Partium and Banat – in such numbers that they would be able to make a sketchy case for absorbing much of this land into Romania after the First World War. As significant was the mass migration of Serbs north to avoid continuing life under Ottoman rule, who eventually

settled in the region of Southern Hungary, now called the Vojvodina, home of the Petrovaradin fortress. (Winder, 2013, pp. 265-266)

Despite all suffering and difficulties, the Slovak ethnic region of Upper Hungary suffered much less than the area of Turkish Conquest. Both the number and share of Slovak population grew in the Turkish era and reached 700,000-800,000, what made about one fifth of the country's total population. (Szarka, c. 1993, p. 59)

Between 1500 and 1800, however, the ethnic composition of the country changed. The most purely Magyar areas were heavily depopulated during the Turkish wars. These losses were accompanied by mass immigrations of Serbs, Croats, and Romanians from the Balkans and later by the introduction by the Austrian government of large numbers of German and other Western colonists. (Britannica/Hungary/History, n.d.)

As a result of the immigration, county statistics of Transdanubia from 1772 show that 62.6% of the villages were Hungarian, 16.8% German, 9.8% Croatian, 5.7% Slovenian, 1.9% Serbian, 1.6% Slovakian and 1.5% mixed. This is a region which was split between Royal Hungary and the Turkish Conquest and by large belongs to Hungary even today (e.g. only Burgenland is part of Austria, a small part of county Baranya belongs to Croatia, a small part of Zala to Slovenia and the northern part of Komárom and Esztergom to Slovakia), even in Tolna, a county 100% within the current borders of Hungary the share of Hungarian villages was 50% (the rest mostly German). (Ács, 1986, pp. 179-181)

- 1718 Treaty of Passarowitz-Pozsarevác-Požarevac, the Banat of Temesvár-Timișoara-Temeswar becomes part of the Habsburg empire, from 1779 forming part administratively of the Kingdom of Hungary again. The Habsburg Empire also obtains Serbia and Western Wallachia, but loses these 1739.
- From 1718 Repopulation of the Banat of Temesvár, from many nationalities, mostly Germans (by organised resettlement), Serbians and Romanians. Hungarians are not allowed to settle. (Ács, 1986, p. 171) Estimated that there were only 69,000 inhabitants in the area around 1720 (Jászi O. , 1912, p. 363). After 1739 (loss of Serbia by the Habsburgs) more Serbs move North into Southern Hungary.

1723 The Hungarian Diet accepts the Pragmatica Sanctio which allows the female inheritance of the throne, at the same time recognising the unity of the Habsburg realm, but also confirming again the special status of Hungary within the Habsburg Empire (own legislation, legal system, approval of taxation and of military levies). The text wants to avoid any perception that the Kingdom of Hungary would be subordinated to a 'lesser' unit, as the Archduchy of Austria. The Croatian Diet (Sabor) already accepted the Pragmatic Sanction in 1712, causing a constitutional debate as whether it had the attributions to do so (e.g. the Sabor managed Croatia's internal affairs and sent delegates to the Hungarian Diet) and also Transylvania accepted the legislation in 1722. Although:

The new borders established under Habsburg rule seemed to guarantee a Hungarian sphere, but this turned out to be based on the transnational project of Vienna and have little to do with Buda. The fantasy that this enormous new land was in fact 'Hungary' would be cruelly exposed within moments of the last Habsburg Emperor resigning in 1918. (Winder, 2013, p. 266)

Many Hungarian noblemen who survived the purges and religious discrimination that followed the wars became deeply ambivalent about the idea of national independence: with the departure of the Ottomans there were simply too many non-Hungarians around to guarantee that the future would be theirs. (Winder, 2013, p. 265)

1740-41 Upon his father's death, Maria Theresa inherits the throne, however she is attacked from all sides. The Hungarian Diet promises to support her with army and supplies which effectively saves the Habsburg rule: by this 'the great Hungarian opportunity for redemption ... wiped away many decades of loathing between Germans and Hungarians' (Winder, 2013, p. 343)

Mid-18th century It is estimated (by followers of the immigration theory) that Romanians reach over 50% of the population of Transylvania (proper) – note that according to the other school of thought this was always the case. E.g. 500,000 Romanians, 120,000 Saxons and 271,000 Hungarians in Transylvania in 1730, compared to the about 250,000 Romanians in 1700 (Ács, 1986, pp. 152-153).

At some basic mental level, however, the Hungarians pretended the Romanians did not exist and that Transylvania was a thoroughly Magyar land. This tension (or fantasy) was to continue until the cataclysm of 1918, having some of the same flavour as twentieth-century South-Africa. (Winder, 2013, p. 359)

- 1775 Customs union between the Austrian and Czech territories. Hungary not allowed to join, as only the custom duties levied on corn and beef allowed to finance the state when the nobles did not pay tax (Jászi O. , 1929, p. 58).
- 1777 In the process of Poland's first partition Maria Theresa returns the 13 mortgaged cities of Zips to Hungary.
- 1780-90 Joseph II (József) is emperor representing enlightened absolutism. Refused to be crowned as king of Hungary, so that he is not bound by his coronation oath to the existing legislation (the coronation included an oath to preserve the constitution, privileges and territorial integrity of Hungary). He tries to modernise the empire: Taxation of nobles, improvement of peasants' rights, Protestants and Orthodox Christians with full civil rights, abolition of religious orders, German as official language everywhere (instead of Latin, e.g. in education, county councils). On his deathbed he retracts from most of his laws.
- 1784 Peasants' revolt in Transylvania led by Horea and Closca, based on their wish to enlist in the army (which was perceived as an easier way of life than being a serf). About 4,000 Hungarians and Germans are massacred, the enemy is declared to be anyone who does not wear Romanian clothes and does not profess the Orthodox religion. Late reaction from the military, after defeat the 2 leaders are executed.
- 1784 Herder's words about the Hungarians create much echo in Hungary, causing fear of national extinction:
 - (...) at present, intermingled with sclavonians, germans, wallachians, and others, they [the Hungarians] constitute the smaller number of the inhabitants, and in a few centuries perhaps their language will be nearly extinct' (Herder, 1784 (German) / 1800 (English), p. 476)
- After 1784 As a reaction to Joseph II's Germanisation attempt, a Hungarian national re-awakening starts, with a renaissance of the Hungarian language and customs (e.g. dress, music):

Joseph's decrees have been interpreted by the Hungarian nobles in a sense that they serve the Germanization of Hungary, thus the first phase of the fight for the Hungarian language was marked by defence. Saving, promotion and development of the own national language explains the ferocity and passion of the language movement. (Ács, 1986, p. 225)

If someone forgets his mother tongue, soon also his ethnic consciousness is lost. An unconscious nation is threatened by disappearance if nearby another nation with strong consciousness lives. The most important weapon of the self defence is the language, because it is able to withstand assimilation for the longest. The memories of the economic-objective culture disappear quicker, as the mother tongue lives further in the everyday prayer, folk song, and conversations at home. In our country the language assimilation [into German] has already started in some territories, but it has been stopped by Joseph II's language decree, which made German the official state language. The royal language decree allowed without doubt a stronger opposition to Germans. The answer in terms of self-defence did not wait long: the linguistic seclusion. (Ács, 1986, p. 224)

1787 The first census takes places, however (being organised by Joseph II) it does not ask about nationality or language. In total 9,362,000 inhabitants, with uncertain estimations about the number for each nationality. Hungarian historiography considers that the share of Hungarians has been around 35-45%, although – considering the massive immigration earlier in the century – the upper end of the range would have required a very strong assimilation during the 18th century which seems rather unlikely²⁴⁹. Thus, around 35% seems more likely. The 2017 and 2019 history atlases indicate 35% for the share of Hungarians in the entire territory including Croatia, counting 3.25m (Katona, 2019, p. 28) (Katona, 2017, p. 37). They further show estimations of 17% for Romanians (resulting in around 1.6m), 15% for Slovaks (~1.4m), 11% for Croatians (~1.0m), 10% for Germans (~0.9m),

²⁴⁹ An example, which estimates the absolute number of Hungarians similar, however provides lower figures for some of the other nationalities: '... the population of the entire country during the first Hungarian census [of Joseph II] could have been 8.2m. An estimated 3.2m, or 40-44% of the total population, could be considered Hungarian. The number of people in the nationalities can only be estimated approximately. Thus, the number of Romanians in Hungary could have been 1.5m, Slovaks 1.25m, Germans somewhat over 1m, Croatians 700-800,000, Serbians 500-600,000, Ruthens 300,000 and the combined number of the other smaller nationalities (Armenian, Greek, Spanish, Bulgarian, Czech, etc.) around 300,000' (Ács, 1986, pp. 178-179).

