THE NATIONAL COLLEGE OF ART AND DESIGN

THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL MURALS IN THE NORTH OF IRELAND

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"All art is political and speaks to particular social classes or serves social ends, whether intentionally or not."

Towards a People's Art

INTRODUCTION

This thesis evolved from my practical involvement as a mural painter in the South of Ireland, since 1980. What interested me initially in murals was that by their very nature they reversed the process of alienation between artist and spectator. This manipulative culture of alienated spectator-consumer that exists has been caused, according to author John Weber ('Towards a People's Art') "by the commercial bourgeois media and the equally alienated obscurantist high" culture of elite institutions.[1] The present upsurge in popularity with murals around the world is perhaps explained by their potential for setting up a democratically controlled culture. Not until the beginning of this decade, did the south of Ireland participate in the world-wide revival of wall-painting. In 1980, the Arts Council introduced a scheme for murals in primary schools,[2] where the children actively participated in the design and painting alongside the artist. Despite the success and merits of the scheme most people in Ireland are still unaware of the power murals have in bringing culture closer to their lives - Northern Ireland being an exception to this general situation since there has been a tradition of wall-painting in Protestant areas going back at least 80 years, and more recently in Catholic areas.

What is apparent from working on mural projects is that once the artist reveals the working process, barriers

and attitudes to art are immediately broken down and the desire to get involved replaces feelings of alienation. People realise quickly that part of the mystery attached to art is created through a lack of knowledge about the process and the belief that all artistic creations are the work of genius. It was possible then for many to consider giving form to their own expression and that they could make a positive contribution to the cultural identity which is often thought to be not of ordinary people's making.

Having decided to concentrate on the subject of murals I confined myself at an early stage in my research to the geographical context of Ireland. I felt by experience that there was sufficient material available here of an interesting and even unique nature to concentrate on. I particularized my research on the political murals in the North of Ireland and used work done in Belfast as principal reference.

There are fundamental differences between the political murals in the North and murals in the South. Apart from being apolitical, the southern murals tend to lean towards being decorative and environmental "spruce-ups". They have been used educationally, where art is introduced at primary school level, in the form of a mural project for the children . But despite the enormous potential, educationally, for this type of project, for the most part, this potential hasn't been fully exploited. Neither is there any real sense emerging about the distinct nature of murals. In most cases in the South, mural projects have been instituted by

artists, or artists sent into schools and communities and in my experience, there's a strong element of being foisted upon a community and even though the response from people was usually positive, but often sheepish, the real possibility for murals being of and part of the community hasn't been fully explored. That's what made me find the political murals in the north of such great interest and value as a study. Firstly they are a product of the socio/political situation there. Apart from representing the religious and political divide that exists they do represent a form of "democratically-controlled" art within the respective communities. To support this claim I went and interviewed some of the people responsible for painting them, on both sides. The artists, because they are usually locals, can represent visually what is really a mandate from the people in their area. The murals are seen as part of the cultural identity of the community. Local and traditional symbolism is employed. The mural form is used as a means to an end in the political murals, whereas those sponsored by bureucracies, like the ones in the south, tend to be an end in themselves with little scope for social dialogue. A brief study of subject matter will reveal that the southern murals tend to derive their subject matter from any number of internationalized sources - Walt Disney to Jungle scenes [1] - which displays I think, at times, an insensitivity to the needs of areas in which they're painted. The political murals take exclusively from the cultural baggage and symbolism of two distinct identities -

They are usually categorized as Loyalist (Protestant) and Republican (Catholic). They have evolved as working-class art-forms in that the incidence of the political murals originated and remain within working class areas. The first and third chapters include interviews with people from both religious communities who have been responsible for at least one mural. My feelings about the interviews is that they recount events and historical backgrounds in a personal and involved way which lends a human element to what is otherwise an objective analysis of how and why these murals came into existence. With examples of the murals on one hand and some of the people responsible for painting them on the other it is possible to see more clearly the cultural process at work, the social interaction between events and how people respond.

The first interview is with a retired man, a Loyalist who gives his interpretation of the historical background to the early Loyalist murals up until the 1960's. These murals were known as 'King Billy' murals, as they used the symbol of King William III, on horseback (a few other variations were added to this standard format). They commemorated the Protestant-heritage.[3] This interview in many ways pays tribute to what is now a dying tradition of King William wall-painting. The second interview is with a young Loyalist who could be said to represent a new breed of Loyalist painters in that the traditional imagery of King William III, has been dropped in favour of a more hardened political symbolism. This particular man had spent

five years as a prisoner in Long Kesh prison where he had madehandcrafts decorated with Loyalist imagery. This imagery was later used to embellish the gable wall of a house in Howard Street South, Belfast. I intended that the order of the first two interviews would provide a total run-through, from the origins to the present, of Loyalist wall-painting. In Chapter III, I include a third interview, this time with a Republican from the Falls Road area of Belfast, which is a Catholic working-class area. This interview represents what is the Catholic ideology and so opposite to the Protestant ideology represented in the first two interviews. The young man interviewed described the beginnings of the Republican murals and their development to the present day. The growth of Republican murals emerge in the interview as having origins separate from the Loyalist murals which exemplifies the effect of their being two distinct identities. This I deal with in Chapter two. The Republican murals appear to have grown from the development and clean-up of local graffiti which coincided with the political events of the time. The history of Repulican murals is much more recent than their Loyalist counterpart, dating back only to 1981. This last interview I use also as a counterbalance to what I hope is an objective analysis of political murals in the north of Ireland.

FOOTNOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. John Weber, co-author of 'Towards a People's Art', p. xxi.

2. The scheme sponsored by the Southern Arts Council is called 'Paint on the Wall'. It is still in operation. The scheme operates only in primary schools. A booklet is availabel from the Arts Council (from the Education Officer).

3. According to Harold Gibson, see first interview in Chapter I, p. where he stated King Billy murals weren't painted to 'shake fists' at the Catholics but done as acts of celebration.

CHAPTER I

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOYALIST MURALS

Interviews with two Loyalist Painters

The following is an interview with a retired man, Harold Gibson at his home at 95 Maryville Street, off the Ormeau Road, Belfast on 1st February 1983. Mr. Gibson had been a loyalist all his life having been brought up as one. He had always been interested in art, ever since his early years and prior to painting his first 'King Billy' mural for his local community, he had been painting watercolours. He still paints and now that he is retired spends a lot of time in the local library. He is particularly interested in history. [1]

GO'R: When did you paint your first 'King Billy' mural?

HG: It would be about 1938. I did it at the request of the people that lived in the street. It was done over a very old one, that had faded. This was my first attempt at painting on a large scale, although I had been painting watercolours for a number of years.

GO'R: How old were you when you painted this one?

HG: I was twenty-two, so it was a novel experience for me as well as being a challenge, so when I decided to do it the neighbours were pleased and said 'make a good job of that'. So I started and actually the painting underneath was acting as a deterrent because I would have been better on a blank wall because it was putting me off my ideas. However, I struggled on with it, and between. . ., by the way I was only on a ladder, there was no scaffolding, just on the ladder, nose was up agin the bricks, more or less.

GO'R: This was a two-storey gable-end house which was obviously a focal point on the street for viewing?

HG: That's right.
Anyway between up the ladder and down the ladder, going across the other side looking up at what I done and trying to get the dimensions and proportions right - and somebody said
"now look there, something's wrong with that",
"what do you mean?" says I,
I was a wee bit piqued at that - it was one of the neighbours saying,
"The horse is standing with three legs off the ground,"
"Oh," says I, "you could be right," so I went and amended that,
then after another few days somebody says,
"His sword is awful small."

GO'R: So there was always somebody coming and commenting on the work?

HG: Yes, it was terrible, so many came around, it was alright for them to stand by.
After it was done I said "what do you think?"
Well after all the criticism they gave, they said "--it's okay."

GO'R: They liked it in other words?

HG: For myself, for a first attempt it wasn't bad, and surprise, surprise they got what was then called a four wheeler van, it pulled up with a horse, right below the painting and I seen these chairs coming out and there were table cloths, it looked like four sewn together which were put up over the picture so that they could unveil it.

GO'R: Did you know what was happening?

HG: Well, there was Mr. Mason, the neighbour who asked me to do the painting-
says I, "Billy, I didn't expect all this, I thought I was only going to do a painting, that's that",
So Billy says,
"Oh, we're going to do this up proud, we're going to have an alderman from chambers and make a speech and so forth."
I wanted to go away and hide or crawl into a wee hole, so they had a good job persuading me to go ahead with it.
There was this sweep who was noted for his eloquence, and he was half tore, he was as drunk as a coot, and he started, he made a

bit of a speech and it was quite good but then he broke into a jig or a dance and started singing songs. So I asked Mr. Mason to do something about him as he was lowering the tone of the occasion. So Mr. Mason got rid of him and after that the painting was photographed and went into the newspapers and all that.

GO'R: So where did you paint this mural? What was the name of the street?

HG: That was Silvergrove Street, Donegall Pass, and that's all gone, it was pulled down. . . [1]

GO'R: When was the next time you painted a King Billy on a wall?

HG: 1960, was the next time. There was quite a span between the two paintings and the same man came again.

GO'R: In 1960! But were you painting pictures for yourself between these two dates?

HG: Yes.

GO'R: So the local people knew that your interest in painting was still there.

HG: Yes, very much so. I painted many scenes of Belfast [shows me photographs of same] and I was interested in local history. Nowadays since I've retired I spend a lot of time in the library. After paiting the first 'King Billy' I got very interested in the man himself and tried to find out as much as possible about him. To all accounts he was a very tolerant man but wasn't popular because he couldn't speak English too well. Nowadays he wouldn't be tolerated except as a foreigner. Anyhow, although it was a sideline, I was brought up to think 'that' way and I thought 'that' way, I liked doing it, you know. So, Billy Mason and this chap Ferguson, that lived in the street, came to me again - "would you like to do another painting?" I wasn't too happy at the time so they had to coax and coax. So I said, alright finally but I didn't want any collections, no money or anything. There was a collection the first time, but then it was a small sum. It brought me a fish supper if you know what I mean.

GO'R: Would that street normally collect for getting the painting done?

HG: Yes, generally they would.

GO'R: I talked with somebody else from the Newtownards Road area and he said, in his street they painted the King Billy every year as well as having a bonfire and bunting, painting the kerbs, red, white, and blue. So does that mean that after you painted the wall, the following year somebody else was liable to come and touch it up?

HG: In my case it just stayed till it faded, it didn't in fact fade all that much.

GO'R: What sort of traditions were in each area?

HG: Different areas must have their different ways. Well, the area across from Donegal Pass, they just collected and gathered things like bunting.

GO'R: So let's get back to the painting you did in 1960.

HG: Well I said I didn't want to be paid for it, so they said, "fair enough". I was a bit unsure about doing it because I'd settled down in my ways, I was never an extrovert anyway. I started out and of course my old painting was there. Says I, "I'll do something about this, I'll not have the same problem again so I painted the whole area white. Right over and left the shape that I wanted, a sort of an arch, a rainbow effect, and started from scratch, so of course the same thing, up and down the ladder, nose agin the bricks, a close view. . .

GO'R: It's very hard to work and get a good view of how it is progressing at so close a range.

HG: Well I liked to stand back every now and again even if it's only for the exercise. Up and down the lader, up and down, it was quite monotonous, it took nine days.
This will be the last one I do so I'll make this a good one.
So says I, "I want varnish, ships varnish if I can get it. So when I'd finished the painting, it was in the old traditional style, I wasn't trying to do anything modern, old rainbow -

GO'R: Where did you,if any, get your design from?

