

FERMANAGH FACTS



Issued by

FERMANAGH CIVIL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION

Price - ONE SHILLING

Introduction

The Fermanagh Civil Rights Association presents this document to the conscience of all citizens. Many of the facts it contains have already been placed in the hands of the Cameron Commission. These facts are as accurate as we could make them : where there was a possibility of error, we have tried to err against ourselves. Certainly we have avoided exaggeration.

We have been forced to refer many times to Catholics and Protestants. This religious emphasis is not of our choosing: it has been forced upon us by the attitude of the Unionist-Orange manipulators of power in Fermanagh, to whom a Catholic is an enemy, a Protestant a friend. This mentality has given rise to many of the abuses existing in Fermanagh today, as, for example, the creation of religious ghettos or deliberately depriving certain areas of employment. Both of these abuses affect Protestants just as much as Catholics; and it is our purpose to demand justice for the underprivileged of all religions.

Basing our case on the facts presented in these pages

We accuse the Unionists of the gerrymander of the Stormont Electoral boundaries.

We accuse them of the gerrymander of local government electoral boundaries.

We accuse them of discrimination, religious and political, in the allocation of employment.

We accuse them of discrimination, religious and political, in the allocation of council houses.

We accuse them of discrimination, religious and political, in the siting of industries.

We accuse them of a deliberate effort to eradicate the Catholic majority of County Fermanagh.

We accuse them of having proved themselves unfit to hold any power in a state which claims to be democratic.

We demand their immediate removal from power.

Signed

Frank MacManus, Vice-Chairman.

Colm Gillespie, Secretary, Fermanagh C.R.A.

Chapter One

THE STORMONT GERRYMANDER

The Unionist representatives in Stormont frequently refer to themselves as “Democratically elected”. In Fermanagh there are three constituencies — Enniskillen, Lisnaskea and South Fermanagh — whose boundaries have been arranged in such a way that no democratic representation is possible (see map 1.) Neither of the present two Unionist M.P.s, Captain John Brooke for Lisnaskea and Mr. Harry West for Enniskillen can claim to be a democratically elected representative.

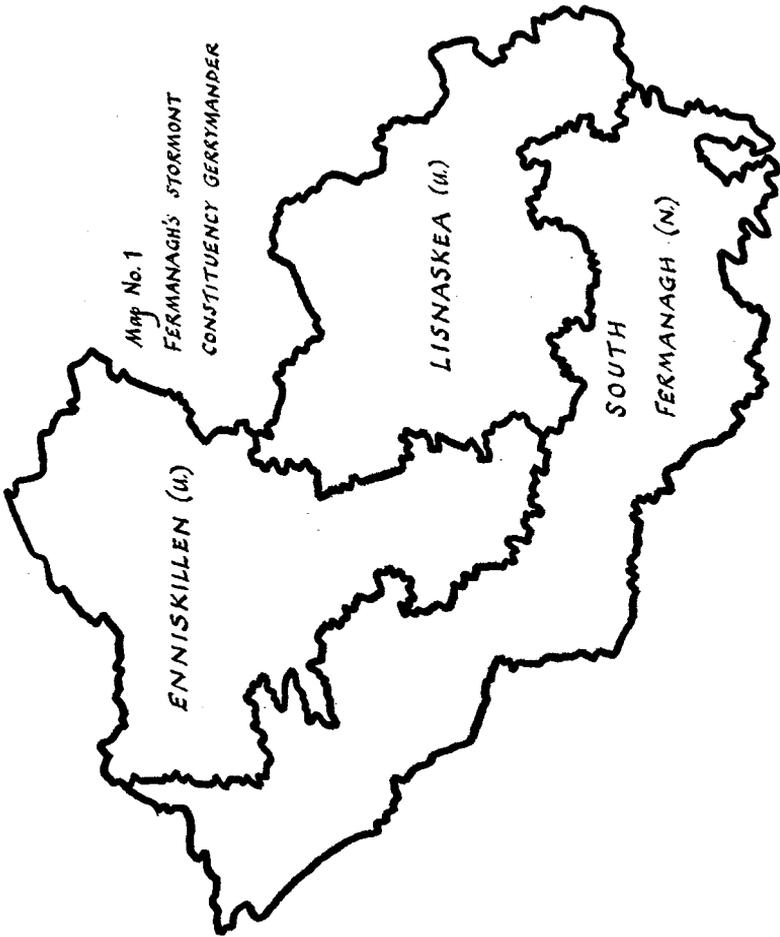
The Stormont constituency boundaries, fixed under the House of Commons (Methods of voting and Redistribution of Seats) Act (N. I.) 1929, ensure that the Catholic majority of Fermanagh returns only one M.P. while the Protestant minority returns two.

The results of the 1949 Stormont election show how the gerrymander works. We have chosen this particular election because it was the last clear-cut confrontation in all three constituencies between the Unionist (Protestant) and Nationalist (Catholic) parties. The results were: —

ENNISKILLEN	E. C. Ferguson (Unionist)	5,706
	W. Blake (Nationalist)	4,729
LISNASKEA	Sir B. Brooke (Unionist)	5,593
	J. Carron (Nationalist)	4,173
SOUTH FERMANAGH	C. Healy (Nationalist)	6,680
	F. Patterson (Unionist)	2,596
	The total Nationalist vote was	- 15,582
	The total Unionist vote was	- 13,895

IN OTHER WORDS THE UNIONISTS OF FERMANAGH POLLED 1,687 FEWER VOTES THAN THE NATIONALISTS, YET THEY RETURNED TWO REPRESENTATIVES TO THE NATIONALISTS' ONE.

The gerrymander works on a very simple principle : In the Unionist Constituencies the Nationalist minority is made as large as possible, whereas in the Nationalist constituency the Unionist minority is made as small as possible. This ensures a maximum “waste” of Nationalist votes and a maximum utilisation of Unionist votes. In Enniskillen constituency, for example 4,729 votes were “wasted” votes so far as the Nationalists were concerned. In the whole of Fermanagh, then, there were 8,902 wasted Nationalist votes, but only 2,596 wasted Unionist votes.



We might summarize the gerrymander system in Fermanagh thus :

As large a Nationalist minority as possible in a Unionist area; as small a Unionist minority as possible in a Nationalist area. Make every possible Unionist vote count; make every possible Nationalist vote worthless.

We shall show how this principle was also applied most effectively in the drawing of local government boundaries.

Since the stormont electoral boundaries are to be reviewed, we give these figures as evidence of intentional gerrymandering, in the past, of Unionist misrepresentation in the present, and of probable malpractice in the future.

The Fermanagh C.R.A. will be closely scrutinizing the review of the boundaries, and will be alert to any attempt at imposing a new gerrymander. The fairest representation this County could have at the present moment is one Unionist M.P. and one opposition M.P. A child could draw the boundary to provide for this.