- 7% for Serbians (~650k), 3% for Ruthens (~300k) and 2% (~200k) for the rest (Slovenes, Polish, Jews, Gipsies).
- From 1787 In Slovakian churches and among intellectuals mostly Czech is being used, in 1787 first attempt to codify a separate Slovakian language based on a Western dialect (language of the ‘Slavs of Hungary’), driven by Catholics (Anton Bernolák). Ján Kollár is one of the proponents of the continued use of Czech, however, in 1846-1851 final definition of the Slovakian happens, based on the central-Slovakian dialect, led by Ľudovít Štúr, Jozef Miloslav Hurban and Michal Miloslav Hodža and agreed between the Catholic and Protestant communities (Szarka, c. 1993, pp. 83-89, 108-109).
- From 1790 The office of palatine is filled, with a Habsburg archduke.
- 1790 Temesvár Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church, requesting the formation of a territorial unit, Serbian schools and equal opportunities in accessing public office (which being Orthodox was not the case) (Ács, 1986, p. 248).
- 1791 After Joseph II’s death, Law X of 1791 by the Hungarian Diet establishes that the Realm of the Kingdom of Hungary has to be governed as an independent kingdom, only connected to other Habsburg territories by the person of the King (who needs to be crowned).
- 1791-92 Supplex Libellus Valachorum Transsilvaniae, or Petition of Romanians in Transylvania, sent to the Imperial Court in Vienna, but it is not accepted. It contained a request for the same rights as the Hungarians and Germans already enjoyed there. Behind are the ‘Transylvanian school’ or ‘the Three of Transylvania’: Samuil Micu-Klein, Gheorghe Sincai, Petru Maior, who also make the theory of daco-roman continuity more popular (Szász, c. 1993, pp. 58-59)
- 1792 Start of the reign of Francis II (Ferenc), which ends the appetite for modernisation. Metternich leads the politics from the end of the Napoleonic Wars until 1848, with a strong internal spy organisation and censorship: ‘it became an axiom of the system that people read themselves into criminals’ (Jászi O. , 1929, p. 78). By this time the principle of establishing state boundaries should have been based on economic relations, however the Treaty of Vienna of 1815 establishes the borders based on the old dynastic

principle, which is one of the reasons of the national conflicts of the 19th and 20th centuries (Jászi O. , 1912, p. 96). Supposedly Francis II told the French ambassador:

My nations are foreigners to each other and it is best this way. They do not catch the same illness at the same time. In France, if the fever comes, all of you catch it simultaneously. I send the Hungarians to Italy and the Italians to Hungary. Each of them supervises their neighbour. One does not understand the other and one does hate the other. Antipathy gives birth to order and from their mutual hatred the universal peace is born. (Jászi O. , 1912, p. 96)

- 1795 Leaders of the discovered Jacobin uprising are executed in Buda.
- 1804 Francis also becomes Emperor of Austria as Francis I, by which the unity of the Habsburg realms is established in the form of the Austrian Empire.
- 18th-19th centuries It is common to send younger boys to study in other cities or villages, in order to learn non-native languages e.g. Hungarian-Slovakian-German (Ács, 1986, pp. 204-205).
- Early 19th century Agricultural modernisation, start of grain production for the European market (Napoleonic Wars), creating wealth for the aristocracy.
- Early 19th century Only about 1.5-2% of the population live in cities working in non-agricultural jobs, compared to about 6.5% in Lower Austria, 5.5% in Czechia, 12% in France before the French revolution and even more in England. This is relevant as in countries with a strong bourgeoisie nationalism mostly appeared through political and economic changes, while in countries with weak bourgeoisie nationalism mostly manifested itself in the field of culture (e.g. Germany, Italy, Slavic countries) (Ács, 1986, pp. 223-224).
- 19th century Counties – self-governed by the nobles via a County Council - have the right to stop implementing legislation they think is in contrast with the constitution or which would result in local difficulties / altercations (Demmel, 2014, pp. 36-37).
- until 1870
- From 1806 Ten different counties with minority Hungarian population decide to push the Hungarian language, e.g. legal demands written to the county only accepted if redacted in Hungarian, country clerks need to learn Hungarian, shop names have to be in Hungarian, etc (Ács, 1986, pp. 227-228).

- 1825-1848 The reform era, started after the Hungarian Diet has not been summoned for 11 years. Led initially by county István Széchenyi, who wants to modernise the country (e.g. stop the inviolability of noble landholding so that it can be used as collateral for a mortgage loan), improve infrastructure (bridge at Pest-Buda, shipping on the Danube, prevention of floods) and culture (foundation of the Academy of Arts and Sciences). The liberals are in opposition in the Diet but have a lot of influence. Lajos Kossuth is the leader of the radical side and is imprisoned for treason from 1836 to 1840. From 1844 non-nobles can also become public employees.
- 1831 Cholera-uprising in Upper-Eastern-Hungary. Thousands of peasants stood up against quarantine rules (which forbid them to reach their summer temporary jobs on the plains) and suspected the nobles wanted to exterminate them, and that a ‘good king’ waits for them across the border (the Russian Tsar), thus the conflict also had a national perspective. Over 100 executed and many thousands imprisoned. (Wikipedia re. cholera uprising, n.d.)
- 1832 The Croatian deputies at the Hungarian Diet request the formation of a territorial unit based on Illyric ideas, combining the Croatian and Serbian inhabited areas of Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Fiume and the military border, potentially also including the territories of Slovenes in the Austrian part of the empire. The Serbians and Slovenes are not in favour of the Illyric plans combining Southern Slavs under Croatia. Meanwhile standardization of the Croatian language by Ljudevit Gaj, following one of the regional versions which is very similar to Serbian. However, differences in the alphabet and religion remain (Ács, 1986, pp. 234-236).
- 1842 Széchenyi in his speech at the Academy speaks up against forcing the Hungarian language on the nationalities, as it would only lead to resistance and an escalation of counter-measures ultimately leading to a catastrophe (Ács, 1986, p. 228).
- 1844 The Hungarian language becomes official (instead of the Latin) in the whole kingdom. Before this most counties established Hungarian as their own language of administration, however there were also counties complaining about the use of Hungarian as it would exclude from the

discussions about the ‘Hungarian patria’ of those ‘Hungarian nobles’ who do not speak Hungarian (Szarka, c. 1993, pp. 91-92). As the campaign for increasing the usage of Hungarian started much earlier, the reactions of the nationalities as well, e.g. Ján Kollár’s first flyer from 1820 is followed by many books (Szarka, c. 1993, pp. 92-97). In 1847 the Croatian Diet declares Croatian the official language (Ács, 1986, p. 236).

Just as Joseph II ended up provoking rebellion and hatred everywhere, so an insistence on uniformity, rationalization and freedom of expression ends up with race hatred. If it is not acceptable for everyone in the Empire to use German to communicate, then *any* counter-suggestion excludes another range of languages. In Hungary the Croats pleaded for Latin to be kept as the official language because they knew that the alternative was that they would have to learn Hungarian. (Winder, 2013, p. 484)

1848 Following news of the French Revolution, the Hungarian Diet requests further reforms and the establishment of a government responsible to the Diet. A delegation of the Diet travels to Vienna. On 13th March revolution in Vienna, Metternich flees.

1848 Revolution in Pest-Buda, requesting the acceptance of the 12 points (15 March). The following day Ferdinand V accepts Lajos Batthyány as prime minister, in the first Hungarian government responsible to the Hungarian Parliament and not the king (from the government 8 ministers are in favour of good relations with the Habsburgs, one minister ultimately wants independence: Kossuth).