HG: It was actually from an old orange lodge certificate I'd seen years ago. I didn't make this one up, really, because between seeing old ones long ago in the twenties, there used to be some lovely ones in the twenties. But the King Billy ones that I admired most, had

a sort of rainbow arch, it would have been red, white and blue, or orange and purple arch and pillars coming down each side, 'Fear of God and the King' and so on written, and the scroll work came down the pillars along with orange liliesin profusions.

GO'R: So would you say that the people who painted these murals served some kind of apprenticeship?

HG: Well, I didn't plan it.

GO'R: But you were interested in art - you had already painted your own pictures so it could be said you had served some kind of apprenticeship.

HG: Yes, I suppose you're right.
. . . so I used ship's varnish, I said I'll make this one last, and it did right enough, it stayed for quite a lot of years, quite well, but it wasn't a day old I think when someone came along and threw a handful of cement [laughs] and they played darts with King Billy's face [laughs] - well, of course you get that, so it lasted 'till the houses were pulled down, you wouldn't know the area now at all.

GO'R: Has it been redeveloped?

HG: Yes, all modern houses. [He told me he disliked new things. When I arrived with my tape recorder I had to change the plug to an old round pin - he wanted to keep the place as old fashioned as possible.]

GO'R: The only King Billy painting I've seen in reality is the one in Donegal Road. Do you know it?

HG: Yes, now that's Rockland Street that's a very good one. It's kept fresh every year. They call that area the village, Donegal Road. The same man tends to it all the time, the same as the man in Derry.

GO'R: Is his name Bobby Jackson? [2]

HG: I don't know, he was in the paper recently, he kept it up but I didn't. I wanted to just sink into the background.

GO'R: Somebody told me Mr. Jackson makes his own paints.[1]

HG: Oh, pestle and mortar and all that sort of thing [laughs]. There is one you can still see on the Ormeau Road.

GO'R: Have you ever seen the Republican wall paintings?

HG: No, not at all, I don't go round those areas, I'm afraid of walking around.

GO'R: Yes, I understand.

HG: I think I got a glimpse of one, but I'm sure there must be some very good ones, there must be, just like our own, some good, some bad. I've seen a King Billy and it was terrible, it was like a scrawl, you'd laugh your head off.

GO'R: Can you tell me why people aren't painting the King Billy anymore. Is it that people are afraid, feel perhaps a little threatened?

HG: Yes I'd feel a bit threatened painting one now, I mean there's people that would understand but then there's more that wouldn't, that doesn't like them, that they're an insult to their politics and then might take action.

GO'R: I travelled around the Shankill and the Newtownards road area to try and find any murals but came across a few Union Jacks, badly painted and graffiti, although a lot of the kerbs were painted red, white and blue. So why is this, when there was such a strong tradition of doing them and so often done with a great degree of professionalism? It appears suddenly to have stopped. [3, 4]

HG: Well of course, the old stock, the old men, I think it was mostly an old timers vocation, that's what I think. Very few people do that now that want to do it. For some reason, I don't know. . .That's an interesting question.

GO'R: It's interesting from the point of view that the Republicans have taken up the same method of presenting visually on the walls, what they believe, but now the Protestants have stopped, it's like a whole way of life is going. People aren't concerned about this tradition now.

HG: The impression I get is that Protestants are turning in on themselves, turning someway into themselves, into a knot. I can't understand it.

GO'R: The feeling I got about the King Billys was that people were very proud of them.

HG: Yes, they were. They was no offence intended, they liked to do them and they liked to look at them. They weren't there to 'shake fists' really.

GO'R: Would you agree that the main difference between Republican and Loyalist murals is the manner in which the subject matter is treated. If the Republican ones represent a struggle for deliverance, the Loyalist's express victory and celebration.

HG: The King Billys certainly were bright and they did represent a celebration.

GO'R: I want to ask you what sort of materials you used to paint the wall? Did you use household paint. I've heard it said that paint from the ship-yards was often used.

HG: Yes, but it was household paint I used, we got the paint anywhere, we didn't buy it usually, because people weren't all that well off. It took a lot of paint too. It would always be a collective effort. If it was a particularly exotic paint like purple or orange that you wanted, we might go and buy it. We usually got huge quantities of grey and red lead. I had about four or five brushes, one for each colour.

GO'R: Did the whole involvement with painting on a wall-surface make you want to find out more about other methods of painting murals? Fresco, for instance.

HG: Yes, it did. I've heard of fresco.

GO'R: Were you interested in trying this method out, although it isn't entirely suitable for our climate?

HG: I was interested in frescos for a wee bit, didn't Leonardo use it. They used plaster, isn't that right?

GO'R: Yes.

HG: Did they use egg tempera, it's a very durable medium. . .

At this stage I switched off the tape-recorder and began to look around the room. On the wall as you came into the living room there was a small oil painting of King William on a dark horse. So I asked if he would mind telling me a little about it.

GO'R: Can I ask you about the small picture of King William on the dark horse. When did you paint it?

HG: In 1962.
I used a picture from the Daily Telegraph. It struck me as being out of the ordinary, King William on a dark horse, a dark brown horse it appeared, and he had armour on him.

GO'R: Where did the original picture originate from? Was it an old picture?

HG: It's from a very ancient picture, a contemporary picture of the time 'King Billy' was alive.

GO'R: So why do you think people always painted him on a white horse, if he was portrayed originally on a dark one?

HG: The leader has always to be on a white horse. Sure didn't they sometimes put the good cowboy on a white horse? (I don't mean to associate King William with cowboys.) It would stick out in a crowd, like back in those days people always looked for a leader, and if they didn't see a leader they were sort of demoralized. And then he had to be resplendent.

GO'R: So the white horse is a symbol then?

HG: The people used to put little white horses in their fanlights [he had one on the shelf which he showed to me] for the same reason as the paintings. I know some houses that have them and I know why it's there. It's the symbol of King William III. It used to be more prevalent in the old days. [5]

GO'R: You would know before you went into a house for instance the political leanings of the occupants.

HG: Yes, that's true.

GO'R: When you were painting 'King Billy' did you wonder what the symbolism meant to yourself and to your neighbours?

HG: I saw him as a deliverer. We were brought up with this idea. It was instilled in us, impregnated into our characters, to us he was I suppose a folk hero.

GO'R: When you were painting him, did you put much of your own feelings into the pictures and did you also try to put across the collective feelings of the people you were painting for.

HG: I'd say it was a collective feeling, more or less, with something of my self went into it as well.

GO'R: Do you think it's the role of an artist to put forward what is the beliefs and emotions of the people and also be true to him/herself?

HG: Well, I think an artist has to be true to himself.

GO'R: Do you consider that the Republicans express the struggle for deliverance?

HG: Yes.

GO'R: And isn't it interesting to compare the work of the two communities seeing that the people are from the same city and country, but hold opposed views politically.

HG: They're two different peoples, with very different traditions, black and white. I would say I can't see a coming togetherness at all, not looking around these times. I can't see it. They must be back a hundred years now in their thinking.

And on that sad note the interview ended.

This next interview, as I have stated in the Introduction, is with a young man in his twenties, Michael Wilson, a loyalist and a one time special category prisoner at Long Kesh prison for five years. After getting out of jail he was for a period unemployed and it was during this time that himself and a friend decided to paint the Howard Street South mural. Now he works bricking up houses, houses that the occupants have vacated on account of the trouble. The interview took place in the back room of the Ivy Bar, Walnut Street, Ormeau Road, Belfast on the 7th January 1983, which [1] is just several hundred yards from the home of Harry Gibson. But neither men knew each other.

"A southern mick, an English Jew, going off to meet a pack of loyalists to talk about King Billy. Well, I never. . ." [My contact for this interview referring to myself and friend]

GO'R: Why had you decided to paint a mural?

MW: Mainly for something to do. We were all unemployed at the time. Also the Queen's Jubilee was coming up so we decided to do something to commemorate this.

GO'R: What type of mural is it, what sort of imagery did you use. Was it a 'King Billy' mural?

MW: Well we used images that we had put on [6, 7] handkerchiefs and handcrafts when we were in the Kesh [Long Kesh prison]. It had two flags in the centre, the Ulster flag and the Scottish flag, the Queen's Jubilee 57-77 and 'No Surrender'. It was balanced at both bottom corners with two Union Jacks.

GO'R: Have you ever had any problems keeping it from being vandalized? I believe the Republican ones are constantly being destroyed, some say it's the army that's responsible. Presumably being a Loyalist relations with the army are better.

MW: That isn't true in my experience. We've had to repaint it several times. One time the army threw paint all over it so we sent for someone in the army to come down and talk to us so they sent a major who agreed to let us have the paint to redo it. We think it was the Welsh guards who destroyed it. Another time we caught a man, a Protestant, painting out the words 'Queen's Jubilee, 57-77' which was written across the top. The man said he wanted nothing to do with the Queen.

GO'R:)Did you paint it on your own?

MW: No, another fellow and myself painted it. He's since left the area.

GO'R: What type of materials did you use to paint the wall?

MW: We used gloss paint and chalk to mark it out.

GO'R: Did you try to contact any of the old King Billy painters for advice on how to do it?

MW: No, we didn't know anybody in the area who had painted one. There isn't much of a tradition in this area although years ago there used to be. A lot of the houses were pulled down for re-development. Now there isn't much of a tradition of anything.

GO'R: What do you think about the political symbolism of your painting? Do you think it defines the political consciousness of Loyalist people in the area?

MW: Yes, I think it does.

GO'R: Would you agree that subconsciously your upbringing moulds your way of thinking and although you saw no link between the old King Billy painters and yourself, you did in fact take advantage of a tradition which tolerates the painting of political symbolism on the walls of houses in the community.

MW: Yes, I imagine what you're saying is true. It does reflect the Loyalist tradition of 'no surrender'.

GO'R: The Republicans appear to be very organised in recent times in getting their message across usually on the walls. The Loyalist's tradition appears to be on the wane except for the painting of kerbs and putting up bunting for the twelfth of July celebrations. Would you agree with this observation?

MW: Well, in this area, as I said, there isn't much of anything going on. Most people have left to move in other areas. [He pointed to two customers and said that they were Catholics - which on one hand could have implied that it wasn't possible now to be explicit about one's beliefs or that they were prepared to become absorbed in a more plural community. However he stated emphatically that he still celebrated the 12th July.]

We continued talking for many hours moving away from the subject of murals to more general topics about life in the north. It was my first time to meet a Loyalist and our conversation proved very helpful and informative for me and I would like to think, for him also.

The Development of Loyalist Murals

The order in which these two interviews appear hopefully establishes some of the long history of Loyalist wall-painting. Belinda Loftus who has done considerable research on Loyalist murals, states that they began with the advent of commercially manufactured paints in the early part of this century which coincides with Harry Gibson's early memories of seeing many King William wall-paintings in the 1920's. However she does state that that tradition does not go back more than a hundred years, rather more sixty to seventy years. In an interview for Ulster Radio she states,

> I think really what prompted the large scale development of them at the beginning of this century was the introduction of commercially marketed house paints. Because with that people started painting up their houses in Belfast and then other towns in Northern Ireland. And I think if you look at photographs

> of housing in the towns in the 19th century, you'll find that they're not painted and so this was something that came in at the beginning of the century when people could simply go into a shop and get paints. And with this, just painting up of ordinary houses, then it developed into the wall-paintings as well. (2)

King William III was essentially, to the Protestant population, the key figure to the concept of a Protestant heritage.