(IT IS VITALLY IMPORTANT IN VIEW OF THE PROPOSED CHANGES IN BOTH STORMONT AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOUNDARIES, THAT EVERY ADULT IN FERMANAGH MAKES SURE HIS NAME IS ON THE ELECTORAL REGISTER.)

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT GERRYMANDER

“When the Government of Northern Ireland decided to do away with proportional representation, the chance that we had been waiting for, for so long, arrived. We took advantage. We divided the County in the way that we thought best.”

W. T. Millar, M.P. for Fermanagh-Tyrone, 12th July, 1923.

‘The facts of local government in Fermanagh may be summarized in one word — gerrymander. How this gerrymander was arranged requires some brief historical explanation.

In 1920, under proportional representation, the -Nationalist party gained control of five of the County’s seven local councils: Fermanagh County, Enniskillen Urban, Lisnaskea Rural, Clones No. 2 Rural, and Belleek Rural. The Unionists took Irvinestown Rural and Enniskillen Rural, the latter by one vote. The Nationalists had a total of 63 seats, the Unionists 57. In view of the population at that time (56 per cent Catholic), this was fair representation.

Once the state of Northern Ireland came into being, the Unionist party went to work on the takeover of local government in Fermanagh. The Clones No. 2 and Belleek Rural districts were abolished in April 1921, Clones No. 2 being added to Lisnaskea and Belleek to Irvinestown. (It had originally been intended to place Belleek with the Enniskillen Rural, but the Unionists realized that this would give Enniskillen Rural to the Nationalists.)

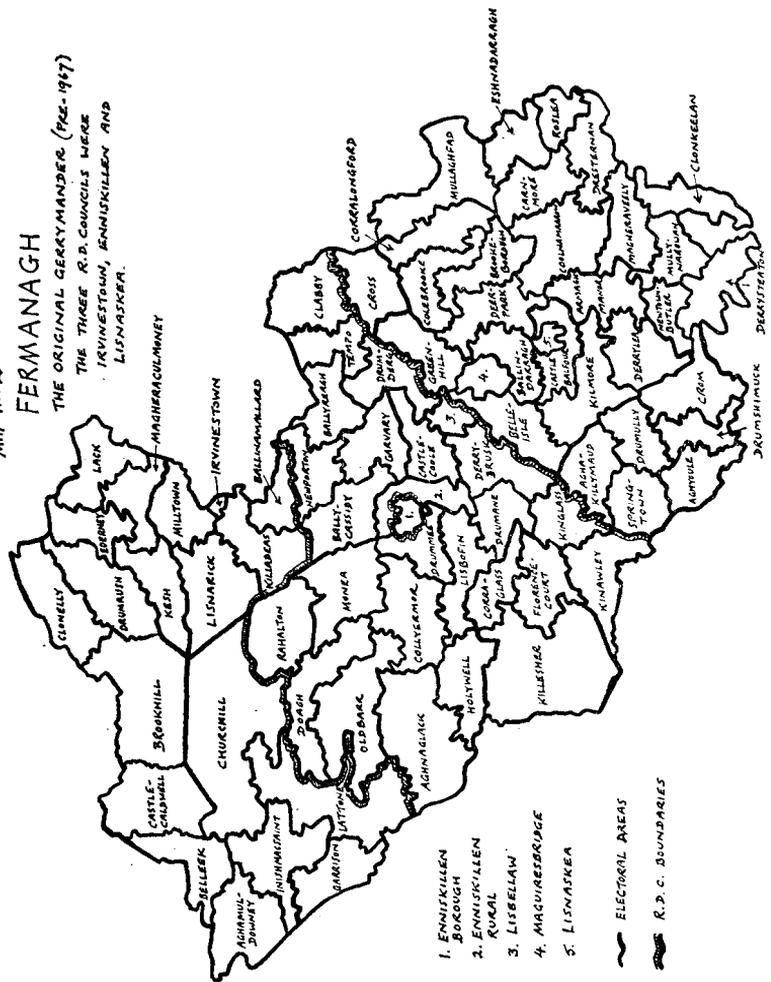
Enniskillen Urban fell to the Unionists because of the absence in October 1921 of one Nationalist from a crucial meeting to co-opt a new member. In December 1921 Fermanagh County Council and Lisnaskea R.D.C, were dissolved for refusing to recognize the Northern Ireland Parliament.

In September 1922 P.R. was abolished for local government elections and the Unionist party proceeded to work on the boundaries. By 1924 the gerrymander, which was still in operation until two years ago, was complete (see map 2.)

The following (1924) figures show the result: —

Enniskillen R.D.C.	9,817	Catholics	9	representatives
	9,097	Protestants	17	
Enniskillen U.D.C.	2,688	Catholics	7	
	2,159	Protestants	14	
Irvinestown R.D.C.	8,077	Catholics	8	
	6,762	Protestants	11	
Lisnaskea R.D.C.	9,078	Catholics	13	
	4,162	Protestants	18	

MAP No. 2.
FERMANAGH
 THE ORIGINAL GERRYMANDER (PRE-1967)
 THE THREE R.D. COUNCILS WERE
 IRVINESTOWN, ENNISKILLEN AND
 LISNASKEA.



This was achieved on the principle of the wasted Nationalist vote, as explained in Chapter One.

The following figures are based on election registers immediately before the amalgamation of the councils in 1967.

Irvinestown Rural District	Catholics	Protestants			Catholic Majority	Protestant Majority
Aghamuldowney	316	48	N		268	
Ballinamallard	25	471		U		446
Belleek	428	87	N		341	
Brookhill	79	268		U		189
Castlecaldwell	266	56	N		210	
Churchill	102	217		U		115
Clonelly	64	170		U		116
Drumrush	132	266		U		134
Ederney	298	127	N		171	
Garrison	228	148	N		80	
Inishmacsaint	338	20	N		318	
Irvinestown	471	189	N		282	
Kesh	69	334		U		265
Killadeas	58	291		U		233
Lack	135	232		U		97
Lattone	247	22	N		225	
Lisnarick	105	188		U		83
Magheraculmoney	59	185		U		126
Milltown	132	254		U		122
TOTALS	3,552	3,573	8	--11	1,905	1,926

Average Protestant majority 175

Average Catholic majority 237

Protestant Votes wasted 694

Catholic Votes wasted 960

Enniskillen Rural District	Catholics	Protestants	Representatives		Catholic Majority	Protestant Majority
Aghnaglack	255	15	N		240	
Ballycassidy	98	305		U		207
Ballyreagh	249	63	N		186	
Castlecoole	116	202		U		86
Clabby	88	280		U		192
Coolyermor	166	203		U		37
Corraglass	95	241		U		146
Derrybrusk	98	192		U		94
Doagh	297	83	N		214	
Drumane	222	155	N		67	
Drumderg	93	248		U		155
Drummee	154	368		U		204
Enniskillen Rural	202	328		U		123
Florencecourt	105	262		U		157
Garvary	155	259		U		104
Holywell	330	59	N		271	
Killesher	91	186		U		95
Kinawley	267	50	N		217	
Kinglass	232	138	N		94	
Lisbellaw	33	380		U		347
Lisbofin	100	313		U		213
Monea	145	317		U		172
Newporton	81	365		U		284
oldbarr	278	36	N		242	
Rahalton	194	267		U		73
Tempo	270	150	N		120	
TOTALS	3,334	5,312	9	17	1,651	2,689