1848 April Laws signed by Ferdinand V (April 11th), allowing abolition of serfdom, handing the property of the land to the peasants, end of feudal duties, end of the nobles’ tax exemptions, end of censorship and democratic elections (census based on wealth or professions, excluding non-Christians). It also requests the Union with Transylvania, subject to agreement from Transylvania.

Despite the liberal ideas the legislation represented, it also considered that there is only one nation in the Kingdom of Hungary, the Hungarian (with the exception of Croatia).

A striking and clear strand in the revolutions was that the removal of dynastic rule over pieces of land naturally led to its substitute: national

ownership based on language ... 1848 was a year of miraculous liberation and excitement, but once its opening phase was over it became clear that it had unintentionally opened a particularly unpleasant Pandora's box. National structures were relatively unproblematic in France, which while far from monoglot, at least had a single dominant language, and at least plausible in Italy, but for German-speaking countries, and for the rest of the Habsburg Empire the very idea of nation was an unresolvable nightmare ... But substantially until 1848 all these groups [the nationalities] were neutered. After 1848, however which the new regimes pretend otherwise, everything became about national identity ... (Winder, 2013, pp. 437-439)

This is also the historic destiny of the different peoples in the Danube valley: the simultaneous movements for independence had a confusing impact on each other. In the Danube valley, where the different nationalities lived in mixed territories, a given nation could have only taken charge of shaping its own destiny if – either willingly or not – limiting another nation's feelings and aspirations. And if a nation already reached its target, did not want to hear about anyone else deservedly requesting the same what they have already achieved. (Ács, 1986, p. 13)

In our view, the Hungarian Revolution was afflicted by a fatal schizophrenia. On one level it was a liberal universalist revolution, bestowing rights and obligations without religious and ethnic discrimination or favour. But it was also a Magyar nationalist revolution in which non-Magyars could participate fully only if they accepted the primacy of the Magyar language and aspirations and the transformation of the formerly multicultural and cosmopolitan Hungarian state into an expressly Magyar state. Similar tensions between liberalism and nationalism have bedevilled every step towards liberal democracy in Eastern Europe ever since. But the first open manifestations of this perennial East European problem occurred in Hungary in 1848. (Bidelaux & Jeffries, 1998, p. 307)

1848 Petition in Zagreb on 25th March that Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia should be united, the Croatian government should only be responsible to the Croatian Diet (Sabor) and the language be Croatian. In April the April Laws approved by the Hungarian Diet (including the end of serfdom) are not promulgated in Croatia (Ács, 1986, p. 255).

1848 May Assembly (1-3 May) of the Serbs in Karlovác-Sremski Karlovci-Karlowitz, proclaiming the Serbian Vojvodina within the Habsburg Empire

(but belonging to the Lands of the Crown of St Stephen), effective control of the territory (given it includes the soldiers of the military frontier), several battles against the Hungarian Army, Hungarian gunning of Novi Sad from the Pétervárad-Petrovaradin-Peterwardein castle (Wikipedia re. Serb Uprising 1848, n.d.).

1848 10th May: Demands of the Slovak Nation, written under the leadership of Ľudovít Štúr, Jozef Miloslav Hurban and Michal Miloslav Hodža, requesting decentralisation of Hungary, with a specific autonomous territory for the Slovaks, acceptance of the Slovak language as official, including in schools. Demands not accepted, the Hungarian government aims to arrest the leaders. A Slovak National Council is formed on 15th September in Vienna, now aiming for independence from Hungary (within the Habsburg Empire) and organises voluntary corps from Vienna. Small scale actions are defeated by the Hungarian Army. Hungarian historiography estimates that there were about 2,000 participants in the Slovak uprising, while about 40,000 Slovaks fought for the Hungarian Revolution. (Wikipedia re. Slovak Uprising 1848, n.d.) 19th March 1849: new Slovak petition to the emperor, asking to recognise Slovakia as a country with established borders, within the Habsburg Monarchy.

1848 15th May: Romanian National Council in Balászfalva-Blaj-Blasendorf, requesting recognition of Romanians as a nation in Transylvania, proportional representation in the Transylvanian Diet, no approval of the Union with Hungary in the Diet until proportional representation achieved, usage of Romanian in public administration and in court, Romanian schools, end of customs duties with Wallachia and Moldavia. In July the Transylvanian Diet accepts the Union (without enhancing the representation of Romanians). 15th September: the 2nd Romanian National Council declares that the Union is invalid, recognises the imperial military command as rightful government instead of the Hungarian government, organisation of national guards. The imperial military command asks the Romanian national guards to disarm the Hungarian national guards, reported atrocities from both sides. The Szeklers meet in a national assembly on 16-18 October and support the Union (Wikipedia re. Romanian uprising 1848, n.d.). After

the Hungarian forces regain control of most of Transylvania, the Habsburgs ask the Transylvanian Romanian leaders to call in the Russian troops from Wallachia. Agreement between Kossuth and Balcescu on 14 July 1849 allowing use of Romanian in the counties where Romanians are the majority and in the national guard, Kossuth promises to establish a Romanian legion to fight for freeing Wallachia and Moldavia, however it is too late before the collapse of the revolution (Szász, c. 1993, p. 80).

If Habsburg authority was declared void and a group of agreeable Hungarian-speaking politicians announced themselves as the true successors, then this tore open ethnic problems of a kind that would in due course destroy the Hungary they were trying to build. Breaking clear of Vienna simply authorized the massive groups within Hungary who had no wish to be dominated by Hungarian-speakers to in turn break clear of Buda. This resulted in racial wars as Serbs, Croats and Romanians massacred the Hungarians in their midst. The Habsburgs gleefully egged on the counter-rebels, but Slavs and Romanians would have done this anyway – it was built into the events that were unfolding. (Winder, 2013, p. 443)

- 1848 June: Pan-Slav Congress in Prague, however no specific actions agreed.

- 1848-49 The Transylvanian Germans support the Habsburgs, however, elsewhere Germans (of which there are many more) are in favour of the revolution for the progress it brings, see themselves as part of the Hungarian nation (even if they do not speak Hungarian) and even enlist to fight for it (Bellér, 1981, pp. 94-99). Haynau in 1849 also complained about Germans in Hungary siding with the Hungarian republic against their own ethnicity (Ács, 1986, p. 252).

- 1848 Batthyány goes to Vienna to ask the King and Emperor to stop the Serbian and Croatian military actions. Ferdinand agrees and Jelačić (Croatian Ban) is to be dismissed, however the decisions are not implemented.

- 1848 Batthyány offers Jelačić independence of Croatia in exchange for peace, which is not accepted.

- 1848 Jelačić enters Hungary with an army. Hungarian victory on 29th September after a popular uprising to create an army, Jelačić's army leaves the country through Vienna.
- 1848 Seeing the impossibility of a compromise with Vienna, Batthyány abdicates on 2 October. October 3rd is considered the date from which relations between the Habsburgs and the Hungarian Parliament are broken.
- 1848 Ferdinand is forced to abdicate and Franz Joseph succeeds him (2 December). He is not crowned as King of Hungary until 1867 (which was legally required in Hungary to exercise the power as a king), in addition, the abdication was not a legal concept accepted in Hungarian legislation, thus the Hungarian Diet considered Ferdinand as King until the dethronement.
- 1849 Olmütz Constitution for the Habsburg Empire approved by Franz Joseph during the ongoing war of independence, with some base on the proposals of the Imperial Diet, without any representation from Hungary (as it represented only the part of the empire outside of Hungary). It separates Transylvania and Voivodina and establishes 5 military regions in Hungary and also declares the Hungarian Parliament void. It also considers the April Laws invalid.
- 1849 The Hungarian Diet dethrones the Habsburg dynasty and Kossuth becomes president and regent (April).
- The Mexican-American War earlier in the decade is a tragic comparison to the situation of the Hungarians in 1849 ... only history and legality on its side. (Winder, 2013, p. 444)
- 1849 Nationality Law approved too late (end of July) to have any effect smoothening the relations between the confronted nationalities of the Kingdom of Hungary. Also, its content maybe could have been sufficient in March 1848 but not in 1849. Bertalan Szemere, Prime Minister in July 1849, remembered the events in 1859 stating that the reason for failure of the revolution was not recognising the importance of the nationality question. (Jászi O. , 1912, pp. 337-338)
- 1849 After some successes on all 3 fronts (East, South, West) and after both the imperial and Russian armies increase in size, the war of independence is lost and the remaining main army corps are disarmed on 13th August.