> He was seen as the tireless defender of their faith, the King of pious glorious and immortal memory who rode the white horse of the saviour of the apocalypse, and an immediate reminder of the kind of leadership expected from figures in the Protestant community. (3) [7]

The use of King William imagery established itself as standard format for the wall-paintings. Despite this fact there was a considerable amount and pride in interpretation and skill displayed.

The wall-paintings "are not as far removed from fine art traditions as many would have us believe. . ."[4] They depended upon a complex tradition of Williamite imagery developed between the Dutch monarch's campaign in Ireland in the 1690's and the early years of this century. The tradition of Williamite imagery was inspired by Dutch medals [8] celebrating the King's Irish victories, portraits of him by Kneller and Wyck, and the statue of King William by Gainling Gibbons, which stood in Dublin from 1701 to 1929. But the principal influence however came from Benjamin West's painting of the Battle of the Boyne first exhibited in 1780. An engraving made of it in 1781 became very popular among Irish Loyalists. [Bobby Jackson from Derry, painted the Battle of

the Boyne which closely approximated to the painting.] [2]
Images of King William were further popularized through engravings made of the paintings, post-cards were printed, even tea-towels were produced with the King William imagery. King William glass ware was produced - West's painting was [9] used for the frontispiece to a collection of Constitutional Songs published in Ireland in 1798, by the 1820's a lithograph version could be found in a songbook produced for the Apprentice Boys and the willingness of Loyalist image-makers to turn to fine art models in their renderings of William III is confirmed by the pictures pinned up on the studio wall of Bridgelts, the Belfast banner-painters. These include a print of William at the Boyne, a photo of one of the Dutch medals of William, and another of a Kneller portrait of the monarch. Harold Gibson had also used photographs of original paintings to reproduce this King William image.

Loyalist wall-paintings didn't depend exclusively on fine art imagery. There are examples of artists like John Luke and Remas Toogood having turned their hands to wall-paintings depicting King William although for the most part Protestant artists displayed an unwillingness to portray historical political figures from their own culture.

There are incidences of King William wall painters turning their hand to producing fine art works. The most successful was George Wilgard, who painted many of the murals in the Shankill between the wars.

One feature of the King William wall-paintings was the pride in personal skill and interpretation. Most painters

tended to have trained as sign-writers, house or coach painters and so on. In some cases, for example Bobby Jackson and his father, made their own colours and brushes in order to lavish all the skill of their trade on the wall-painting. Bobby Jackson, in an interview for Ulster Radio: [2, 10]

> Julian Watson: You originally ground them yourselves? (interviewer) [Referring to the colours]
>
> Bobby Jackson: Yes, ground them ourselves. We made them colours ourselves. And the colours all falls in great and I could put on colours that used to be in postcards wouldn't be the same colours that's on them walls because it didn't show up the pictures as well and that's what I wanted to show up the pictures and the colours that we used - We suited ourselves because the whole thing has a colour scheme and you must as I told you before you must have a taste - if you have no taste for doing the job leave it alone because you'll only spoil it by putting on different - ones will tell you, put this on, put on that - not at all - you use your own discretion and you know what colours fall in. (5)
>
> Bobby Jackson: And me father used to make all his own brushes and I don't think you could buy one of them brushes. (6)

Nowadays such skills are no longer practised which may explain part of the reason for the decline in the painting of the King William wall-paintings. Another part of that reason may be due to the destruction of traditionally held Protestant areas due to re-development on account of the troubles. There has been a movement of people out of the more troubled areas. The Ormeau Road, the area in which both Harold Gibson and Michael Wilson speak about is one such area badly affected by the troubles. Traditionally Protestant until quite recently - it now has a majority of Catholics or mixed residents who moved in after the Protestants left.

Traditionally Loyalist murals have been sited well inside Protestant communities which indicates that rather than appearing as emblems of hatred for Catholics, they were intended to celebrate within the community the Protestant heritage. The King William was painted usually on a gable-ended wall of a house, and almost always its painting coincided with the 12th of July celebrations. [10, 11] [12]

> It's not a painting of hatred, it's part of our heritage, the Protestant religion - that man and his men fought to keep the Protestant religion in Ireland and in Britain and we're all Protestant so it's our heritage and without that man we'd be Roman Catholic. (7)
> [A young man involved in the Rockland Street wall-painting interviewed for Ulster Radio.]

The King William imagery no longer holds such a strong influence on Loyalists today. The political and social climate has altered dramatically in recent years and the immortal image of King William, the Defender has been severely challenged. Perhaps the 'new' Loyalist murals, like the Howard Street example, reflect this change in situation and according to Jackie Redpath, who runs the Shankill bulletin, that although the King William paintings are now a 'dying art' it is possible that it is being replaced by a 'new impetus for genuine Loyalist art' which is being directly influenced by the style of symbolism used on handcrafts coming out of Long Kesh prison. Many homes, bars and clubs display these handcrafts with great pride which implies a large audience exists for them. This 'new' style differs greatly in forms of skill between that displayed in the King William paintings. Symbolism tends to be usually [10-12

flags and slogans flatly arranged together into a design. It's ironic that the prison system in the north should be providing the basic skills and impetus for this new development in Loyalist painting. Because the number of 'new' Loyalist murals has been small in comparison with the Republican output it still remains to be seen if indeed this old tradition is to be continued. In the meantime around the Shankill people will have to be satisfied with graffiti such as 'No pope here - Lucky old pope'.[8]

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. Interview with Bobby Jackson by Julian Watson for BBC Radio Ulster, November 1982 produced by Kathryn Parker. See 'excerpt', page

2. Interview with Belinda Loftus by Julian Watson for BBC Radio Ulster, November 1982, produced by Kathryn Parker.

3. 'Loyalist Wall-paintings', Belinda Loftus, Circa (Jan-Feb. 1983), Contemporary Art Journal published by the Artists Collective of Northern Ireland, p. 13.

4. Ibid., p. 10.

5. Interview with Bobby Jackson, op. cit.

6. Ibid.

7. Interview with Belinda Loftus, op. cit., p. 12.

8. Jackie Redpath, article written by him, 'No Murals Here' for Circa (Jan-Feb. 1983), p. 21.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE CULTURAL CONFLICT AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF TWO SEPARATE CULTURAL IDENTITIES IN THE NORTH

Before continuing further it is important to understand some of the reasons for the development of separate cultural identities in the north of Ireland in order to see the emergence of political mural painting, not as isolated phenomena but in relation to their historical context. It must be borne in mind, however, that the scope of this thesis allows only for a cursory glance at the political background to the conflict and divide in the North.

The conflict is a consequence of two sets of population movements. Two distinctive groups, one native which was usurped from their land in favour of another group (not native). The second movement brought on by the growth of industrialization, brought a portion of each of these groups together in the urban context of Belfast in the 19th century, but which did not result in a spatial mingling of the two groups due to a continuance of cultural contrasts which was inevitable given the historical circumstances which brought the two groups geographically together. The colonization process which was begun in the 12th century by Henry II and his nobles was completed by Oliver Cromwell in the 17th century with the success of his land confiscation policy. During this period in Irish history, Ireland maintained a culture separate to that of England and one way of usurping the

natives was to institute the idea of planting the country with people loyal to the British Crown in order to maintain the colony as a source of wealth and a basis of power. In 1609, a vast and carefully organized plantation of Ulster was prepared. Plantation offered a way of attaining power over the rebellious regions of Ireland without the expense to the government of maintaining a large garrison. The intention of those who drew up plans for the plantation was to confiscate all the land from the native gaelic and to expel them completely from Ulster. This proved impossible in practice. The native Irish were allowed to stay in Ulster, but usually only in the quarter of an estate that was made up of the worst and least cultivatable land. Many of those that were dispossessed fled to the forests and mountains where they nursed their grievances.

The long tradition of Gaelic Ireland was overlaid, but not destroyed, by the planted Anglo-Scottish. The culture, language, the laws, customs of the newcomers were strange. Even their farming techniques were different. They built markets, churches and schools, creating a way of life entirely foreign to that of the Irish. The most significant difference was that the settlers were Protestant and the natives Catholic. To the natural anatagonism of the dispossessed and the apprehension of the planted was added a religious difference which at the time divided man from man with profound intensity. Language made communication awkward, culture and customs made understanding difficult, and, of course, the very process of plantation militated

against accomodation. Religion became a badge for those political divisions, and could be used to justify any outrage or injustice. The English solution to their Ulster problem left the native resentful and the settler beleagured. "It was unjust to the native and unfair to the settler; both were victims of a wider colonial design."[1]

In 1641 news of atrocities in Ireland, committed by Catholics against Protestants reached London. The spectre of the 1641 rebellion by the Catholics, proved after this date to demonstrate Catholic treachery to the Protestant community. The security which they so longed for arrived in 1689 with the arrival of King William III who was invited to defend the Protestant interests in England and Ireland against the Catholic James II who was the English monarch at that time. The defeat of James at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 by William marked the final victory of the Protestants over the Catholics of Ireland. It ushered in the Protestant ascendancy, and the Protestant Dublin Parliament legitimised this ascendency through a series of penal laws. To the Irish Protestants their privilege dates from William's victory at the Boyne, and this Dutchman, became immortalised in the Protestant memory. July 12, has become Orange Day, with King Billy, heroically astride a white mare, riding across the Boyne, has become the symbol of the Irish Protestant.

The movement away from rural areas to an urban environment in search of work in the 19th century did not bring about a breakdown in cultural contrasts between the

two communities. Instead the Catholics sought to reconstruct their national identity through a Gaelic revival in literature, language, music and sport. The relationship with the Catholic Church became more solidly bound than ever and with this reassertion of cultural distinctiveness on the Catholic side, it became equally imperative for the Protestants to define and emphasize their cultural once again.

According to the Protestants, the Catholic religion wasn't just a religion but a way of life which threatened their way of life

> Popery is something more than a religious system: it is a political system also. It is a religio-political system for the enslavement of the body and the soul of man and it cannot be met by any mere religious system or by any mere political system. (2)

One of the major and significant conseuqnces of the early differences was the setting up of the Orange Order in the 18th century to protect the interests of the Protestants against the Catholics who were prepared to pay higher rents to landlords. It was controlled by middle and upper class Protestant interest which used the scarce resources of houses and jobs to maintain the support of the working class section of their community and in so doing kept the two communities in continual conflict over issues relevant to both. This organisation of control, became known as the 'Orange system'. It functioned on a decentralized basis and consisted at the local level of a partnership between the Orange Lodges, the Unionist Party, the Protestant churches, and local business. As a one party system they maintained

control at Parliament from 1921 to 1972 until the abolition of Stormont and the introduction of district rule by Britain. It was between these two dates that the King William wall-paintings flourished.

The Effect of Cultural Separatism on two communities, Shankill and the Falls, Belfast

The effect of the conflict resulting from this cultural separatism can be best exemplified in working-class areas where there has been less filtering of political ideologies. These ideologies of 'Loyalism' (in the Protestant areas) and 'Nationalism'(in the Catholic areas) survive in a 'purer' form than evidenced elsewhere in the North. To represent this analysis, I looked at three areas of Belfast - the Ormeau Road and vicinity, the Newtownards Road, and in particular the Shankill and the Falls, (Protestant and Catholic respectively), to highlight in microcosm, as it were, the effect of the conflicts on behaviour and how wall-painting developed as part of that behaviour. [1] [13]

Between the Shankill and the Fall a 'natural' frontier[1] was established. Nowadays this frontier has become a physical reality in the form of a huge galvanised wall known as the 'Peace-line'. Lately, a section of the wall has been made permanent by the erection of a brick wall at least fifteen feet in height. A measure which was introduced by the British forces as a temporary security measure but which now appears to have taken on permanent status for the forseeable future. [14,15]

What evolved from the cultural differences and interests and the setting up of a frontier between the two communities led to a perpetual state of siege which in turn bred a constant fear of invasion and encroachment. The stress that results from such a situation has erupted continually into violence. This fear of attack or acquisition by the enemy of one's territory has produced a need to define those frontiers one way through graffiti, slogans and wall-paintings. The use of symbols is a very important feature of behaviour, both in the core and peripheral dimensions of the frontier, which supports the opinions put forward as to why they painted murals in all of the interviews in Chapter I.