Average Protestant majority 175

Average Catholic majority 183

Protestant Votes wasted 749

Catholic Votes wasted 2,114

Lisnaskea Rural District	Catholics	Protestants	Representatives		Catholic Majority	Protestant Majority
Aghakillymaud	256	69	N		2 0 7	
Aghyoule	234	40	N		194	
Armagh Manor	263	28	N		235	
Ballindarragh	113	243		U		130
Belleisle	125	174		U		49
Brookeborough	166	230		U		64
Carnmore	259	11	N		248	
Castlebalfour	265	379		U		114
Clonkeelan	188	105	N		83	
Colebrooke	78	254		U		196
Coolnamarrow	298	62	N		236	
Corralongford	135	173		U		38
Cross	92	271		U		179
Crom	105	181		U		76
Deerpark	154	209		U		55
Derrylea	118	139		U		21
Derrysteaton	219	81	N		138	
Dresternan	113	273		U		160
Drumully	333	61	N		272	
Drumshimuck	257	32	N		225	
Eshnadarragh	249		N		249	
Greenhill	63	254		U		191
Kilmore	214	71	N		143	
Lisnaskea	218	327		U		109
Magheraveely	147	249		U		102
Maguiresbridge	159	227		U		68
Mullaghfad	116	128		U		12
Mullynagowan	170	185		U		15
Newtownbutler	197	219		U		22
Roslea	335	40	N		295	
Springtown	266	30	N		236	
TOTALS	5,905	4,745	13	18	2,761	1,601

Average Protestant majority 88
Average Catholic majority 212
Protestant Votes wasted 630
Catholic Votes wasted 2,439

Enniskillen Borough	Catholics	Protestants	Representatives		Catholic Majority	Protestant Majority
East Ward	469	993		u		524
North Ward	1,154	572	N		582	
South Ward	335	643		U		308
Totals	1,958	2,218			582	832

Average Protestant majority 416
Average Catholic majority 582
Protestant Votes wasted 572
Catholic Votes wasted 804
Totals for Co. Fermanagh :
Protestant Votes wasted 2,645
Catholic Votes wasted 6,317

Chapter Three

THE RE-ORGANISATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN COUNTY FERMANAGH

In 1966-7 Fermanagh became the model for the rest of N. Ireland in the matter of modernizing Local Government. The P.E. Consulting Group Ltd. was engaged to advise on the amalgamation of all four Councils in Fermanagh into one, more efficient County Council. Everyone in Fermanagh agreed that the idea was sound, but the way the Unionists party put it into practice has caused much of the unrest Fermanagh has seen in the past months.

No member of the opposition was invited to join the steering Committee responsible for the amalgamation.

Only eight days were allowed for consideration of the P.E. Consulting Group's substantial report and for meetings to dissolve the old district Councils. So ruthlessly was the business pushed through that, because of delays in the Christmas mail, some opposition councillors received neither the report nor the summonses to the meetings until after the meetings had been held.

The opposition Councillors offered suggestions and amendments to the Council. All were rejected out of hand. The amalgamation was accepted *in toto* as the Unionists had decided it should be, by a party vote. All discussion was guillotined by the chairman of the new Fermanagh County Council, Captain John Brooke.

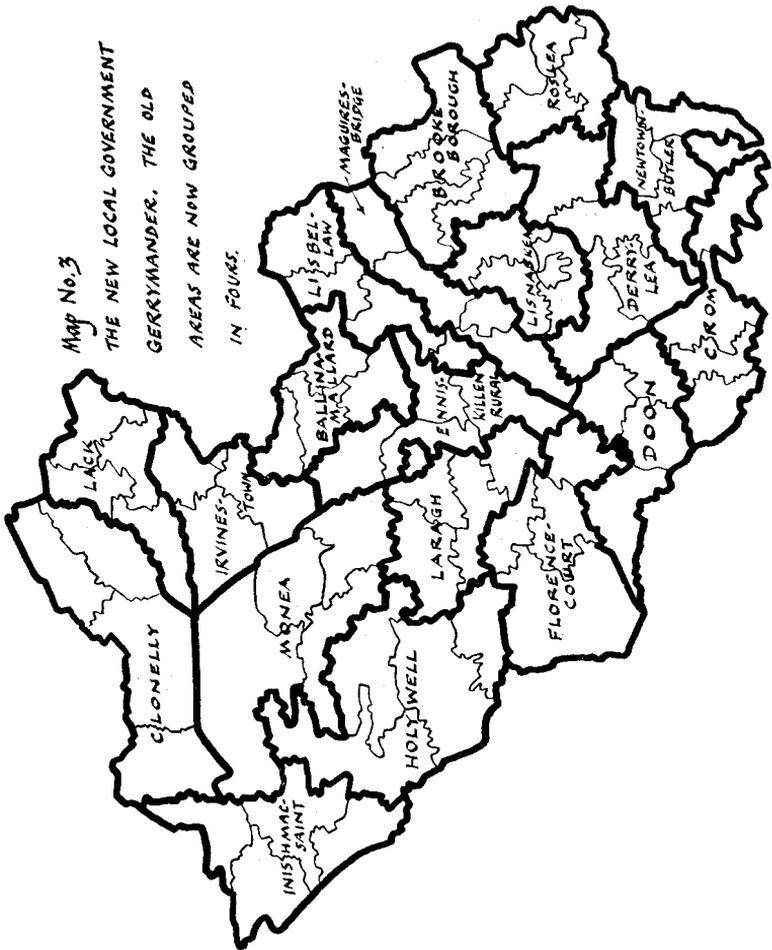
Significantly, the only aspect of reorganization on which the P.E. Consulting Group had not been asked to advise was the manner of electing Councillors.

The Unionist party had its own experts for this particular problem. Since the old gerrymandered districts were 76 in number, not counting the Enniskillen wards, the first question was how to reduce the number of Councillors while preserving the balance of power in the Unionist's favour. It was decided to impose a new gerrymander on top of the old.

The existing areas were to be grouped in fours (See Map 3), each group returning two Councillors, while the three unaltered Enniskillen wards would return four Councillors each. Yet, even here, the Unionists had to be careful: not every possible grouping would preserve Unionist power. In fact it was possible, even using the old gerrymandered boundaries, to have arranged the grouping in such a way that the Unionists would have lost control.