- 1849 Execution of 13 army generals and of Batthyány (6 October), also many others executed or imprisoned by Haynau. Kossuth flees with the Crown. Haynau in charge until July 1850.
- 1850 Census, for the first time asking about nationality, showing a total of 4.807m Hungarians (including Transylvania and Vojvodina, but excluding Croatia-Slavonia and the military frontier²⁵⁰) and 6.557m non-Hungarians, a 42.3% share for Hungarians²⁵¹. Including also Croatia-Slavonia and the military frontier, the share of Hungarians was 36.5%, considering that the total of non-Hungarians increased to 8.373m vs. 4.818m Hungarians (Czoernig, 1855). This is a very similar share as the one estimated for 1787 (35%).
- 1851-59 Bach era, Hungary is administered centrally from Vienna based on the 5 regions, Transylvania and Vojvodina, suspending the old Hungarian constitution and legal system. Common customs territory within the Monarchy, German language, many German-Czech public servants. However, execution of the abolition of serfdom and maintenance of the nobles' obligation of taxation. Passive resistance from the Hungarians. Similar central administration for Croatia, Transylvania and the Military Frontier, them receiving as a reward the same treatment that Hungarians received as a punishment (Ács, 1986, p. 266). Some Slovakian politicians receive some recognition for their support of the Habsburgs in 1848-49, however, few of their demands set in 1849 are being accepted and only late (e.g. Slovakian secondary schools in 1860, Matica Slovenská in 1863) (Szarka, c. 1993, pp. 105-110) (Ács, 1986, p. 266).
- 1859 De facto unification of the two Romanian principalities: Wallachia and Moldavia.
- 1860-61 After loss to Italy, Franz Joseph issues the 1860 October Diploma (with a degree of decentralisation which does not satisfy the different parties) and 1861 February Patent (based on centralisation), trying to create an empire-

²⁵⁰ Part of the military border was nearby Vojvodina and not Croatia-Slavonia, however, the numbers are not provided in a separate form.

²⁵¹ Interestingly, the numbers for the census have been reviewed several times, these figures refer to the version published by Czoernig in 1855, thus still under the same political regime as the earlier figures – which has not been known for being very friendly to the Hungarians. The previous versions showed 4.5m Hungarians and 6.6m non-Hungarians, giving a 40% share for Hungarians.

wide parliament, however Hungarians boycott it. Franz Joseph allows a Hungarian Parliament to be elected and to sit again in 1861. Ferenc Deák ('the lawyer of the nation', minister of justice during 1848) leads the Hungarian demands. County Councils are elected again. The parliament addresses Franz Joseph twice requesting the restoration of its constitution (including the 1848 April Laws), stating that it won't send delegates to an empire-wide parliament which would have any jurisdiction over Hungary limiting its constitutional independence (e.g. approval of taxation and military levies). Franz Joseph is not ready yet for a compromise and the parliament is dismissed.

- 1861 Slovakian Memorandum of Túrócszentmárton (Martin), claiming territorial national autonomy, however within the Kingdom of Hungary, also adjusting the borders of the counties to the ethnic borders (as the counties have been allowed again). The (theoretical) definition of the 'ethnic border' caused some concern given mixed large cities (Pozsony-Bratislava-Pressburg and Kassa-Kosice-Kaschau) and Slovakian language islands South of the language border. The language border has been mapped in 1855 by K. v. Czoernig from Austrian official statistics (Szarka, c. 1993, pp. 114-120) (Czoernig, 1855). The Hungarian Parliament does not accept the proposals nor does it obtain effective support in Vienna. Ferenc Deák apparently answered a request for support from the Slovakian-Hungarian noble József Justh with the following: 'The man, when he has to die, dies. The ask of the Slovaks is our death. Until we do not have to, we won't allow this'. (Demmel, 2014, p. 186)
- 1861 Serbian Congress in Karlovác- Sremski Karlovci-Karlowitz, demanding from the Hungarian parliament the autonomy of the Vojvodina (Ács, 1986, p. 268)
- 1863 3 official languages acknowledged in Transylvania (proper): German, Hungarian and Romanian. Transylvania agrees to send delegates to the Imperial Council (Ács, 1986, p. 270). The Transylvanian Association for Romanian Literature and the Culture of the Romanian people (ASTRA) established in 1861. (Winder, 2013, pp. 542-543)

- 1865 'Easter Article' from Deák hints at a possibility of compromise. In sight of the upcoming crisis with Prussia in relation to Schleswig-Holstein, Franz Joseph tries to solve the situation, allows for the Hungarian Parliament to be elected again. Addresses of the Parliament to Franz Joseph with similar content as in 1861 (insistence on the restoration of the constitution), no compromise achieved, although Franz Joseph recognised the Pragmatic Sanction of 1723 as a base for the solution.
- 1866 Habsburg loss to Prussia in the Austro-Prussian War, end of the leading role of Austria in the matters of the German Confederation. Handover of Venice to Italy.
- 1867 In 1866 the Hungarian Parliament sits again, in 1867 the Austrian-Hungarian Compromise is approved, establishing a dual state (called Austria-Hungary), with common foreign affairs and military (and a finance ministry for the common affairs), but all other matters are decided by each side autonomously. The agreement is based on the interpretation of the Pragmatic Sanction of 1723 and the acceptance of the April Laws of 1848. A small joint parliamentary committee also exists, with delegates from each of the two sides. The Hungarian side is called Lands of the Crown of St Stephen, including the Kingdom of Hungary and the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia. Transylvania is integral part of the Kingdom of Hungary, without any autonomy. The Compromise means giving up some part of the 'traditional' freedoms Hungary enjoyed pre-1848, thus many ethnic Hungarians are against it.

The genius at the heart of the negotiations was Ferenc Deák, who had opposed Kossuth's extremism and saw the value to Hungary of being linked to the rest of the Empire, both economically and militarily. (Winder, 2013, p. 486)

They also think that Deák could have fought for more after Austria losing to Prussia. Gyula Andrassy (a former 1848 rebel hanged in effigy) becomes Hungarian Prime Minister. The financial settlement needs to be re-negotiated every 10 years, initially, Hungary's share in the joint expenses is 30%, Austria's 70%. Hungary's share later increases a bit.

- 1868 Hungarian-Croatian Compromise, establishing widespread autonomy for Croatia. Croatia is considered a political nation, the official language there is Croatian. The Croatian Parliament also sends deputies to the Hungarian Parliament and delegates a minister for Croatia-Slavonia. The approval of the law in the Croatian parliament required significant pressure.
- 1868 Nationality Law of Hungary. It establishes widespread individual rights, but does not recognise any collective rights of the minorities (it considered that state and nation are identical, thus there can only be one nation, the Hungarian). It allows usage of the local language in the public administration (if the inhabitants of a nationality reach 20% of the population in an area), accepts multilingualism in provincial administration and at court. Also allows education in local language and associations of nationalities if their purpose was not to undermine the Hungarian state. The concept of the Hungarian 'state-building nation' has been criticised by many also in Hungary before 1989:

As the concept of the Hungarian 'state-sustaining nation' could not take roots in the political reality among the tensive forces of the nationalities which started to build their own nations, and the concept was more or less fiction in political theory (as such a 'nation' cannot be even formulated in modern terms), it took its justification mainly from history. The territorial and political integrity could not be justified theoretically by anything else against the nationalities' struggle for independence, only with un-historic 'historic' arguments: the 'ancient constitution' and constitutional spirit, the Golden Bull of 1222, the modernised edition of the medieval organic state-vision, the inorganic combination of the medieval symbolism of the Holy Crown with modern arguments of state law, and so forth. (Szücs, 1984, p. 32)