Rowntree and Conkey state:

> Border messages are directed at outsiders and are aggresive reminders of a cultural boundary. Core or home-based messages are inwardly directed information that nurture and promote group loyalty and identity. (2)

According to Belinda Loftus in her article on 'Loyalist Wall-Paintings'

> Traditionally loyalist murals have not been sited on the interface between Protestant and Catholic communities but well within Protestant territory. This implies that their role has been to serve as a focus for Protestants' celebration of their heritage, rather than to act as a challenge to the Catholic community. (4)

In the first interview with Harold Gibson this view is supported when he states that the King Billys were acts of celebration and not to 'shake fists' at the Catholics.

Statements from the Belfast Telegraph also substantiate these observations of Rowney and Conkey:

> These slogans were not put up by a lot of young hotheads. They were there for a purpose - and I think everyone who reads them will know quite clearly what that purpose is. (5)

Also a statement issued by the Sinn Fein Information Centre to the organizers of the Youth Opportunity Programme during their clean-up operations in nationalist areas states:

> Such murals and slogans are not a defacement of the environment but a reflection of the political consciousness of the Nationalistic youth. They are there to stay. (6)

In 1969 there was a resurgence of violence and interestingly there was a parallel growth in graffiti to which later the Republican murals grew out of. The significance of this growth in wall-painting, lies in the fact that it is conceivable that they provide accurate indicators of local attitudes and social process in areas where more direct measurement is difficult. The quality and location of graffiti according to Ley and Cybrinsky in their essay 'Urban Graffiti as Territorial Markers' "display regularities. They manifest the distribution of various social attitudes and intimate subsequent behaviour in space". It is conceivable therefore that they "forecast both potential and actual behaviour".[7]

Why there was a growth in the development of graffiti and at a later stage, murals, particularly in Republican areas, and a decline in the painting of King Billys in Loyalist areas after 1969 may be due to the ending of 'monopoly' by the 'Orange system' of political control, with the abolition of Stormont in 1972, when a policy of positive

discrimination in favour of the Catholics was introduced. Technically, the effect of this measure may have given the Catholics a new sense of security to express anti-establishment views.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. The Troubles, the Background to the Question of N. Ireland, ed. Taylor Downing, London, 1980, p. 15.

2. The [illegible] Community Action: The Belfast Experience. [illegible] Press Ltd., Belfast, 1978, p. 18.

3. L.S. Rowntree and M.W. Conkey, "Symbolism and the Cultural Landscape", Annals of the Association of American Geographers (1980), p. 462.

4. Belinda Loftus, "Loyalist Wall-Paintings", Circa(1983), p. 13.

5. Belfast Telegraph, May 26th, 1969.

6. Belfast Telegraph, April 10th, 1982.

7. David Lay and Roman Cybriwsky, 'Urban Graffiti as Territorial Markers', Annals of the Association of American Geographers, vol. 64, p. 491.

CHAPTER 3

THE DEVELOPMENT OF REPUBLICAN MURALS FROM GRAFFITI

Interview with Republican Painter

In this interview I was told that often Republican prisoners maintain contact with the outside community by sending out designs for new murals. The Republican murals have a very recent history, dating back to March/ April 1981 and the Hunger Strikes at the Maze Prison in which ten men starved themselves to death for 'five basic demands'. This next interview took place at the Sinn Fein information centre, 51 Falls Road, Belfast, on the 1st [13] February 1983. Before going in I had travelled around the area and was amazed by the number of murals and slogans, many of which had been defaced, allegedly by the British Army. There was an atmosphere of siege emphasized by a strong army and police presence.

The man I interviewed was in his late teens/early twenties, unemployed and known locally as 'Kess'.

GO'R: When did the first wall-paintings get done?

K: Well it began with the hunger strikers in June 1981. Although the hunger strikes were only one reason for painting on the walls they did spark the whole thing off. At local youth meetings we decided to get together, the young people who are mostly unemployed and try to do something about the area. People were complaining about all the graffiti, that it made the place look bad so the paintings were also an attempt to clean-up the graffiti. But that's not to play down what was being said on the walls. They were done to push all the issues of the struggle.

GO'R: Were the whole community behind painting on the walls of their houses? Are they in agreement with the political sentiments put forward?

K: The majority would be and they were glad to see that we weren't just hanging around - that we were doing something useful with our time.

GO'R: I heard that some of the people involved in the painting were at the art college. Is that true?

K: Well not usually, mostly it's young people from the area and the only training they would have got would have been at school

GO'R: How did you organise to paint them, did you work in groups?

K: In the beginning we did work in large groups, but now find the less people involved the better. For instance in Beechmount there were three people to draw out the design and four to paint it which was too many on one wall. Then we decided to do four corner walls at the same time so we split up, each taking a wall. That way it's faster - you cover more space.

GO'R: What type of paint do you use and what about the problems of protecting it after it's finished?

K: We use gloss paint, I did try a silicon coating over a painting once but there isn't much point to doing that because the Army usually comes along, takes a photograph and throws paint or something at it so we have to go and re-paint it. I've seen them throw red lead which meant painting over it in black before repainting could be done. In the Springfield they put grease onto one and another time it was acid they threw so that when you went to clean it off you got burned. So you can see why there isn't much point in experimenting with paints and there's never a lot of time.

GO'R: Where do you get your designs from?

K: Usually we just pick on an issue like 'plastic bullets' for instance. In this case the idea and design came from the Kesh.

[He showed me a small piece of toilet paper that had been sent out from the prison with a sketch of a soldier with a helmet (it was more a skeleton with

a helmet) a gun either side of the head like the skull and crossbones with 'Pirates of Ireland' written underneath and there was a slogan referring to the plastic bullets issue.]

K: Usually we get the sketch done, decide on the colours, most of them have a black background but we have used different coloured backgrounds occasionally say for instance the one about James Connolly. We then use gloss paint.

GO'R: So how involved have you got painting the murals? Do you agree with what they portray?

K: Yes, most definitely, most people in the area do. I'm going to London shortly to paint a mural. We're taking park in an exhibition about the troubles.

GO'R: So you'll actually be painting a mural in a gallery. Do you not find this idea a bit strange since these paintings have their context outside of the elitist gallery system?

K: Well we've been invited by the Greater London Council, so we consider it an opportunity to put across the message of our struggle to people over there.

GO'R: Are the murals still being painted now that the whole issue of the hunger strikes has gone?

K: Yes, I've copied that design about the rubber bullets to use it for the next mural I paint.

GO'R: Has your interest in art or the mural movement grown since you got involved?

K: Yes, it has. I now look through books and photographs for ideas which I can use for painting over murals. For instance, one that was done was taken from a P.L.O. poster. I try to find information about murals in other countries to see if I can use some of their designs.

End of interview.

The final interview with Kess, serves as the essential counter-balance to complete the picture in the development of the North's political murals. Within the framework of

of the interview there emerged the contrast in political and religious ideology which led to two separate developments at differing times. The sources of origin for the development of wall-painting also differs. I set out in Chapter 1 to establish that the Loyalist tradition rose out of an already established practise of commemorating the King William image which was directly inspired by a fine art tradition. The Republican murals development was a response to the political events of the time, i.e., hunger strikes of 1981 and an effort to clean up old slogans and graffiti which visually depreciated the Republican areas. There was also a difference in terms of the skills. The old 'King Billy' painters had usually been trained as skilled household or coach painters and so on. Whereas in the Republican areas, young people, unemployed with little or no training undertook the projects.

The Development of Republican Murals from Graffiti

"The walls say it all in this grim divided city".[1]

The first thing that struck me on arriving in Belfast, is the nature of the graffiti as you travel through communities. What the graffiti says gives a clear indication of where political allegiances lie, particularly in areas like the afore mentioned, Shankill/Falls.

The evidence of the walls gives a good approximation of the extent of each territory. Boundaries compiled from the relative incidence of gang graffiti found a ready

acceptance by neighbourhood youth as an accurate portrayal of each gang's area of control, according to a study based on graffiti as territorial markers in Philadelphia City, U.S.A. How the findings of this study relate to Northern Ireland's graffiti is that it can be used to understand that graffiti heralds the spatial as well as the social structure of intergroup relations. A clear example is the paintings of kerbs for the 12th July celebrations in Protestant areas which take on much of their meaning as discriminatory markers against an excluded Catholic minority.

The murals of both communities are near relatives to this process but both have separate origins - the more recent Republican murals being an extension in the development of graffiti since 1981. The Loyalist murals predate the arrival of graffiti, graffiti being the extension of that tradition of wall-painting commemorating the Protestant heritage and territorial claims.

From Graffiti to Murals - The Republican Development of Murals

An analysis of why Republican areas suddenly started painting murals can be traced to the development of graffiti at the time of the hunger strike campaign, which began in March 1st, 1981. The strike lasted for two hundred and sixteen days and in the interim ten men died of starvation. It was during this short period of time that the vast number of murals were painted in Belfast and Derry. It was a

time of mounting tension and anxiety, during which H-Block committees rallied together support for the 'cause'. Initially on the streets the cause was written in the form of graffiti calling for 'the five just demands' and 'victory to our glorious seven'. Walls and roads had outlines of coffins, three coffins were joined together to form the letter 'H', signifying the H-Block design of the prison that the prisoners were housed in. Posters pleaded, 'Don't let them die' and slogans demanded 'Give them their rights not their last rights.'

About April of that year the first murals appeared which was a spectacular development perhaps prompted by a need to clean up years of old graffiti and to make a greater impact by informing both the local community and the outside world in a more cohesive and organised way. The concensus is that the first murals were painted in the Lenadoon or Twinbrook areas of West Belfast and swept down into the Falls Road and Divis areas, a distance of about six miles. [See map] In the mid Falls Road area, action groups began blacking-out advertising poster hoardings and painting large [16]
H's, H-Block slogans or forming H's using H-Block posters. [17]
In the beginning the printed message took up the greater [18, 19]
part of the surface and the symbol lent import to the [20-24]
message. There was a gradual development away from this with the visual image dominating and the verbal becoming briefer. Two reasons for this development may be given - as the campaign gained impetus, tensions mounted, and

interest from the world's press in the campaign increased, local H-Block committees urged those in communities with any artistic abilities to come out and paint murals; the second and probably most important reason was prominent sites were being chosen for murals so that not only could local passers-by be informed of the campaign but also outsiders passing in cars for instance. The message began to contain a strong visual representation; artists chose a selection of motifs from the cultural heritage of the community which symbolised and made ready a short-hand which could be interpreted at a glance.

> They comprised of familiar symbols from the Catholic nationalist culture. . . Symbols are compact expressions of a distinct world view. They are infused with emotion being loaded with the associations of a particular belief system.
>
> Noel McGrogan, Circa

The murals however did provoke a paint-war between those of opposing ideologies which led to a need for an 'after-care' service. Many had to be repainted continually [23-25] which produced significant developments in the life of each [25,26] mural. The visual development of the Republican murals can be linked to the employment of symbolism from Republican ideology. The breakdown and significance attached to each symbol can be a helpful guide to understanding their message. The following is a break-down of the type of symbolism used in the Republican murals and the significance attached to each symbol.