So the grouping was done very carefully indeed, and with some peculiar results as, for example, the combination of Belleisle, Maguiresbridge, Greenhill, and Cross, or of Aghyoule, Drum-

Map No. 3
THE NEW LOCAL GOVERNMENT
GERRYMANDER. THE OLD
AREAS ARE NOW GROUPED
IN FOURS.



shimuck, Crom and Derrysteaton. The end result is that, of the fifty Councillors “elected” in Fermanagh, 36 were intended to be Unionist and only 16 opposition. (Two Councillors, always Unionist, are co-opted). We say “intended to be”, because Mr. P. Reihill of Irvinestown got a seat he was not supposed to get; so the ‘actual figures at present are 35 Unionist and 17 opposition.

The following figures, based on post-amalgamation registers show how the new gerrymander works.

ELECTORAL DIVISIONS		CATHOLICS	PROTESTANTS
1. Ballinamallard		22	458
Ballyreagh		250	59
Garvary		160	223
Newporton		58	342
	Totals	490	1,082
2. Brookeborough		164	242
Colebrooke		105	207
Corralongford		131	166
Mullaghfad		110	128
	Totals	510	743
3. Clonelly		62	159
Castlecaidwell		233	54
Brookhill		80	245
Drumrush		133	236
	Totals	508	694
4. Crom		87	184
Aghyoule		224	45
Derrysteaton		189	55
Drumshimuck		238	35
	Totals	738	319
5. Derrylea		120	120
Armagh Manor		253	28
Coolnamarrow		293	60
Kilmore		224	67
	Totals	890	275
6. Aghakillymaud	} Doon Division	265	47
Drumully		310	58
Kinawley		250	44
Springtown		248	24
	Totals	1,073	173
7. Enniskillen Rural		557	364
Ballycassidy		80	419
Castlecoole		103	243
Derrybrusk		93	200
	Totals	833	1,226

ELECTORAL DIVISIONS		CATHOLICS	PROTESTANTS
8.	Florencecourt	105	266
	Corraglass	88	198
	Killesher	81	165
	Kinglass	221	147
	Totals	495	776
9.	Holywell	337	49
	Aghnaglack	253	12
	Lattone	237	24
	Oldbarr	257	26
	Totals	1,084	111
10.	Irvinestown	494	205
	Lisnarick	98	201
	Killadeas	48	285
	Milltown	117	263
	Totals	757	954
11.	Inishmacsaint	327	27
	Aghamuldowney	303	51
	Belleek	418	90
	Garrison	223	135
	Totals	1,271	303
12.	Lack	123	218
	Ederney	304	126
	Kesh	66	366
	Magheraculmoney	65	175
	Totals	558	885
13.	Coolyermor	124	176
	Drumane	215	153
	Drummee } Larragh Division	164	424
	Lisbofin	85	307
	Totals	588	1,060
14.	Lisbellaw	40	374
	Clabbv	101	243
	Drumderg	93	254
	Tempo	249	154
	Totals	483	1,025
15.	Lisnaskea	204	245
	Ballindarragh	116	227
	Castlebalfour	339	415
	Deerpark	142	178
	Totals	801	1,065

ELECTORAL DIVISIONS	CATHOLICS	PROTESTANTS
16. Maguiresbridge	173	224
Belleisle	131	168
Cross	88	233
Greenhill	69	243
Totals	461	868
17. Monea	144	282
Churchill	103	194
Doagh	285	92
Rahalton	176	284
Totals	708	852
18. Newtownbutler	231	212
Clonkeelan	179	92
Magheraveely	150	223
Mullynagowan	194	190
Totals	754	717
19. Roslea	315	31
Carnmore	248	13
Dresternan	119	236
Eshnadarragh	240	—
Totals	922	280
20. Enniskillen Borough		
East Ward	457	950
North Ward	1,006	586
South Ward	369	842
Totals	1,832	2,378

The most noticeable difference between the above set of figures and the previous set is the change in the Catholic population of Enniskillen North Ward. This is explained by the fact that since amalgamation Fermanagh Co. Council has erected a housing estate in Enniskillen Rural, outside the borough boundary, for rehousing the people from demolished slum areas in the North Ward.

The present position in Fermanagh local Government elections is:—

Total of Catholic Voters	15,756 (for Westminster 15,617)
Total of Protestant Voters	15,786 (for Westminster 15,461)
Number of Catholic votes wasted	8,018
Number of Protestant votes wasted	2,764
Catholic representation	17 Councillors
Protestant representation	35 Councillors

According to the above figures, the opposition Councillors

should number 18 (or 19 with Mr. Reihill) after the next local Government elections. Since the Unionist party intended to retain 36 seats, it is plain that a miscalculation occurred somewhere. A comparison between the pre-amalgamation and post-amalgamation figures for Newtownbutler, Clonkeelan, Magheraveely and Mullyangowan will show where the slip was made.

At the time of amalgamation: —

	CATHOLICS	PROTESTANTS
Newtownbutler	197	219
Clonkeelan	188	105
Magheraveely	147	249
Mullyangowan	170	185
Totals	702	758

There was then a Protestant majority of 56. Newtownbutler, therefore, is still represented by two Unionist Councillors. But the most recent figures show that there is now a Catholic majority of 37:—

	CATHOLICS	PROTESTANTS
Newtownbutler	231	212
Clonkeelan	179	92
Magheraveely	150	223
Mullyangowan	194	190
Totals	754	717

Fermanagh Co. Council proposals for dealing with this situation show how far the Unionist party is prepared to go in order to preserve its gerrymander. They intend to create a new village at Donagh, nearly four miles from Newtownbutler specifically to rehouse Catholics from the Newtownbutler area. It is no accident that Donagh happens to be in a different division, Derrylea, where the Catholic majority is already 615.

Fermanagh C.R.A. Action Committee investigated the situation in Newtownbutler and we discovered:—

- (1) That the Nationalist Councillors for Derrylea say there is no need for so many Houses at Donagh.
- (2) That the people of Newtownbutler have no desire to move to Donagh.
- (3) That the Council made no attempt whatsoever to discover the feelings of people they propose to move.
- (4) That the Council already owned sufficient suitable land to build the houses in Newtownbutler.

- (5) That the site at Donagh possessed no drainage, which would have to be installed at considerable cost (some say £17,000) to the ratepayers.
- (6) That the available site in Newtownbutler has easy access to sewerage, water and electricity.
- (7) That the representatives of the Newtownbutler people have met with nothing but obstinate silence in their attempts to discuss matters with the Council.

The Donagh affair, which the Newtownbutler people with our help propose to fight to the bitter end, shows the arrogance and indifference with which the Unionist party treats humans as individuals and as communities when it is a question of preserving the gerrymander of County Fermanagh.