The reigning nations regarded only themselves as true nations, whereas those under their rule were only second-rate nations. These so-called 'state-sustaining nations', the German bourgeoisie and bureaucracy in Austria, the nobility in Hungary, in Croatia, and in Galicia were so imbued by the consciousness of their leading role that they felt the national awakening of their former bondsmen masses as almost a social impossibility. They viewed, until the very moment of collapse, all these

historical processes through the spectacles of their ideological supremacy.
(Jászi O. , 1929, p. 216)

With the wretched ease of hindsight it is obvious the land-grab of 1867 was a terrible mistake for Hungary. Hypnotized by visions of some ancient medieval state and by apocalyptic fears of their own national extinction the Hungarians tried to create a state which was even bigger than Italy and failed. (Winder, 2013, p. 543)

- From 1867 As other nationalities are not recognised as nations, they do not accept the Nationality Law and decide to exercise passive resistance, especially in Transylvania, where Romanians enjoyed more rights previously. The problem later became that the Hungarian authorities did not fully implement the Nationality Law, e.g. schools were mostly Hungarian, the public administration and the legal system mostly worked in Hungarian only.
- From 1867 Restrictive census, only 5% of the population can vote (increasing to 8% by 1914). One of the reasons for not lowering the threshold is the fear that it will allow proportionally more people from the nationalities to vote (Szarka, c. 1993, p. 130).
- 1870 The heads of the county administration ('főispán') start to report to the Minister of Interior, instead of the King, starting a centralisation process.
- 1871-1879 Gyula Andrassy is the joint foreign minister of Austria-Hungary.
- 1871-1881 The military frontier as administrative unit is integrated into the county system.
- 1874-1875 The 3 Slovak secondary schools (opened in 1860) are closed in 1874 and in 1875 the Matica Slovenská cultural organisation (established in 1863) is forbidden, all for alleged Pan-Slav activities. Many Slovak pupils go the Czech territories in order to obtain secondary education (Szarka, c. 1993, pp. 130-131).
- 1850-1880 The 1881 Census identifies 6.165m Hungarians based on mother tongue (excluding Croatia-Slavonia and Fiume) from a total of 13.728m, 46.6%²⁵², higher than in 1850 (42.3%). Including Croatia-Slavonia the proportion in 1881 was 41.0% (Országos Magyar Királyi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1882). This indicates that around half a million individuals could have been assimilated

²⁵² For the calculation of the percentage, 499k individuals who cannot speak (yet) have been excluded from the total

in the previous 30 years, assuming the same birth, death and emigration rates for the different ethnicities.

1875-1890 Kálmán Tisza is prime minister for Hungary. Interestingly, the government's parliamentary support mostly comes from the counties with higher share of nationalities, the more centrally located counties with Hungarian majorities usually support the opposition, which wishes for even more rights against Austria (Kreith & Freytag, c. 1891).

A more powerful affront to the Habsburgs lay in the Hungarian minor nobility, who obsessively pursued their right to hunt, drink and reproduce free of wider obligation across enormous areas of land. These local landowners had a coherent and appealing ideology, based around resistance to Habsburg rule. (Winder, 2013, p. 513)

1878 Occupation of Bosnia by Austria-Hungary.

Late 19th century Electoral fraud is typical in Hungary, making it difficult to access polling stations, other coercive actions, also the electoral law requires higher property qualification in Transylvania vs. Rest of Hungary.

1892 Transylvanian Memorandum (prepared by the Romanian National Party in Transylvania and the Banat) is sent to Emperor and King Franz Joseph who sends it back unopened to the Hungarian prime minister, who then sends it back to the county leaders to return it to the sender. The senders publish the memorandum, which claims for equal rights as for Hungarians. 14 of the authors are jailed for between 2 months and 5 years terms.

1867-1914 Unprecedented economic growth in Hungary: average annual growth of the national income of 3.2%, industrial output 5%, agricultural output 2%. Growth of cities (specially Budapest, from 200,000 to 900,000), transportation (rail network from 2,200 to 22,000 km), new industries (e.g. electronics) fostered by a developmental state (Bidelaux & Jeffries, 1998, p. 371).

1867-1914 Despite the economic growth, the society remains archaic and is based on the aristocracy and lesser nobility, where the main aim of the bourgeoisie is to ascend to the nobility:

The issue is not a series of specific problems, not the ineffective, slow or expensive functioning of the machinery of the public administration – as it happens abroad –, but the whole system itself: the system of legal uncertainty, violence and class arrogance. The feudalistic public administration even today – even if not in legal terms, but factually – is based on birth right, is not the executor of the people's will, but the overlord of the people, whose only task is to collect the taxes, to maintain silence and that it forces the people's will into a direction suitable to the class interest of their overlords. (Jászi O. , 1912, p. 458)

1867-1914 Significant improvement of education, widespread attendance to primary schools, although driven by the thought that education is a major source of Magyarization (Bidelaux & Jeffries, 1998, p. 371). The number of elementary schools of Hungarian language increased from 7,342 in 1880 to 13,608 in 1913, in the same period, German schools decreased from 867 to 449, Slovakian from 1716 to 365, Ruthen from 393 to 47, Romanian from 2756 to 2170 and Serbo-Croatian from 313 to 269. (Ács, 1986, p. 278) This led to many children belonging to nationalities not properly becoming literate in any language. By 1900, 67% of Germans were literate, 61% of Hungarians, 52.8% of Croatians, 50.1% of Slovaks, 41.5% of Serbians, but only 20.4% of Romanians and 14.5% of Ruthens (Jászi O. , 1912, p. 428).

Namely, the forced Magyarization in the schools is the main cause for the lamentable cultural backwardness of the nationalities ... The question is not whether the nationalities remain Slovakian, Romanian etc. or whether they become Hungarian, but whether they learn in Slovakian or Romanian [their native language] the minimal culture without which no European public administration and economy is possible, or, on contrary, whether they remain in the barbaric ignorance and superstition what makes them suitable material for all economic corruption and political tyranny. The people that live in masses on their soil cannot be deprived from their tongue. We cannot make them Hungarian, maximum we can keep them for another few decades in the semi-barbarian state which is the basis of the system of agrarian feudalism. The language of the nationalities and the national self-consciousness is an inevitable transitional phase to higher culture and as

such is a historical precondition for any noble and more elevated internationalism. (Jászi O. , 1912, pp. 471-472)

1880-1914 Social tensions lead to emigration, especially among the nationalities, from 1899 to 1913 only 29% of the emigrants are ethnic Hungarian. (Ács, 1986, p. 308) Especially strong impact among Slovaks, 483k emigrating to the US between 1899 and 1913, 125k returning, also bringing more national consciousness with them (Szarka, c. 1993, pp. 133-136).

1880-1914 Magyarization leads to the assimilation of most Germans and Jews living in towns and also of many Slovaks. Much lesser is the impact among Romanians, Serbians and Ruthens who lived in more compact areas and had a different (Orthodox) religion. (Ács, 1986, p. 306)

Among the one million Magyarized between 1880 and 1910 there were 400,000 Germans, 280,000 Slovaks, 190,000 Jews, 80,000 Southern Slavs, 30,000 Romanians and 10,000 Ruthens. (Ács, 1986, p. 308)

...this process generated a further 2,000,000 or so 'fresh' Hungarians between 1850 and 1910. The largest group in this converted total were Jews, about 700,000, followed by Germans (500,000), Slovaks, Romanians and South Slavs. (Winder, 2013, p. 546)

The proportion of the population with Hungarian as its mother tongue rose from 46.6 percent in 1880 to 51.4 percent in 1900. The Magyarization of the towns had proceeded at an astounding rate. Nearly all middle-class Jews and Germans and many middle-class Slovaks and Ruthens had been Magyarized. Most of the Magyarization, however, had been in the centre of Hungary and among the middle classes, and much of it was the direct result of urbanization and industrialization. It had hardly touched the rural populations of the periphery, and the linguistic frontiers had hardly shifted from the line on which they had been stabilized in the 18th century. (Britannica/Hungary/History, n.d.)