1. Tricolour - the symbol of Irish nationalism; [27]
2. The Freedom fighter - speaks for itself; [27]
3. The symbol of the phoenix - the symbol of resurgent militant Republicanism which dates back in Irish terms to the days of the Fenians; [28]
4. The symbol of the lark rising out of barbed wire, popularized by Bobby Sands, the first hunger striker to die in the campaign, "similar to our little friend the lark, we have the spirit of freedom, that cannot be quenched"; [29-30]
5. The H symbol (often coupled with the crucified Christ), [31-3 the H symbolizing the particular design of the prison in which the hunger strikers were housed;
6. Religious symbols, Christ, crucifixes, the Virgin [31-32] Mary, the Angel of Death. Symbols particular to the Catholic religion displaying the many links between Catholic church and Northern Nationalism;
7. Left-wing symbols such as the hammer and sickle or red star. Reflecting political messages other than those of nationalist or Republican politics.

What the Republican murals seek to express is the [33-38] political aspirations of the Catholic nationalist minority in Northern Ireland. The Republican murals comprise of agitation for current political aims and propoganda for Republican ideals within an art form. In effect they are similar to art work done abroad to express minority political aims making it an agit-prop art form. However, the Republican [39-40

murals as a form of agit-prop art does differ in that they are not done by established artists expressing a universally symbolic statement of protest or support. This is because the symbolism as I have explained is particular only to Northern Catholic nationalism. What the young people involved have done is express a definite and positive statement about their culture and their history despite having had to break down the many barriers to that expression. How significant the murals are is more readily realized when one considers that most of the people responsible for them received no formal art training. Most were unemployed who had to go through the process of demystifying art in order to understand how they could use it to express themselves.

So what is the future for the Republican murals?

Joe Coyle in interview with Julian Watson -

> . . .So as regards a long term thing I think that the murals can only grow. How that gonna go I wouldn't be too sure at the minute, it really is in their hands. And no-one is directing them in any particular direction you know, they respond to conditions. (2)

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. 'Inside Belfast' by Maev-Ann Wren, 2nd September 1981, Irish Times.

2. Interview with Joe Coyle by Julian Watson for BBC Radio Ulster, November 1982 produced by Kathryn Porter.

CONCLUSION

What emerges from my research for this thesis is that the development of political murals within Protestant and Catholic working-class communities, like the Shankill and the Falls, in the North of Ireland, have two separate origins owing to the historical and continued cultural separatism. The murals received their inspiration, support and most important, artists from within the respective communities. Therefore, the real value of these murals can be seen as valid indicators of behaviour and attitudes in times when perhaps more direct measurement is difficult and secondly they are real examples of how ordinary people with little or no artistic training can take on an art form and employ it to reflect what matters to their lives.

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DATA SOURCE - BELFAST RELIGIOUS AREAS 1:10,000
DIRECTOR OF MILITARY SURVEY
SERIES GSGS 8160
SHEETS 1-4
EDITION 7 - GSGS 1979.
DIVIDE BETWEEN PROTESTANT AND OTHER RELIGIONS
+ Roman Catholic => 80% CATHOLIC
• Protestant => 80% PROTESTANT.
Illustration No 1
CITY CENTRE
MIXED RELIGION
ORMEAU AVENUE
REDEVELOPED
SANDY ROW
GREAT VICTORIA STREET
DUBLIN ROAD
MARGUERITE STREET
HOWARD STREET
DERELICT
HOWARD ST SOUTH MURAL
SILVERBRIDGE ST. SITED MOLD FENCE - BILLY.
DONEGALL PASS
CORRUGATED (IRON) FENCE
DONEGALL ROAD
ROCKLAND ST. MURAL
LOW WALL CORRUGATED
ROCKLAND ST
WALL
RED WIRE FENCE
CORRUGATED IRON FENCE TERRACE OF HOUSES DEMOLISHED
ORMEAU ROAD
MIXED RELIGION
LISBURN ROAD
UNIVERSITY ROAD
MIXED RELIGION

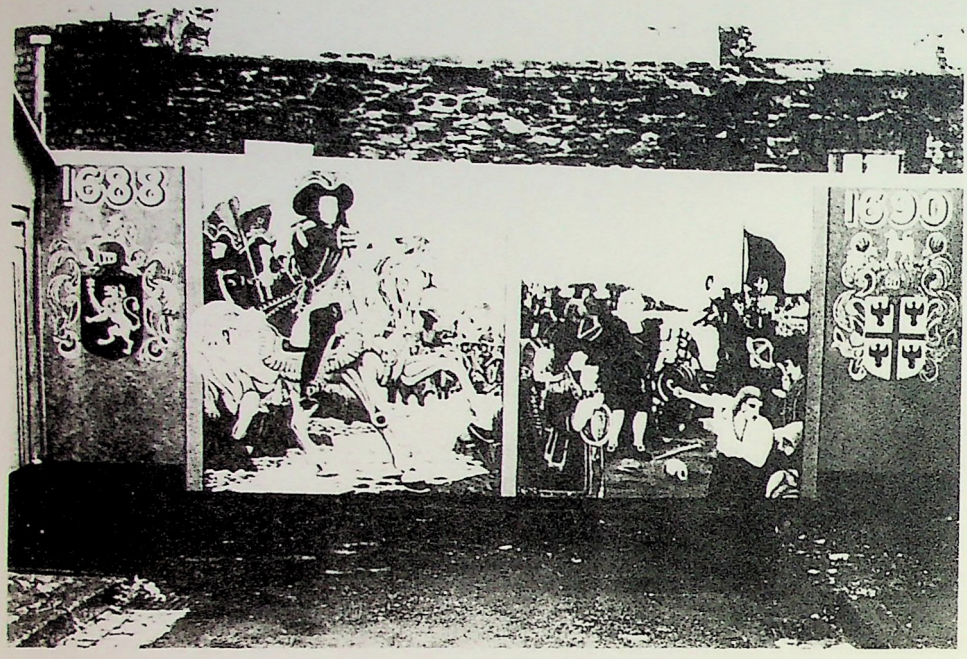
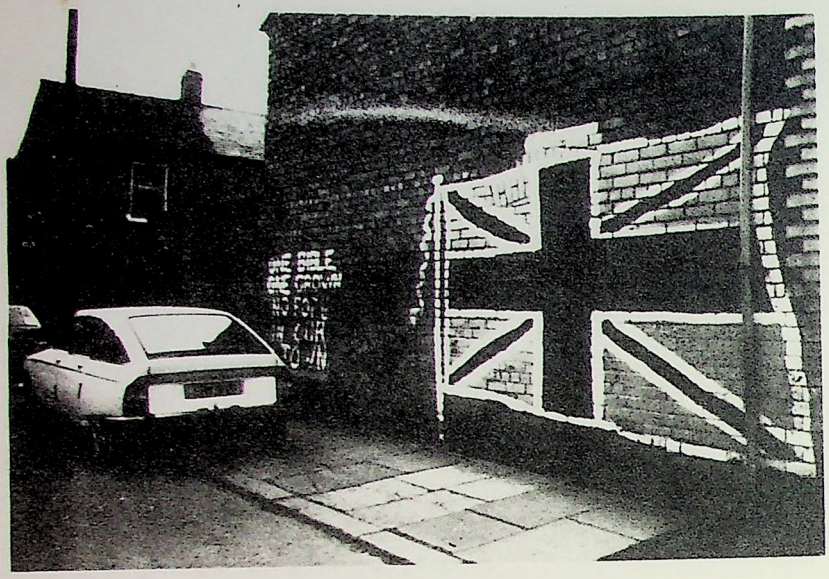


Illustration no 2



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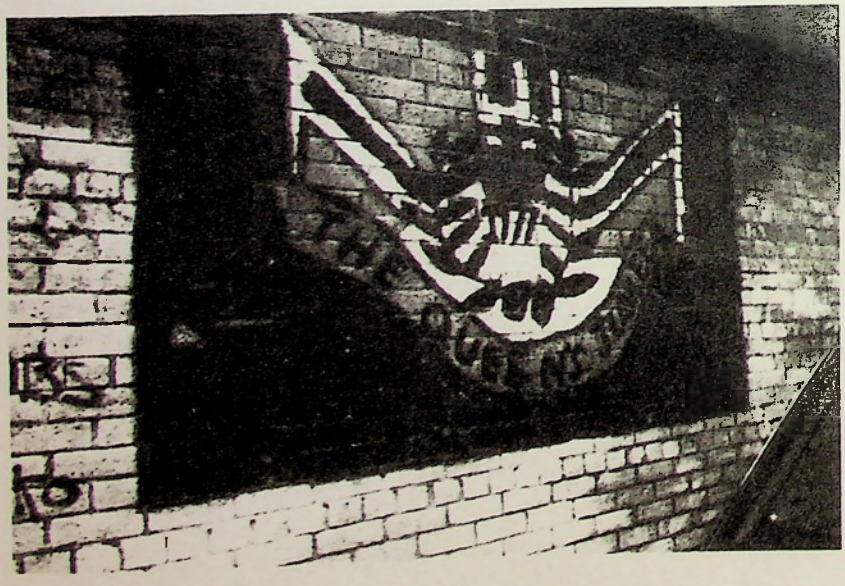


Illustration No 4.

Illustration No 5

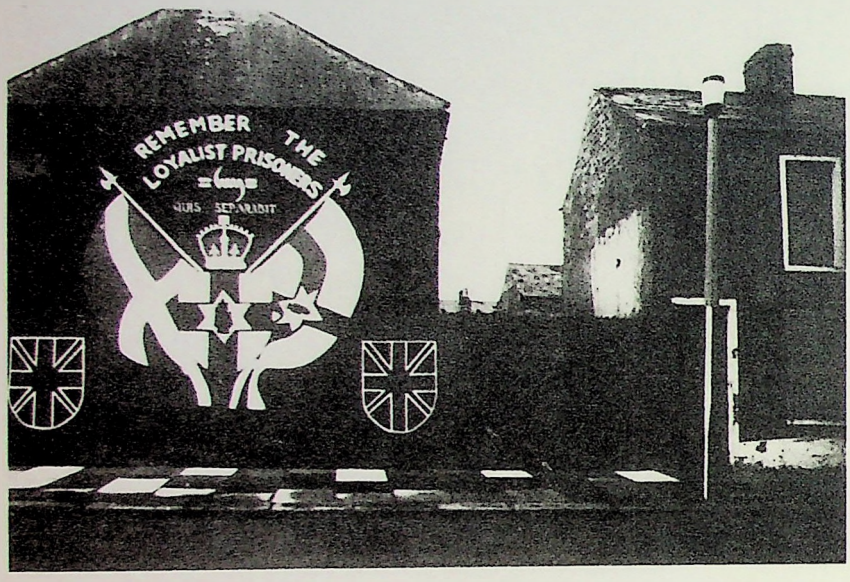


Illustration No 6.

TO THE GLOREOUS PIOUS AND IMMORTAL MEMORY OF THE GREAT AND GOOD KING WILLIAM WHO FREED US FROM POPE AND POPERY KNAVERY AND SLAVERY BRASS MONEY AND WOODEN SHOES. AND HE WHO REFUSES THIS TOAST MAY BE DAMNED CRAMMED AND RAMMED DOWN THE GREAT GUN OF ATHLONE.