Chapter Four

FERMANAGH LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The population of Fermanagh is approximately 52% Catholic. The County Council consists of 50 "elected" and 2 co-opted members. 35 Councillors are Protestant, 17 are Catholic. This undemocratic balance is reflected in all the Committees and appointments made by the Council. We see no necessity to do more than list the various committees and appointments referred to.

COUNTY OFFICERS: —

Secretary	Protestant
Finance Officer	Protestant
Accountant	Protestant
Solicitor	Protestant
Local Taxation Officer	Protestant
County Engineer	Protestant
Divisional Engineers	2 Protestants, 1 Catholic
Assistant Engineers	3 Protestants
County Architect	Protestant
Poor Rate Collectors	10 Protestants, 1 Catholic
Total	: 22 Protestants, 2 Catholics

COMMITTEES: —

1. Education Committee
protestants 9 (+ 2 appointed by Minister) 11
Catholics 3
2. Establishment and Management Advisory Committee
Protestants 7 (+ 2 ex-officio members) 9
Catholics 3
3. Finance and General Purposes Committee
Protestants 6
Catholics 3
4. Health Committee
Protestants 6
Catholics 3
(Officers: —
Secretary Protestant
Medical Officer Protestant
Deputy Medical Officer - Protestant
Senior Dental Officer - Protestant
Public Health Inspector - Protestant)
5. Housing Committee: —
Protestants 5
Catholics 3
(Clerk - protestant)

The Housing Committee has recently appointed a Transfer

Subcommittee with full Council powers.

Its composition : 2 Protestants, 1 Catholic,

6. Library Committee: —	
Protestants	5
Catholics	3
(County Librarian - Protestant)	
7. Planning Committee: —	
Protestants	6
Catholics	3
(Planning Officer - Protestant Clerk - Protestant)	
8. Public Works Committee: —	
Protestants	6
Catholics	3
(Clerk - Protestant)	
9. Welfare Committee: —	
Protestants	6
Catholics	3
(Secretary - Protestant Welfare Officer - Protestant)	
10. Agricultural Committee: —	
Protestants 6 (+ 4 appointed to represent farmers + 1 appointed to represent agricultural workers + 2 appointed by the Minister)	13
Catholics 3 (+ 1 appointed to represent farmers + 1 appointed to represent agricultural workers)	5

NOTE : The Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the County Council, both Protestants, are ex-officio members of all committees; therefore two Protestants can be added to each committee, further tilting the balance against the Catholic representatives.

THE LIQUIDATION CAMPAIGN

“The Nationalist majority in the county, notwithstanding a reduction of 336 in the year, stands at 3,604. . I would ask the meeting to authorize their executive to adopt whatever plans, and take whatever steps, however drastic, to wipe out this Nationalist majority”.

Mr. E. C. Ferguson, Unionist M.P. for Enniskillen, addressing the Annual Unionist Convention in Enniskillen, April, 1948.

That the meeting adopted Mr. Ferguson’s suggestion is only too plain from the facts. The Census (1961) for Fermanagh shows that during the whole of this century the Catholic population of Fermanagh represented a steady 55% - 56%. Yet in 1961, thirteen years after Mr. Ferguson’s campaign began, it had dropped to an unprecedented 53.2% and the indications are that it is still falling.

Year	Total population	Catholics	%	Other Denominations	%	% R. C Majority
1901	65,430	36,198	55.3	29,232	44.7	10.6
1911	61,836	34,740	56.2	27,096	43.8	12.4
1926	57,984	32,455	56.0	25,529	44.0	12.0
1937	54,569	30,196	55.3	24,373	44.7	10.6
1951	53,044	29,461	55.6	23,583	44.4	11.2
1961	51,531	27,422	53.2	24,109	46.8	6.4

These figures reveal another important fact : that between 1951 and 1961, in spite of a continuing pattern of decline in the whole population of the county, the Protestant population actually increased for the first time since 1901.

The Census itself says :

“Between 1951 and 1961, the number of persons returned as Roman Catholics under 10 years of age decreased by 6.1% while that for all others in the same age group increased by 0.5%; in the range 10 to 21 years, respective increases of 8.37₀ and 15.9% were recorded. ”

This is a phenomenon which can be explained in only one way — emigration of Catholics. Certainly, as the Unionists themselves never tire of pointing out, the Catholic birthrate cannot explain such a decrease in population.

The Census continues. “At ages over 21, the number of Roman Catholics decreased by 11.9%;4,, compared with a decrease of only 1.2% for all others. ”

In other words, in ten years, the operative years of the

Liquidation Campaign, the number of adult, employable Catholic men and women dropped by nearly ten times as much as the number of similar people of other denominations.

Then the Census adds this peculiar comment :

“While the tendency in Northern Ireland as a whole for the Roman Catholic population to contain a higher proportion of young persons compared with the other main denominations still applies in Fermanagh, the relative differences in the broad age distributions of the two groups are less marked than in most other counties.”

Fermanagh is unique in the North. Why are the “relative differences” less marked? Because the Catholic people, having reached an employable age, are forced to leave the county in large numbers. Young married couples, knowing the record of Unionist-controlled Housing Committees, despair of getting a house in their own county and are forced to look elsewhere. Young men and women in search of employment leave the county for similar reasons.

We append graphs and sets of figures to show that these statements are grounded on fact. No one could explain the peculiar pattern of the Catholic population in Fermanagh, except in terms of Mr. Ferguson’s liquidation campaign.

There is no other explanation.

Population (1961) according to age groups

Age Groups	Catholics	Other Denominations
0 - 4	2,909	2,223
5 - 9	3,005	2,087
10 - 14	3,116	2,198
15 - 19	2,268	1,954
20 - 24	1,302	2,640
25 - 29	1,265	1,437
30 - 34	1,356	1,431
35 - 39	1,551	1,512
40 - 44	1,658	1,408
45 - 49	1,629	1,520
50 - 54	1,503	1,363
55 - 59	1,318	1,241
60 - 64	1,270	1,099
65 - 69	1,120	957
70 +	2,152	1,939

Percentages of religious populations 1951 and 1961

Age	Catholics		Other Denominations	
	1951	1961	1951	1961
Under 1	59.9	55.4	40.1	44.6
Under 10	59.5	57.8	40.5	42.2
Under 25	57.5	55.3	42.5	44.7
25 - 49	54.1	50.5	45.9	49.5
Over 50	54.2	52.7	45.8	47.3
All Ages	55.6	53.2	44.4	46.8

The accompanying graphs illustrate the figures given in this chapter.

Graph No. 1 shows clearly the significant drop in the percentage of Fermanagh's Catholic population since 1951, when the liquidation campaign began to gather momentum.

Graph No. 2 shows the relative numbers of Catholics and other denominations in the year 1961 according to age groups. Assuming that nothing extraordinary happened to the Catholic birthrate in Fermanagh at the time when the people in the 19 — 35 age groups were born, the question arises : What happens to Fermanagh's Catholics once they reach the employable and marriageable age of 19?