The assimilation of Germans into Hungarians was also related to their desire to become part of the 'gentlemen/noble' class, as the Hungarians were perceived in the cities against the hard-working Germans. (Ács, 1986, pp. 206-207)

Aim of economic-professional progress was linked to Magyarization, especially hitting the intellectuals, e.g. it is estimated that only 1,100

Slovakian intellectuals remained faithful to their national roots (Szarka, c. 1993, pp. 131-132). About 90% of Slovaks from poorer regions who migrated within Hungary went to Budapest (Ács, 1986, p. 298). From the 144,249 'intellectuals' identified in the 1900 census, 77.1% were Hungarian (compared to a 51.4% share in the population overall), 9.6% German (vs. 11.8%), but only 6.9% Romanian (vs. 16.7%), 2.4% Slovakian (vs. 11.9%), 1.6% Serbian (vs. 2.6%), 0.4% Ruthen (vs. 2.5%), 0.3% Croatian (vs. 1.1%) and 1.7% other (vs. 2.0%). The share of Hungarians was even higher in the public administration (87.6%) and the legal sphere (89.1%) and it was the lowest (57.5%) in religious services. The number of Romanians was driven by priests (27.5% of the total with this profession) and primary school teachers (12.2% of the total with this profession) (Jászi O. , 1912, pp. 415-418)

The total number of landowners was proportionally higher among the nationalities (59.9%) than in case of the Hungarians (40.1%). Especially high was the number of landowners among the Romanians: 26.1%. Germans had somewhat fewer landowners (10.4%) than its share in the overall population. The remaining nationalities had proportionally more landowners compared to their overall population: Slovaks 13.7%, Ruthens 3.7%, Serbians 3.1%, Croats 1.4%, Others 1.6%. However, these landholdings were smaller on average. Considering the medium and large estates (over ~30 hectares), 61.8% were in hands of Hungarians, 17.1% were owned by Germans and 4.6% by Serbians, but only 9.2% by Romanians, 4.6% by Slovaks, 1.0% by Ruthens, 0.4% by Croats and 1.4% by Others. (Jászi O. , 1912, p. 419)

One could be Serbian or Swabian below ~300 hectares, but above he had to become a Hungarian gentleman. If someone wanted to become a man of culture, public servant or landowner; he became Hungarian due to the pressure of the society. (Ács, 1986, p. 314)

Most people from the 'nationalities' did not learn Hungarian: in 1890 only 13.8% of the non-Hungarian citizens did speak Hungarian and in 1910 the share was still only 22.5%. By nationalities, in 1910, 39.8% of the Germans, 30.8% of Croats, 21.4% of Slovaks, 16.6% of Serbians,

14% of Ruthens and 12.7% of Romanians spoke Hungarian (Ács, 1986, p. 280). The previous figures were differentiated by region, more people learning Hungarian where it made sense for the everyday life: between the Danube and the Tisza, and in Transdanubia, where the share of the Hungarian population was the highest, 31 and 30% of the non-Hungarians spoke Hungarian, while in the Banat (with the lowest share of Hungarian population) only 11.8% (Jászi O. , 1912, p. 405)

Jászi confirms that the result of any forced assimilation (which happened in the Hungarian schools) is the ‘strengthening of the national sentiment and mindset [of the suppressed people]’ and at the same time it ‘demoralizes the political class of the ruling nation and, on the contrary, strengthens and develops ethically and mentally the suppressed nation’s most viable members’ (Jászi O. , 1912, pp. 486-487). It also leads to ‘the solidarity of the suppressed nationality overcoming all class differences’ which ends in seeing the national question as the source of all evil, thus ultimately the intent of forced assimilation makes the assimilation impossible (Jászi O. , 1912, pp. 488-490). This obliges the Hungarian society to choose between 2 political directions: either keeping the aim to maintain the ‘historic national supremacy’ - which will also make all liberal institutions for the Hungarians unviable -, or to extend liberalism also to the nationalities (Jászi O. , 1912, pp. 494-495, 510-514). ‘The huge nation-states were not created by monolingualism, but the economy and the culture created the monolingualism’ (Jászi O. , 1912, p. 503), therefore Hungary should allow the free functioning of the nationalities’ political parties, organise the circumscriptions by nationality (so that the national question is not the base of the electoral debate), allow effective use of the nationalities’ languages in the villages, towns and counties and in court, organise the elementary school in their native tongue, establish university departments for the nationalities’ language, literature and history, stop Hungarian settlements and help the development of nationalities’ banks (Jászi O. , 1912, pp. 499-501)

19th century Much of the assimilation happened in the towns which developed fast in this period, and it can be considered to have been at least partly a natural assimilation. In 1910 the population of the 137 towns (excluding Fiume) was 3,663,657, in 1787 it was 909,044, increasing its share in the total population from 11.3% to 20.8%. Out of these towns, the 83 that had a Hungarian majority population in 1910 had 2,936,174 inhabitants in 1910 and 552,977 in 1787, multiplying its population by 5.5 during the long 19th century. The 54 towns which in 1910 did not have a Hungarian majority had 727,483 inhabitants in 1910 and 356,067 in 1787, multiplying its population only by a factor of 2. The 83 are mostly placed on the plains where towns can develop better, and these were the areas where the density of the Hungarian speaking population was the highest also at the beginning of the period. Among the geographical regions of Hungary, the most significant growth happened between the Danube and the Tisza, in the centre of the country: in 1787 the population of the towns located there was 291,824 (32% of the total of the 137 cities) and in 1910 it was 1,773,854 (48% of the total). In these towns located between the Danube and the Tisza, the population of those with Hungarian majority in 1910 was 248,464 in 1787 and 1,720,404 in 1910 (multiplying their size by nearly a factor of 7). The population of those (between the Danube and the Tisza) where the majority of the population was not Hungarian in 1910, the number of inhabitants was 43,360 in 1787 and 53,450 in 1910 (a mere growth of 23%) (Jászi O. , 1912, pp. 383-388).

Out of the 105 towns with over 10,000 inhabitants, 80 were of Hungarian majority in 1910, 9 German, 8 Slovakian, 2 Romanian and 6 Serbian. The 3 largest Slovakian towns were in today's South-East Hungary, on the plains, far from the original Slovakian settlements, as a result of the 18th and 19th century migration. Similarly, the 2 Romanian towns were on the plains of Banat, not in Transylvania. Even in case of German towns, 4 out of the 9 were in the Banat (only re-conquered from the Turks in 1718), only one in Transylvania (Jászi O. , 1912, p. 410). It is estimated that out of these 105 towns (not considering the 5 in Transylvania on which no data is available) only 14 changed its national majority in the previous 50 years: 10 became

Hungarian (all of them are on the plains or on its limits like Budapest), 1 Serbian (from German), 1 Romanian (from Serbian), 2 Slovakian (from Hungarian and Romanian), showing that assimilation in the cities depended on the language of the people living in the surrounding rural areas (Jászi O. , 1912, p. 405).

On the other hand, it is estimated that considering all villages, in the previous 50 years 261 became of Hungarian majority and 456 lost their previous Hungarian majority, 362 became of Romanian majority and 64 lost their previous Romanian majority, 253 became Slovakian and 106 lost it, 4 became Ruthen and 214 lost it, 4 became Serbian and 87 lost it. This can be explained with the principle that 'the sea assimilates the island', the previous figures analysed county by county show how small relative majorities became bigger over time, and not just in favour of Hungarians. The economic growth and thus population growth were higher on the plains where the number of villages was smaller (as they had a larger average size) and these were Hungarian, while the small villages in the mountainous areas became more of the nationalities than before. (Jászi O. , 1912, pp. 401-405)

Ács estimated that in 1839 47% of the population of 126 cities in Hungary was Hungarian and that it increased to 70% by 1910. (Ács, 1986, pp. 306-307)

The change in the towns can be demonstrated with the story of Budapest: In 1787 Buda had 23,919 inhabitants and Pest 20,704 (Dányi & Zoltán, 1960, p. 368). In 1850, Buda had 43,019 inhabitants (80% increase) and Pest 83,828 (multiplying by 4). In 1850 Buda remained predominantly (64.9%) German, Hungarians made up 17.6% of the population and the third largest group were Jews with 11.6%. Pest was evenly split among Germans (40.4%) and Hungarians (38.1%), Jews were 15.1%. For the sum of Buda and Pest, in 1850, 48.7% were German, 31.2% Hungarian, 13.9% Jews and 4.3% Slovakian (Dányi, 1993, pp. 62-63). In 1880, the city had 360,551 inhabitants (Buda joined with Pest and the much smaller Óbuda a few years earlier), a growth of 184% in 30 years. However, the increase was mostly

concentrated in Hungarians, whose number increased 5-fold, while the number of Germans still nearly doubled (94% growth). Thus, 56.8% of the population was Hungarian, 34.2% German, 6.2% Slovakian and 2.2% foreigner (from this year, as the language of daily use was considered, Jews have been integrated into the numbers of other nationalities, of which language they spoke) (Országos Magyar Királyi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1882, pp. 220-221). In 1910, the city had 880,371 inhabitants, after a growth of 144% in another 30 years. This time, among the previously present nationalities, only the number of Hungarians grew, by 280%, reaching 85.9% of the population. The number of Germans decreased 34% (or 41,020), only being 9% of the inhabitants in 1910. Slovaks also decreased 6%, representing 2.3% of the total in 1910 (Magyar Királyi Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1912, p. 35).