Illustration No 7

Illustration No 8

Illustration No 9

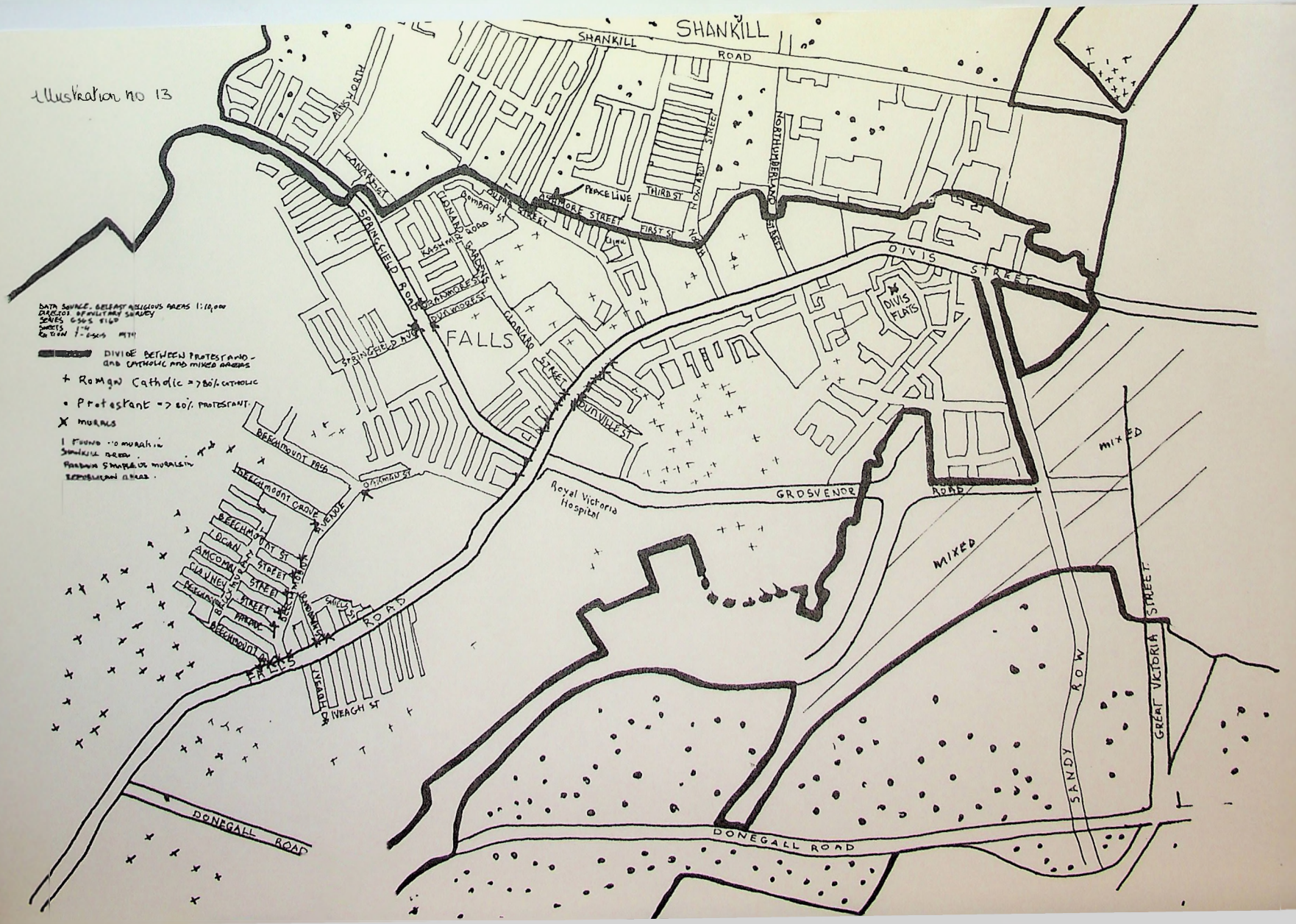
Illustration No 108(a)

Illustration No 108(b)

Illustration no 11

Illustration NO 12

Illustration no 13



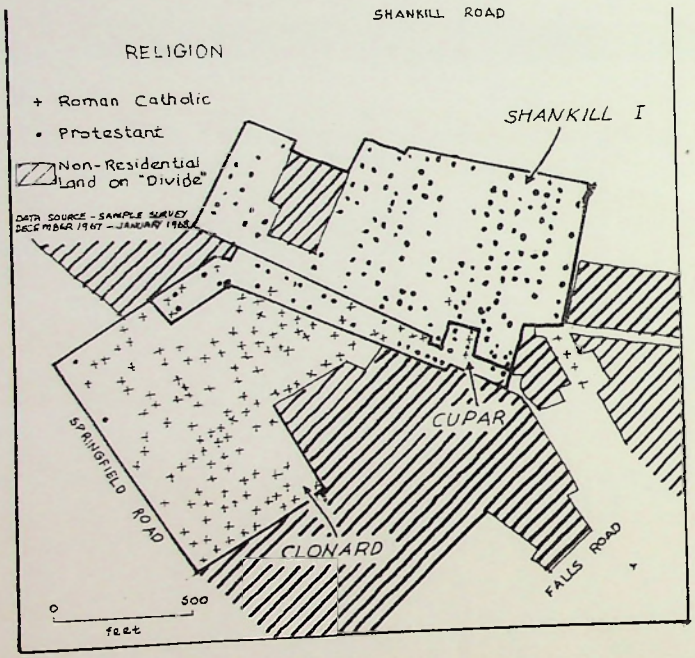
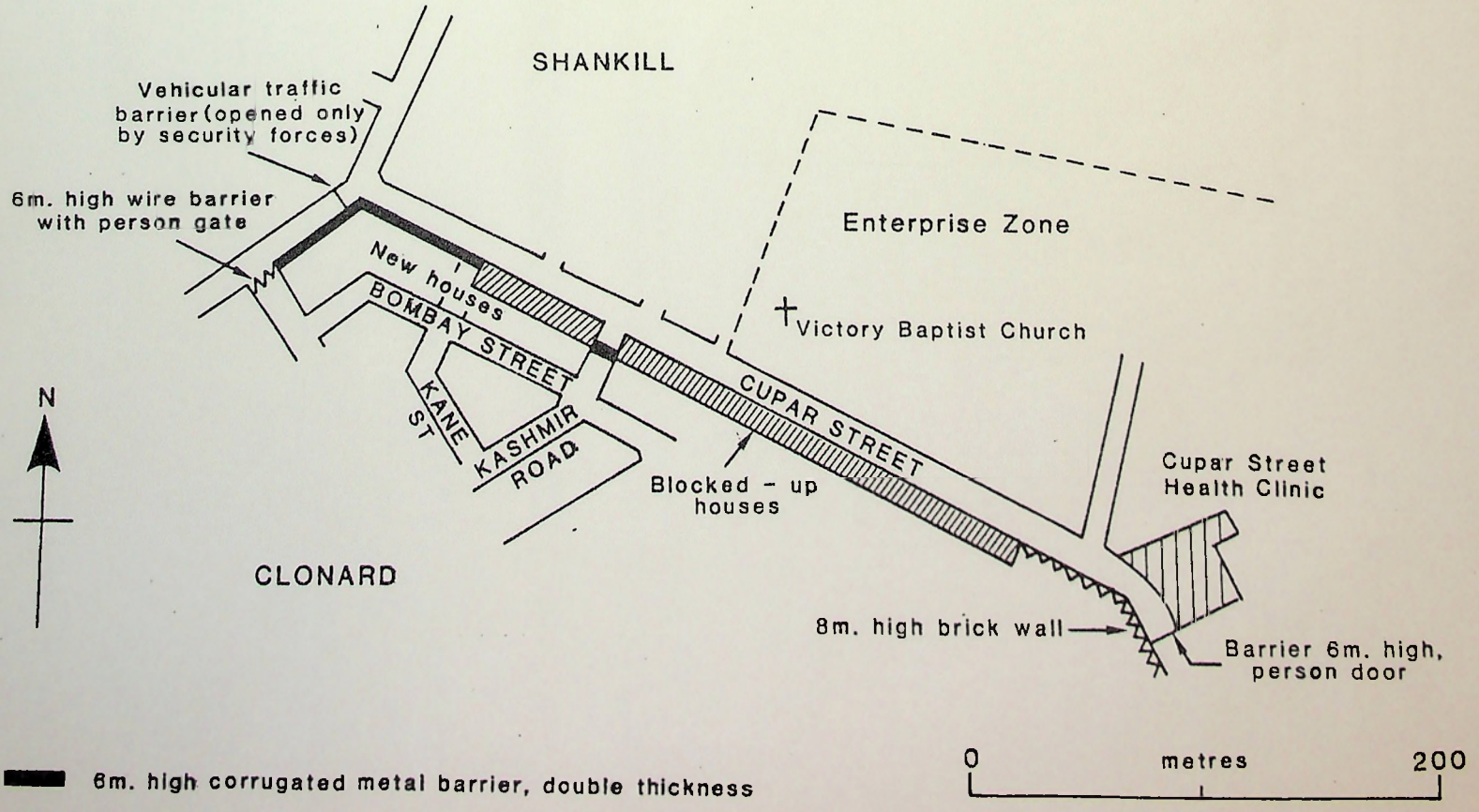