Graph No. 3 shows how the Catholic population of Fermanagh has dropped relative to other denominations in the ten years between 1951 and 1961.

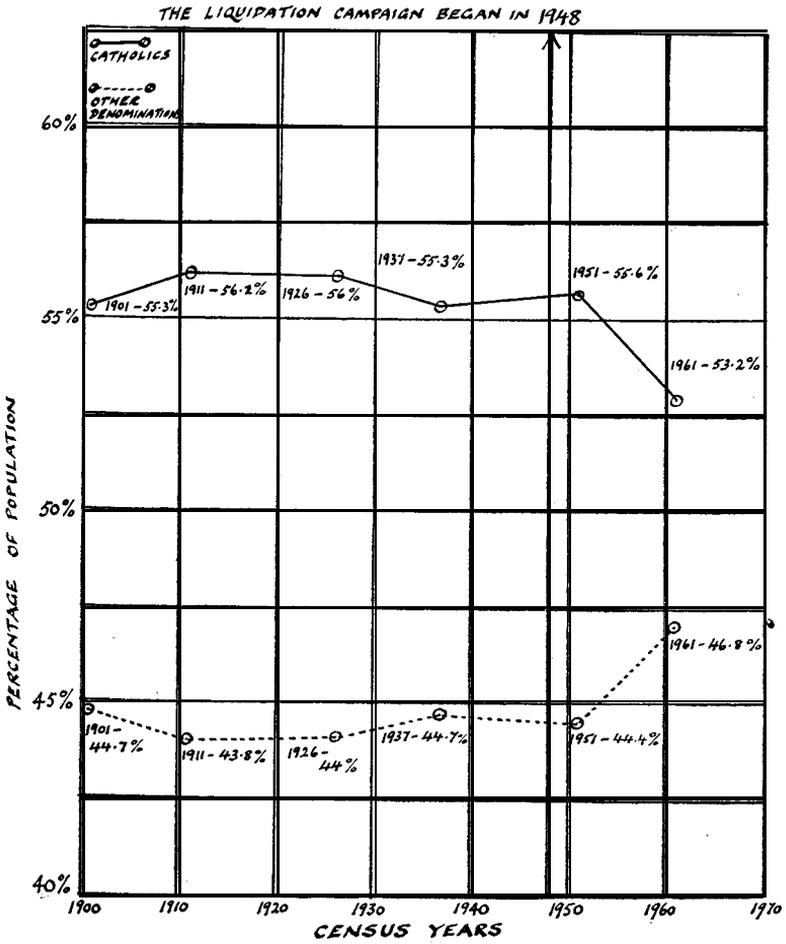
All three graphs are a 'tribute to the zeal and efficiency with which the Unionist Party adopted Mr. Ferguson's request in 1948.

It might also be added that of persons born in the Republic of Ireland resident in Fermanagh in 1961, 2,072 (including 848 males) were Catholics, whereas 2,542 (including 1,166 males) were of other denominations. It would seem that, not content with driving the Catholics out, the Unionist party is also encouraging Protestants to come in. Some significance might here be attached to the words of Mr. J. M. Andrews M.P. when he addressed the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland in 1950 : "I fear that we could not introduce a measure openly, to debar Catholics from Eire and admitting Protestants from Eire to come and reside in Northern Ireland. Clause 6 of the Government of Ireland Act forbade a privilege or preference on account of religion. But a good deal can be done administratively."

How much has been done "administratively" in Fermanagh?

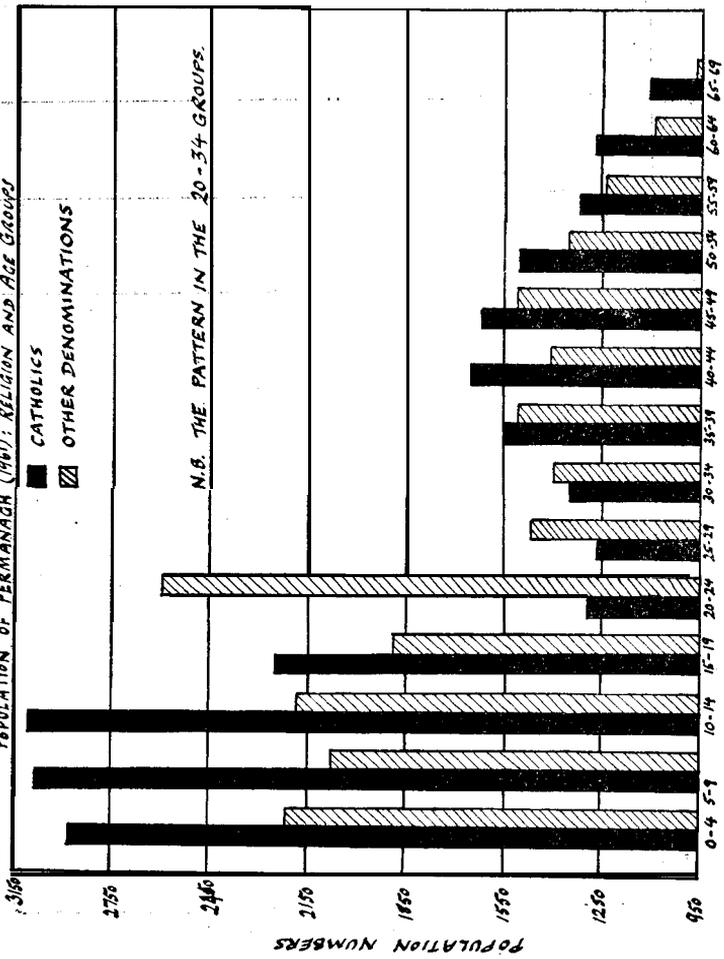
Part of the way in which the Liquidation Campaign has been — and is still being — carried out is indicated in the following chapters, which deal with discrimination by the Unionists in employment, housing and industry.