Immigration was also relevant among Budapest's Germans: in 1910 only 27% of Budapest's Germans were born in the city, 42% came from another area of Hungary and the rest from abroad, making even clearer the degree of assimilation in the large cities. (Bellér, 1981, p. 106)

In 1880 74% of Budapest's population speaks German and 20% of Germans only speaks German, in 1900 only 6.3% of the population does not speak Hungarian and 39% only speaks Hungarian. (Bellér, 1981, p. 106)

1898 Geographic names in Hungary needs to be written in Hungarian (instead of any previous form written in the language of nationalities) (Bellér, 1981, p. 114).

1906 Plans for the federative restructuring of Austria-Hungary (as 'United States of Greater Austria'), along ethnic lines, with plebiscites to decide in case the frontiers were unclear: a plan supported by the heir to the throne Franz Ferdinand. He apparently had a Day 1 plan what to do in Hungary after his accession to the throne and had in his drawer a manifesto on the equality of nations (Jászi O. , 1912, pp. 515-516).

At the end of the century Franz Ferdinand dreamed of opening his reign with a swift military occupation of Budapest and there was always a

poisonous undercurrent of mutual hatred threatening to break the surface.
(Winder, 2013, p. 487)

... Franz Ferdinand's plans for a new Compromise which would have put South Slavs on the same footing as Germans and Hungarians. Admittedly, a key motivation for Franz Ferdinand's vision was his borderline-pathological hatred of the Hungarians, but, the replacement of 'Dualism' by 'Trialism' was a logical next step, even if furiously rejected by elements in the Empire. (Winder, 2013, pp. 547-548)

- 1906-1909 Coalition government in Hungary, strict policy against nationalities, many Slovakian politicians being convicted to prison due to their written opinion (Szarka, c. 1993, p. 147).
- 1907 Massacre of Csernova-Černová, killing 15. The Slovakian village was protesting against the consecration of their church by anyone else than their imprisoned priest, blocking the passage of the procession and rural police shooting into the crowd. The incident has been considered the main example of the usage of brute force by the Hungarian authorities against the nationalities (Szarka, c. 1993, pp. 147-148). Although it seems the leader of the police force giving the order to shoot and the majority of its members were ethnic Slovaks (Wikipedia re. Cernovo, 2022).
- 1907 Lex Apponyi makes it obligatory to learn Hungarian for every pupil in the Kingdom of Hungary: it is expected that at the end of the fourth grade they can express themselves in both oral and written language in Hungarian (Ács, 1986, p. 280).
- 1907 Universal suffrage among men in the Austrian half of the Monarchy – interestingly, the Emperor used it first as an idea to threaten the Hungarian nobles (on proposal of Conrad von Hötzendorf, Chief of Staff, who wanted an army with more popular support), then he withdrew the proposal, but the Austrian social democracy demanded the same and succeeded. Karl Renner (later prime minister and president of Austria) believed in the principle of personality in regards to nationality, instead of the principle of territoriality, in the same way as religion is treated. (Jászi O. , 1929, pp. 145-146, 177-184)

- 1908 Annexation of Bosnia, a unit within the Habsburg Monarchy separate from the Austrian and Hungarian halves and governed by the joint Ministry of Finance.
- 1910-1913 István Tisza, Hungarian prime minister, leads negotiations with leaders of the Romanian party in order to achieve a pact, however, the positions are too far away (Szász, c. 1993, p. 108)
- 1914 After the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, the Hungarian government is cautious with the declaration of war with Serbia, as it is a lose-lose situation (if Austria-Hungary wins, the percentage of Slavs increases further in the kingdom, threatening therefore the supremacy of the Hungarians) (Winder, 2013, pp. 495, 619)
- 1916 Although in theory an ally of the Central Powers since 1883, Romania enters the war on side of the Entente, following the promise to receive large territories from Austria-Hungary. Romanian forces are defeated by the end of the year, separate peace treaty.
- 1918 January: US President Woodrow Wilson's 14 points published, including self-determination for the nations of the Habsburg Empire.
 In deciding to suppress revolutionary agitation and continue a lost war, the authorities of the Habsburg Monarchy made sure that there would be a Wilsonian rather than a Soviet Europe. (*Hobsbawm*, 1992, p. 129)
- 1918 April: Rome Conference of the Monarchy's nationalities, aiming for independence outside of Austria-Hungary (Ács, 1986, p. 315).
- 1918 18 October: Manifesto by the Emperor making the Austrian half of the Habsburg Empire a confederative state. 31 October: Mihály Károlyi becomes prime minister, Oszkár Jászi his minister for nationalities, they advocate for a reorganisation of the state on a federalist basis (however, maintaining the territorial integrity), however it comes late (this was what the nationalities demanded in 1848) and the nationalities declare their wish to leave Austria-Hungary either before or after the 3rd November truce: Romanian National Council on 1st December (against which the Hungarian National Council in Kolozsvár/Cluj on 22nd December declares to remain in Hungary, shortly after Romanian troops arrive and suspend freedom of association and demonstration).

The Croatian, Serbian and Slovenians agree on October 5-6 that they want to form a state and the Croatian-Dalmatian Sabor declares on 29th October that it forms an independent state and stops all contacts with Austria and Hungary. The national assembly of Vojvodina declares on 25th November that they want to join. (Ács, 1986, pp. 315-318)

The Czechoslovak state is proclaimed in Prague on 28th October. (Ács, 1986, p. 316) The Slovakian National Council declares the right for self-determination on 30 October 1918, although the declaration published the next day already excludes the demand of being represented in the peace conference (instead being represented by the Czech politicians). Agreement of the Hungarian government with Milan Hodza on 26th November 1918 about a provisional autonomy including all districts with a population of Slovakian majority, however, after his right to negotiate this kind of treaty is not recognised by the Czechoslovakian government, agreement about a demarcation line on 6th December 1918, in order for the Hungarian troops to withdraw, roughly following the ethnic border. This line is substantially altered by the request of the French government (based on Prague's demands) on 24th December 1918, roughly corresponding to the current border (thus excluding Transcarpathia). (Szarka, c. 1993, pp. 151-158) Autonomy agreement with the Ruthen leaders of Transcarpathia on 25th December 1918, however shortly after the Czechoslovakian army enters the region (S. Benedek, c. 1993, pp. 53-55). Károlyi believes in Wilson's 14 points and thus dismisses the Hungarian soldiers returning from the front and retreats behind the demarcation lines drawn by the winners.

György Ránki noted aptly that Oszkár Jászi nor Mihály Károlyi was able to recognise in their just struggle against the Hungarian nationalism and chauvinism that 'the nationalism is not solely the sin of the Hungarian aristocracy and gentry, or the manipulative tool of the bourgeoisie, that the limits between just and unjust demands or between defending or attacking nationalisms in the reality are not easy to draw and that the willingness to live very quickly converts into a desire to rule'. (Ács, 1986, p. 288)

1919 21 March: Communists take over the power after Károlyi resigns (not being ready to withdraw even further following the Entente's requests). Soviet style system until end of July, recognising the right of nationalities for self-

determination including the right to form their own states. When the Hungarian Red Army enters some Slovakian cities, the Slovakian Soviet Republic is proclaimed. Romanian troops enter Budapest after the fall of the communist regime.