Illustration no 14

CUPAR STREET PEACE LINE DECEMBER 1981



†Illustration no 15

Figure 3

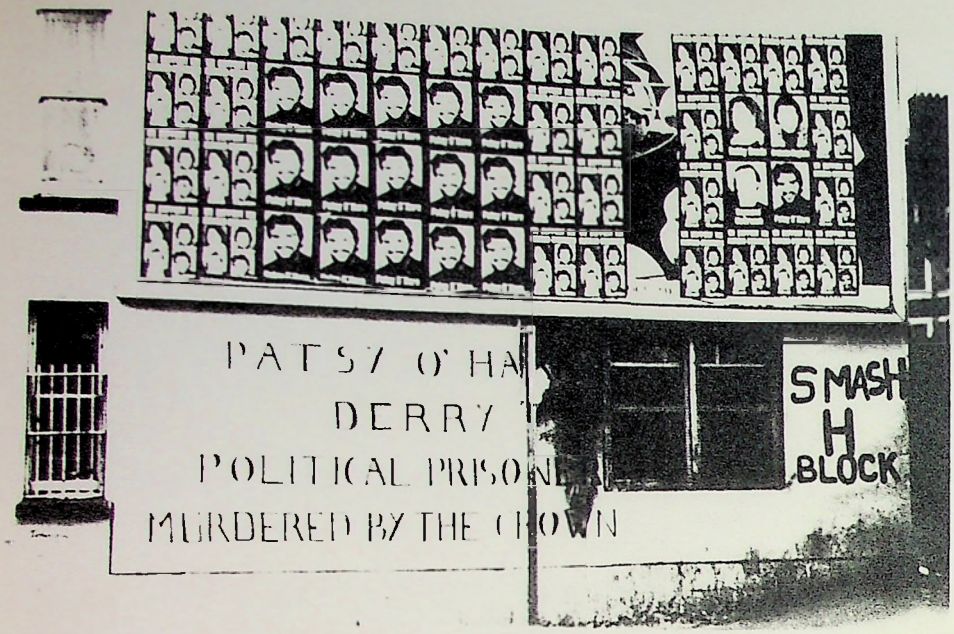


Illustration No 16

Illustration No 17

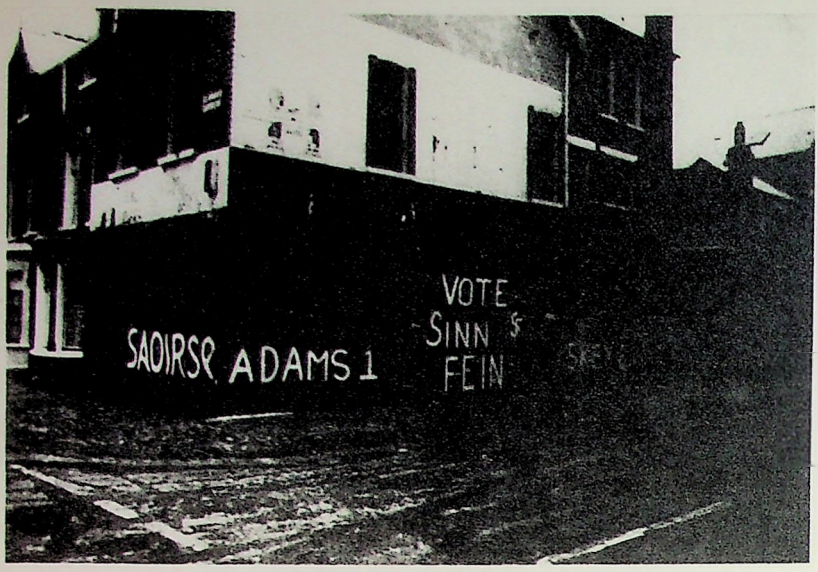


Illustration No 18

Illustration No 19

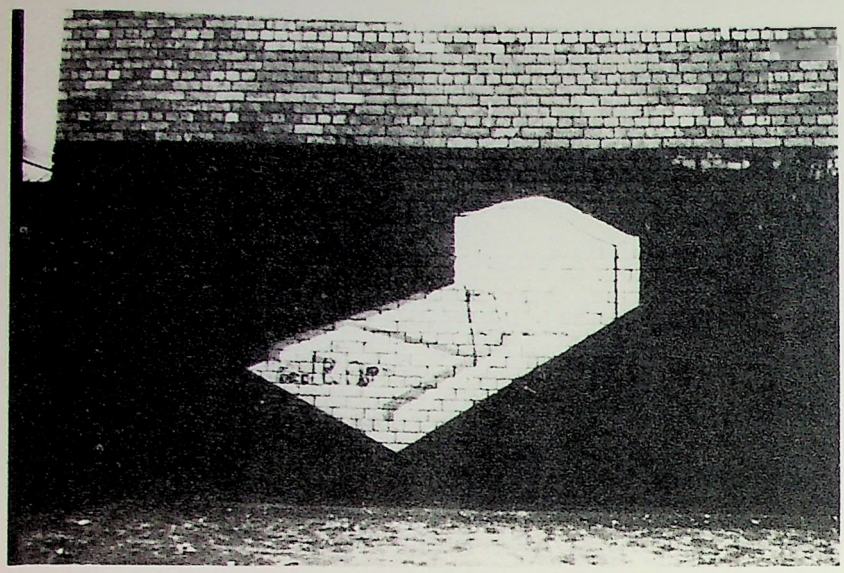
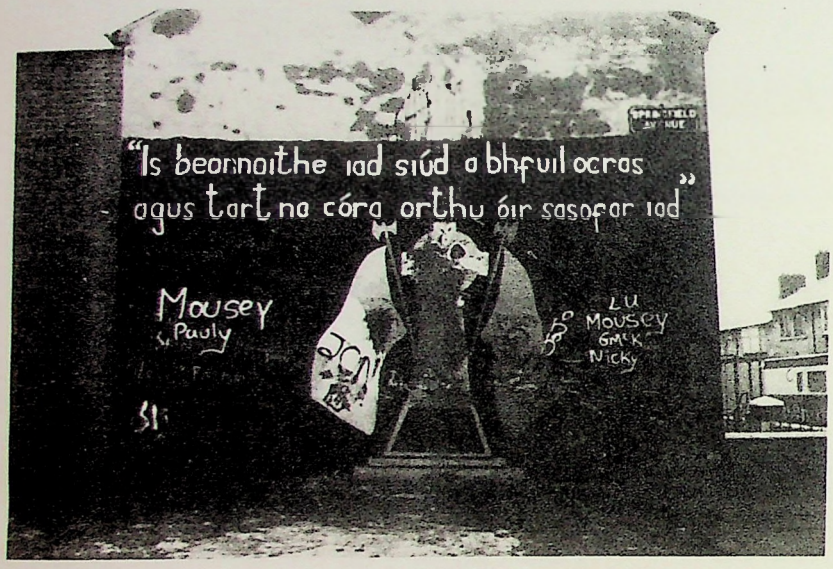


Illustration No 20

Illustration No 21

Illust No 22



Illust No 23

Illust no 24

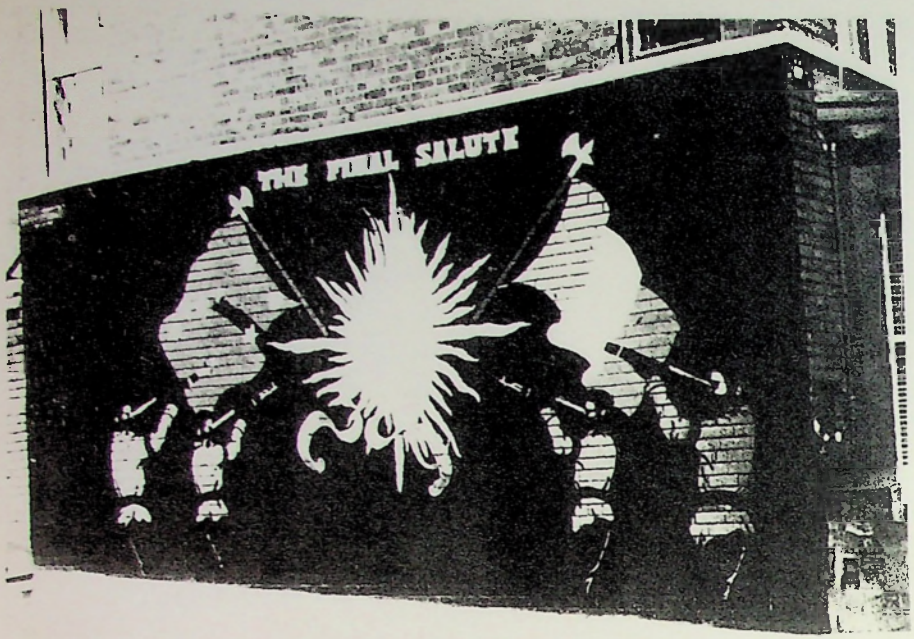
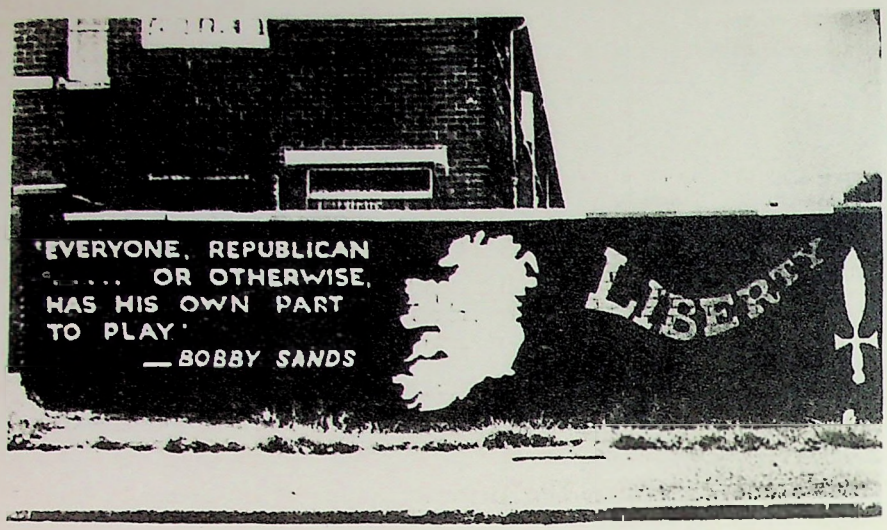


Illustration No 25

Illustration No 26

Illustration No 24

Illustration No 28



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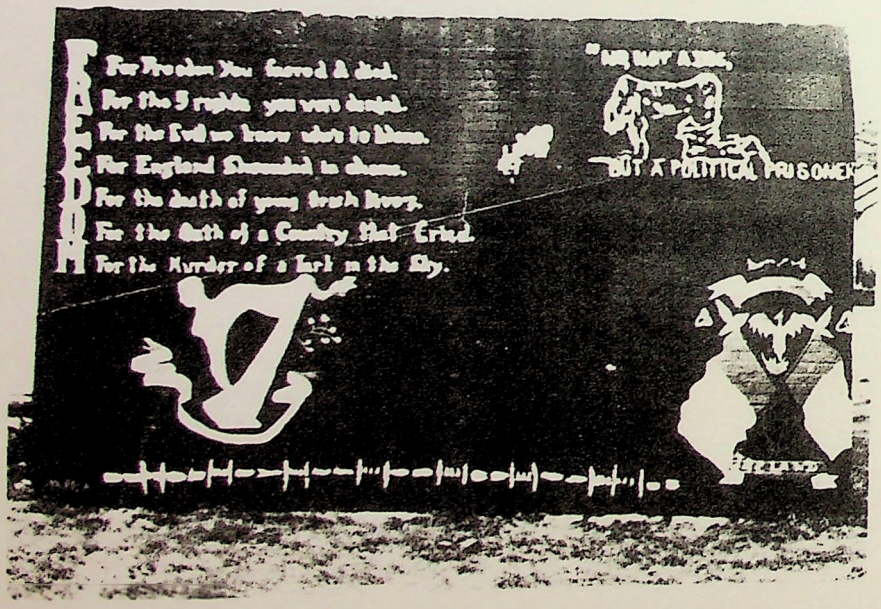

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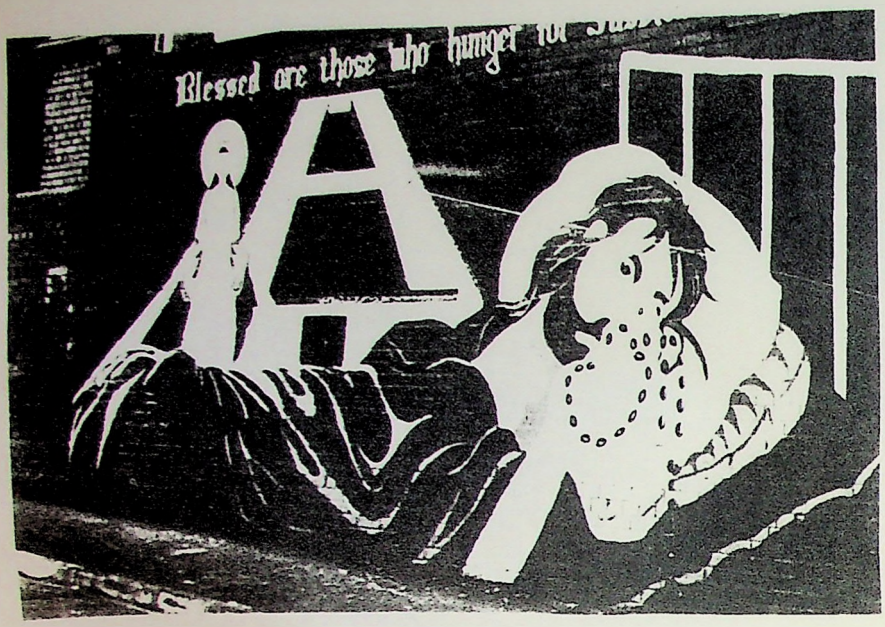