GRAPH No.1



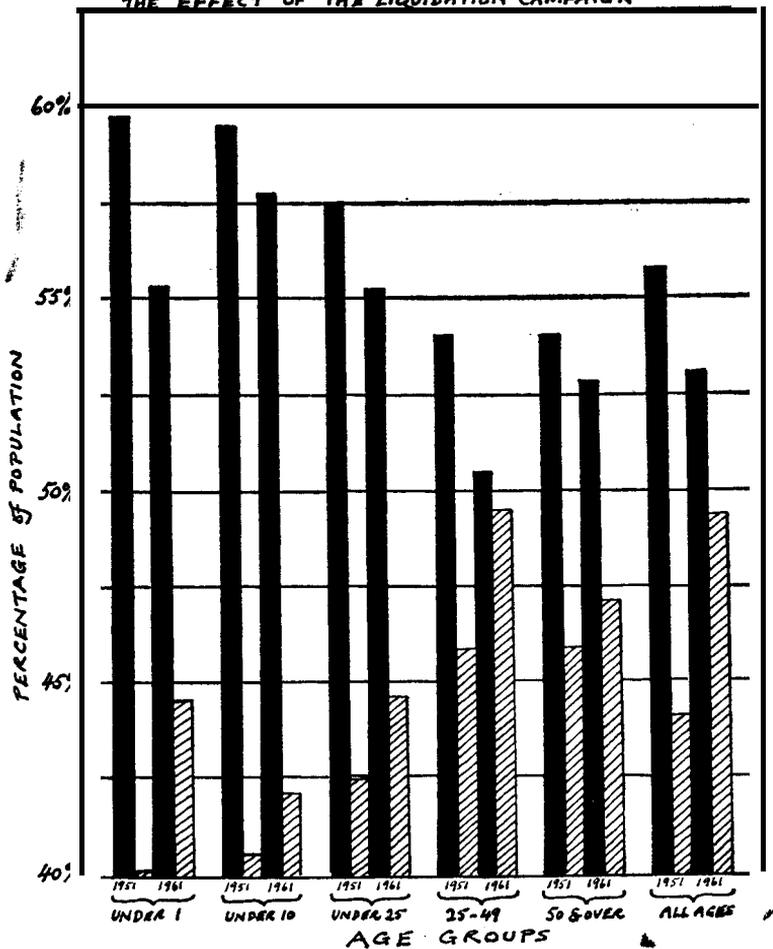
GRAPH NO. 2

POPULATION OF FERMANAGH (1961): RELIGION AND AGE GROUPS



GRAPH No. 3

THE EFFECT OF THE LIQUIDATION CAMPAIGN



Chapter Six

LOCAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT

The facts we present here speak for themselves. They are taken from the County Council pay sheets for the month of April 1969. The total obviously varies from month to month: we have therefore omitted people casually employed. We also omit the figures for labourers etc., especially as many of these would have been employed only on Winter relief schemes. (We also concede that in the matter of picks and shovels the County Council exercises no discrimination).

Since education is a vexed subject, especially in N. Ireland and since we see no reason why Catholic schools should not employ Catholics and Protestant schools Protestants, we omit figures for people working in schools in any capacity. (The only exception we make is the Enniskillen Technical School, which we consider deserves attention.)

What remains is the hard-core of permanent Council-employees. We stress once again that approximately 52 per cent of the Fermanagh population is Catholic.

SECRETARIAT

	Catholics	Protestants
County Secretary	0	1
Administrative Officer	0	1
Clerks	0	3
Clerk-Typists	0	5

FINANCE

	Catholics	Protestants
County Finance Officer	0	1
Accountant	1	1
Clerks	0	5
Rate Collectors	1	10

LOCATION TAXATION

	Catholics	Protestants
Taxation Officer	0	
Clerks	0	:
Caretakers	0	2

HOUSING DEPARTMENT

	Catholics	Protestants
Committee Clerk	0	1
Architect	0	1
Clerks of Works	0	2
Rent Collectors	0	4
Clerks	0	1
Clerk Typists	0	1

LIBRARY

	Catholics	Protestants
County Librarian	0	1
Library Assistants	1	10
Mobile Library Driver	0	1
Caretakers	0	2

PLANNING AND TOURIST DEPARTMENT

Planning Officer	0	1
Committee Clerk	0	1
Planning Assistant	0	1
Tourist Assistant	0	1
Clerk Typists	0	1

ARCHITECT'S OFFICE

County Architect	0	1
Senior Assistant Architect	0	1
Architectural Assistant	1	3
Maintenance Engineer	0	1
Maintenance Officers	0	2

PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT

(including Engineer's Office)

County Engineer	0	1
Deputy County Engineer	0	1
Divisional Engineer	0	1
District Engineer	1	0
Assistant Engineers	1	6
Engineering Assistant	0	1
Divisional Surveyor	0	1
Assistant Surveyors	0	4
Survey Assistants	0	5
Overseers	0	9
Clerks	0	6
Clerk Typists	0	3
Clerk of Works	0	1
Water Superintendents	0	2
Water Supervisor	0	1
Water Inspector	0	1
Water Caretakers	0	5
Water Linesmen	0	3
Sewage Superintendent	0	:
Sewage Caretakers	0	:
Laboratory Assistants	1	1
Gardens Supervisor	0	1
Laboratory Caretaker	1	0

EDUCATION OFFICE

	Catholics	Protestants
Chief Education Officer	0	1
Assistant Education Officer	0	1
Transport Officer	0	1
Executive Officer	0	1
Psychologist	0	
Accountants	0	i
Supplies Officer	0	1
Assistant Transport Officer	0	1
School Attendance Officers	1	3
School Meals Organizers	0	
Clerks & Other Employees	0	3:
School Bus Men	3	74

HEALTH & WELFARE DEPARTMENT (Health)

	Catholics	Protestants
County Medical Officer	0	1
Asst. Co. Medical Officer (full-time)	0	1
Asst. Co. Medical Officers (part-time)	1	1
Chiropodist	0	1
County Dental Officer	0	1
Asst. Dental Officers	1	1
Dental Auxiliaries	1	1
County Nursing Officer	0	1
Asst. Co Nursing Officer	0	1
Dental Anesthetist	0	1
Speech Therapists	1	2
County Public Health Inspector	0	1
Asst. Co. Public Health Inspector	0	1
Public Health Inspectors	0	7
Accountant	0	1
Secretary to the Department	0	1
Records Officer	0	1
Health Visitors & Nurses	12	24
Clerks	1	13

HEALTH & WELFARE DEPARTMENT (Welfare)

County Welfare Officer	0	1
Asst. Co. Welfare Officer	0	1
Welfare Officers	2	4
Student Welfare Officers	0	3
Social Welfare Workers	1	2
Matrons, Old People's Homes	0	2
Asst. Matrons, Old People's Homes	0	2

HEALTH & WELFARE DEPARTMENT (Welfare) contd.

	Catholics	Protestants
Porter, Old People's Home	0	1
ClerkTelephonist, Old Peoples' Home	0	1
County Children's Officer	0	1
Matron, Children's Home	0	1
Other Employees in Department	1	6

Summary of County Council Employment	Catholics	Protestants
1. Co. Council Administrative & Financial :		
(a) Secretariat	0	10
(b) Finance	1	17
(c) Local Taxation	0	4
(d) Caretakers	0	2
2. Housing Department	0	10
3. County Library	1	14
4. Planning & Tourist Department	0	5
5. Architect's Office	1	8
6. Public Works Department	4	60
7. Education Office	4	120
8. Health & Welfare Department :		
(a) Health	17	63
(b) Welfare	4	25
Totals	32	338

EMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRY IN FERMANAGH

“The Northern Government is a Protestant Government, put into power by Protestants and the welfare and safety of the Protestants should be its first consideration.”

Senator Porter-Porter, Lisnaskea, 12th July, 1931.