1920 Treaty of Trianon, without fully implementing Wilson's points. No plebiscites took place to confirm the desire of the population of the 'nationalities' to leave (which was however very likely), no plebiscites were organised to establish the 'right' ethnic border. As a result:

Of the population of 20,866,447 (1910 census), Hungary was left with 7,615,117. Romania received 5,257,467; Yugoslavia, 4,131,249; Czechoslovakia, 3,517,568; and Austria, 291,618. Of the 10,050,575 persons for whom Hungarian was the mother tongue, no fewer than 3,219,579 were allotted to the successor states: 1,704,851 to Romania, 1,063,020 to Czechoslovakia, 547,735 to Yugoslavia, and 26,183 to Austria. While the homes of some of these—e.g., the Szeklers—had been in the remotest corners of historic Hungary, many were living immediately across the new frontiers. (Britannica/Hungary/History, n.d.)

Please note however, that the numbers of the 1910 census are being debated, as it did not record ethnicity but language of everyday use and many people were multi-lingual and there was probably some kind of 'incentive' to declare the main language being Hungarian. (Wikipedia re. Trianon, 2022) Especially in the cities was the population multi-lingual, 'siding with the winner', thus it is probably not just up to the 'counter-incentives' of the post-1918 successor states that a much smaller share of the population declared itself Hungarian in the 1920s than in 1910.

Although Hungarian public history considers Trianon as a national tragedy, maybe it should be either seen from an economic perspective as the unfortunate conversion of the large (although still not fully unified) multi-national market of the Habsburg Monarchy into much less efficient small protectionist states (thus reducing prosperity), or, from a nationalist perspective, as the just step which allowed its integrating nations to decide their destiny – although with strong bias around how the exact borders have been drawn. However, the new states formed were not pure nation-states, as

Ács writes in 1986, before the disintegration of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia:

The Monarchy, in the similar way as the Turkish Empire, exploded due to the national principle. At the same time, no nation states could be formed – in the narrow sense of the word -, but new smaller multi-national countries... The history has mixed together the people of the region in such a measure that 'language-nation-states' could not be formed. (Ács, 1986, p. 319)

- 1921 Charles IV tries twice in Hungary to return to the throne, both times he is asked to leave (the second time even a small battle takes place).
- 1921 After the Hungarian government left the territory - ready for handover to the Austrian authorities -, Hungarian paramilitary forces make impossible the implementation of the Trianon Treaty in the city of Sopron-Ödenburg, on the border with Austria, and force a referendum, where the city and the surrounding area decides to stay in Hungary (65% share of vote).

8.7 Appendix 7: Hungarian textbooks on the 1867 Compromise and the dual monarchy

After the defeat of Königgrätz the events gathered speed. The Habsburg Empire, which lost ground in Italy and Germany, could only keep its status as a great power with the contribution of Hungary. The deal was made easier by the fact that Deák maintained his offer [of 1865] unchanged, despite the Austrian defeat (...) We can evaluate the Compromise as a realistic agreement which fitted the balance of power. In the given moment no other solution was in sight, given the international situation and the exhausted reserves of the revolutionary movement in Hungary (...) There was no misalignment between Kossuth and Deák, these two great figures of the Hungarian liberalism, that the best for Hungarians and any nation is an independent nation-state. Deák hoped that the constitutionality of the Habsburg Empire can be carried forward and that Hungary can be kept intact after the eventual demise of the Monarchy. Kossuth said that the Compromise does not create a confederative state but it conserves a doomed empire (...) The internal problems, the antagonisms between the nations condemned it [the dual monarchy] all the way to a secondary role [internationally] (...) The trialistic aspirations of the Czechs and then of the South-Slavs (in fact the aim to reorganise the monarchy into a confederation) threatened the delicate balance all the way (...) First of all the nationality question had to be solved. Croatia received ample autonomy (see the diagram on page 230). However, the Croatians wanted the same rights as those enjoyed by Hungary and the so-called Croatian Compromise could only be accepted by the Croatian parliament after its composition was forcefully changed. The new nationality law ensured the nationalities' right to use their language in the village, town and county life (...) The elementary education happened fully in the nationalities' languages, the Hungarian language was not even obligatory to teach as a subject (!). Nevertheless, the collective rights demanded by the nationalities -essentially the organisation of autonomous territories- had been refused. It was expressed by stating that in Hungary from a political point of view there is only one nation, the Hungarian (...) The leaders of the nationalities -who were fighting for the most favourable development of their nationality- were not satisfied by the law. However, later the nationalistic politicians did not fight against it but for its observation. (Dr. Závodszy, 2001, pp. 230-232)

The millennium. On 31st December 1895 midnight all the bells in the entire territory of Hungary rang. A series of festivities started that went on for the entire year, celebrating the 1000th anniversary of the existence of a Hungarian statehood (...) Also the social fights and those between the political parties became much less intense, only

the leaders of the nationalities protested against the manifestation of the Hungarian supremacy. (Dr. Závodszky, 2001, p. 236)

The crisis of dualism (...) The structural contradictions of the empire - refurbished through the Compromise - were given from start. The nation-less unified army, only responsible to the ruler, contradicted the strictly symmetric dual construction. The absolutist prerogatives were in contradiction with the parliamentary democracy (...) The national-nationality question. In Hungary the public opinion was emotionally always against the Compromise. The Hungarians were however too weak to fight at the same time for the full independence and for the hegemony above the nationalities. As Lajos Mocsáry, nearly the only politician who showed sympathy towards the demands of the nationalities, wrote: 'we had to choose between the Magyarization and independence' (...) The governing liberal politicians chose to experiment with a nationalism directed against the nationalities -in order to disarm the opposition- when the attraction of the independent Balkan states increased towards their blood-relatives living within the Hungarian borders. (Dr. Závodszky, 2001, p. 254)

The Compromise first of all served the interests of the Austrian industrial and financial circles and of the Hungarian landowners. At the same time, it was also a deal agreed between the two strongest nations (the Austrian-German and the Hungarian) without the other nations living in the Monarchy. Despite the joint matters, Hungary enjoyed the highest degree of independence since 1526 (not counting the few short months of the revolution and war of independence) (...) The Compromise has been accepted by a part of the Austrian public opinion as a necessity. It wasn't easy to accept the fact of power-sharing with the Hungarians instead of daydreaming a unified empire (...) Kossuth condemned Deák's opus as he believed Deák bound the country to Austria, a great power in ways of dissolution. The national movements and the European changes will destruct Austria and this will damage Hungary unmeasurably. Kossuth would have preferred to attach the country's safety instead of the empire to the Danube Confederation, the voluntary confederation of nations living in the Danube valley. (Ujvári, 1996 (1), pp. 239-241)

The nationality problem became one of the defining factors of the Monarchy's existence. The Compromise has been agreed between the politicians of the Austrian-German and Hungarian nations. No others could have any say in the agreement even later. For instance, the Czech demand of a trialist state failed (...) The Hungarian parliament agreed the nationality law in 1868. The decision was preceded by long debates. József Eötvös, the initiator of the law, together with the liberally minded friends of Ferenc Deák, wanted to connect the individual rights with a system of public administration based on self-governance (e.g. majority and free use of language in the counties). In their ideas

Hungary would have become a state operating above the different nations, for their benefit, however securing the leading role of the Hungarians. However, the large majority of leading Hungarian politicians demanded the implementation of a unified Hungarian nation-state. The bill proposed by the nationalities' members of parliament instead included the recognition of six equal nations, essentially the rearrangement of the country on federalist bases (...) The majority of the nationalities' members of parliament left the hemisphere already during the voting, as a sign of their objection. They believed that the Hungarian leadership does not allow them to have a say in their own affairs (...) The Hungarian politics was only ready to grant a higher degree of autonomy to Croatia. (Ujvári, 1996 (1), pp. 266-268)

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