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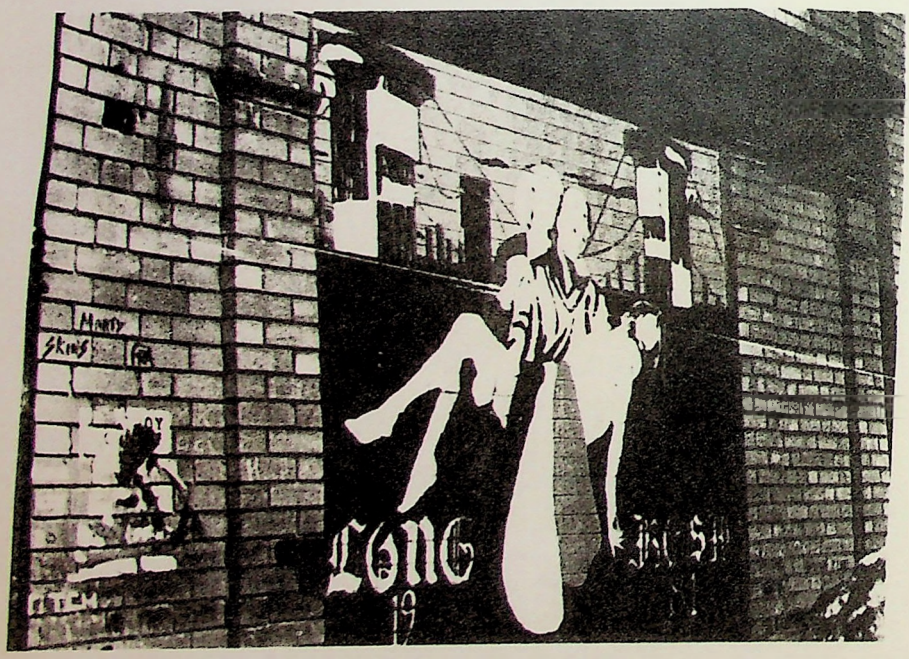
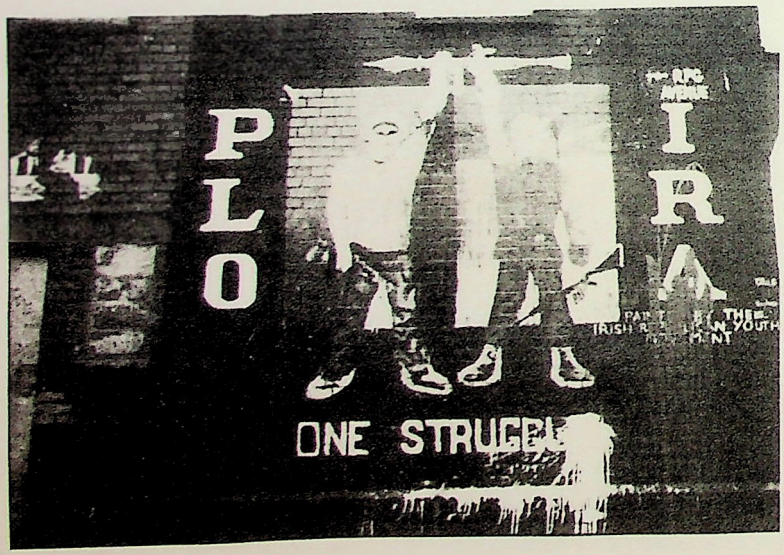


Illustration No 32

Illustration No 33



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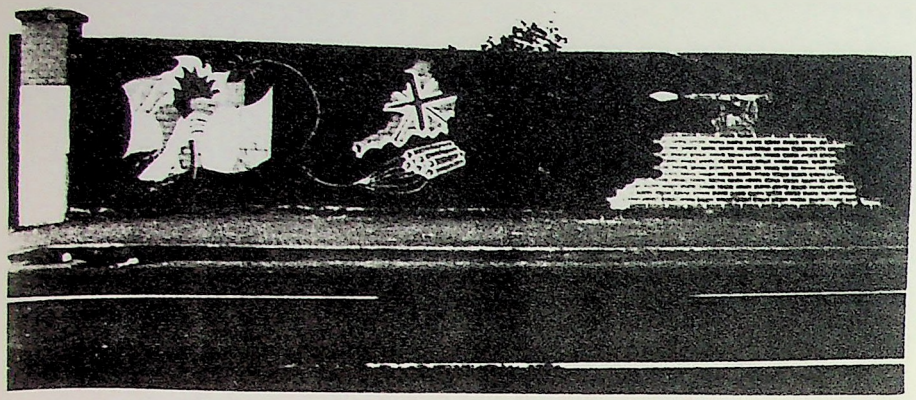

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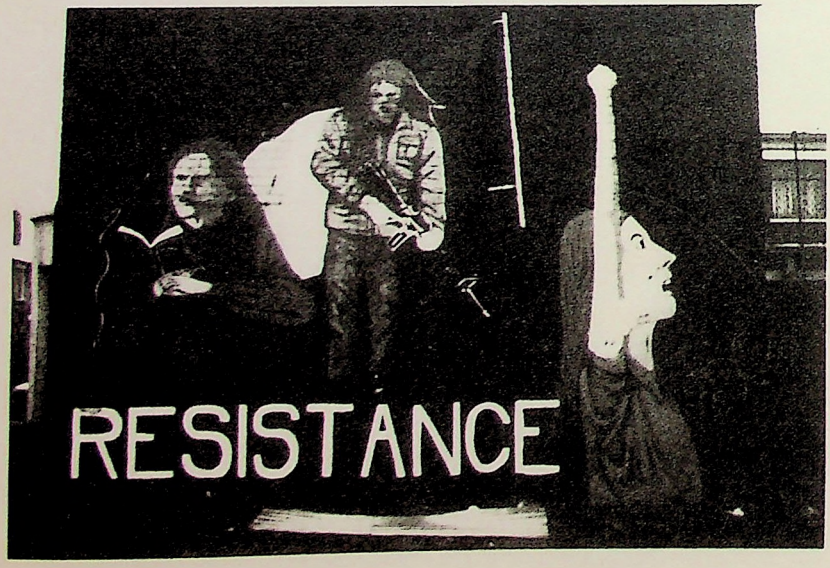

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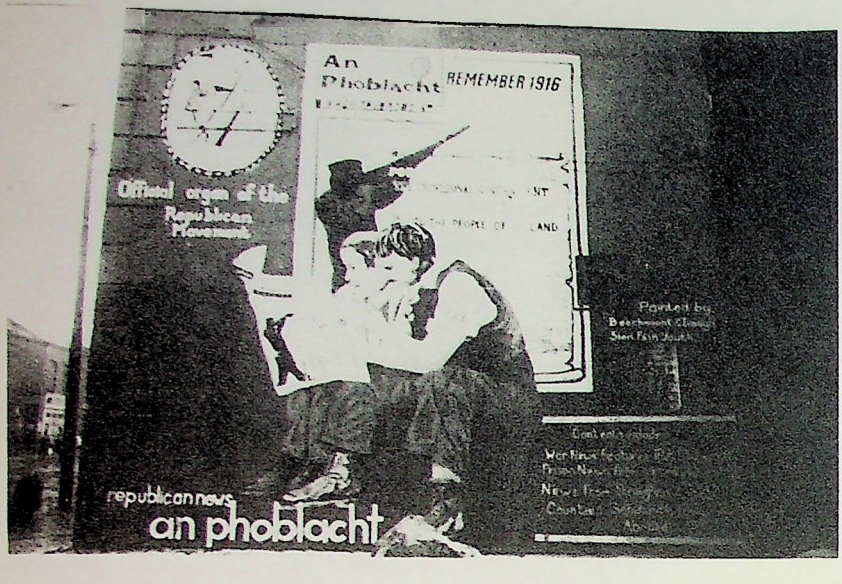

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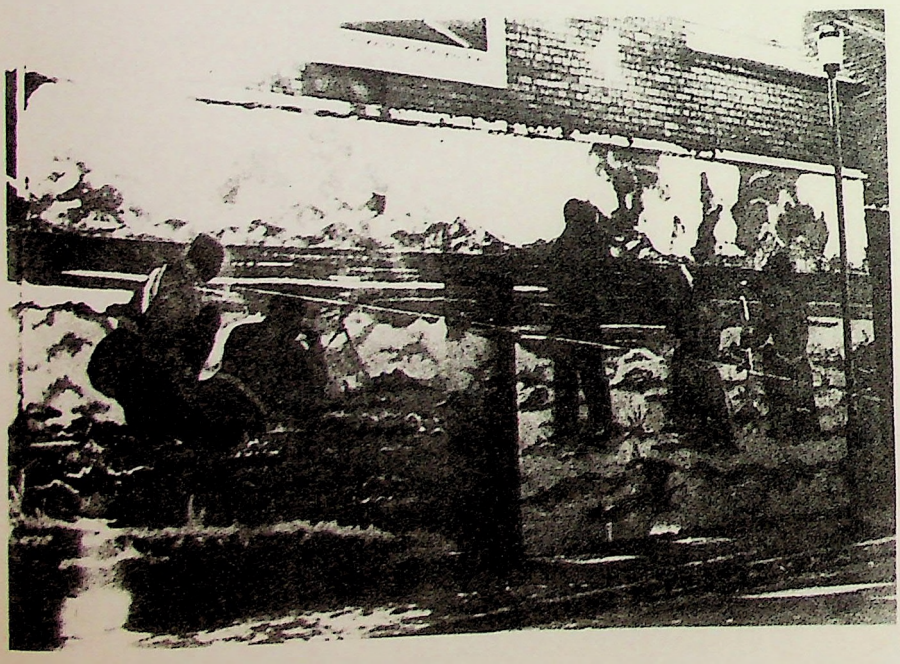

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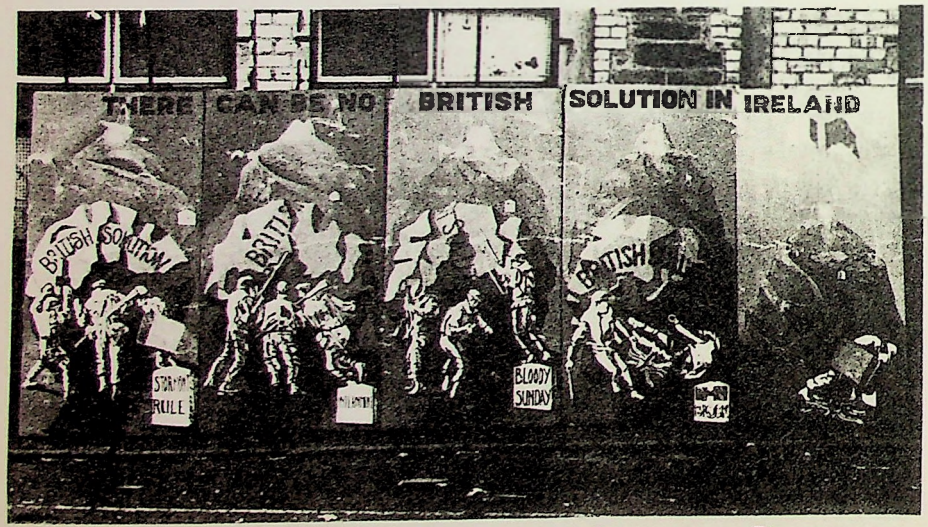
Illustration No 39



Painting by Joe Coyle and the People of Derry.

Illustration - No 40