“I have not one (Catholic) about my place.”

Sir Basil Brooke, Newtownbutler, 12th July, 1933.

What those two gentlemen said over thirty years ago has been, and still is, the attitude of the Unionist party in Fermanagh. Mr. Ferguson’s liquidation campaign was merely an intensification of a programme already under way. The previous chapter offers sufficient proofs of this so far as the County Council is concerned; but it operates also in other bodies where Unionists can control employment, as in the Erne Hospital, Enniskillen. In the figures which follow we have set apart those members of the hospital staff who are directly concerned with the care of the patient’s health, since in those instances, nurses, for example, the hospital’s choice is often limited to the qualified people available. It is in the peripheral occupations that Unionist discrimination becomes obvious.

Erne Hospital Employment (April 1969)	Catholic	Protestant
Teaching Staff	0	2
Nursing Staff	73	40
Consultants	1	3
Junior Medical Staff (full-time)	1	0
Junior Medical Staff (part-time)	0	3
Anaesthetists	2	0
Pharmacist	0	1
Radiographers	1	2
Physiotherapists	0	2
Administrative Staff	0	3
Kitchen Supervisor	1	0
Cook	1	0
Ambulance Staff	0	9

	Catholics	Protestants
Telephonists	0	4
Clerical Staff	2	25
Engineer	0	1
Joiner	0	1
Porters	1	4
Stores Superintendent	0	1
Electrician	0	1
Orderlies	13	15
Domestics	45	19

The same bias is even more clear in the Enniskillen Technical College, the only inter-denominational secondary school in the County. The pupils, on a conservative estimate, are 65% Catholic. The total teaching staff, including part-time, is 66, of whom 20 are Catholics (June 1969). The distribution of positions of authority within the College is as follows : —

Principal	Protestant
Vice-Principal	Protestant
Lecturers*	4 Protestants
Head of Day School	Protestant
Deputy Head of Day School (Main Building) . . .	Protestant
Deputy Head of Day School (Annexe)	Protestant
Head, of Liberal Studies Department	PqMestant
Head of Mathematics Department	Protestant
Head of Science Department	Protestant
Head of Engineering Department	protestant
Head of Carpentry and Building Department	Protestant
Head of Commerce Department	Protestant
Asst. Head of Commerce Department	Protestant
Head of Domestic Science Department	Protestant
Also : —	
Office Staff	4 Protestants
Laboratory Assistant	Protestant
Caretakers	2 Protestants

*The Lecturers are also Heads of some of the Departments listed. The title is conferred by the College and carries extra remuneration.

The Fire service might also be added: —

S.L.	Protestant
L.F.'s.	4 Protestants
Firemen	11 Protestants
	2 Catholics

And a similar pattern may be seen in the four creameries in Fermanagh, the figures for which are summarised here: —

Lisnaskea Creamery -	40 Protestants	15 Catholics
Derrygonnelly Creamery -	18 Protestants	4 Catholics
Enniskillen Creamery -	28 Protestants	7 Catholics
Springfield Creamery -	17 Protestants	3 Catholics

That this discrimination can creep into government-subsidized industries where local Unionists gain control of managerial positions may also be suspected. The gathering of facts on such employment is difficult, for obvious reasons, but we may cite the case of the now defunct Taylor-Woods Nylon Factory (Enniskillen). It was so generally recognized that discrimination against Catholics was being exercised in this factory that Nationalist Senator P. J. O'Hare raised the matter in the Stormont Senate in December 1955. He gave the following figures : —

Knitting Room	42 Catholics	210 Protestants
Boiler Room	0 Catholics	4 Protestants
Stores	0 Catholics	7 Protestants
Clerical Staff	0 Catholics	All Protestants
Maintenance Shop	4 Catholics	20 Protestants
Dye House	0 Catholics	7 Protestants
Despatch	1 Catholic	6 Protestants
Executive	1 Catholic	Remainder Protestants
Canteen	1 Catholic	Remainder Protestants

These are Senator O'Hare's figures, and we have no way of verifying their accuracy at this date. We cite them as evidence of the suspicion among the Catholic population that where Unionists have control of employment there is no point in applying for a job.

Catholic application for employment is further discouraged by the fact that jobs are sometimes not advertised at all. An example of this is the branch of Fermanagh County Library in Irvinestown, where the assistants were appointed without the positions being advertised. Most Catholics in Fermanagh, and a considerable minority of Protestants, believe that the Unionist Party and the Orange Lodge control the allocation of much local employment and that unless one — Protestant or Catholic — is persona grata with these people, one's chances of obtaining work are negligible.

Economic warfare is waged not only against the individual but against the locality. It would appear to be Unionist policy to do little to attract industry to Fermanagh, presumably on the

ground that Catholics would then be encouraged to remain in the county in the hope of employment. Neither Captain Brooke nor Mr. West seems unduly worried by the fact that, of 74 advance factories in Northern Ireland, only one is coming to Fermanagh.

What industry does appear is guided to places which suit Unionist Planning. The following survey of industrial distribution in Fermanagh cannot be mere coincidence : —

ENNISKILLEN CONSTITUENCY (Unionist)

Kesh	-	Tapestry
Irvinestown	-	Ashton's A.C. Camp Ltd, Ulster Clay Products Ernvale Creameries Desmonds Ltd. Ballycassidy Sawmills
Enniskillen	-	Taylor Woods Ltd. Kent Plastics Standard Telephones Swift's Bacon Springfield Creamery Slack & Parr

LISKNASKEA CONSTITUENCY (Unionist)

Lisnaskea	-	E.S.C. Watts & Stone Lisnaskea Creamery
Lisbellaw	-	Ardria Sewing Mills Tyres

SOUTH FERMANAGH CONSTITUENCY (Nationalist)

Belleek Pottery (established over a century ago)

The deliberate withholding of employment from South Fermanagh is plain. Protestants of the area must suffer willy-nilly with their Catholic neighbors. The Unionist defence is that the population does not justify the bringing of industry. Is this any reason why creameries, or small firms employing a limited number, should be kept out of the area?

It has been the tendency in Fermanagh, obviously encouraged by the Unionist party, for the county to become a cattle ranch for the large farmers and a playground for tourists. The people of the county are the last consideration.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT HOUSING IN FERMANAGH

“We are not going to build houses in the South Ward and cut a rod to beat ourselves later on. We are going to see that the right people are put into these houses, and we are not making any apologies for it.”

Mr. George Elliott, Unionist member of Enniskillen Borough Council.

“I readily admit that there is a clear indication that segregation exists in Enniskillen . . . the facts prove its presence.”

Mr. Harry West, Unionist M.P. for Enniskillen.

What Mr. Elliott and Mr. West were at no pains to conceal — the fact that religious discrimination is exercised in the allocation of council houses in Fermanagh — can be easily proved by the figures we give in this chapter. Our allegation here is two-fold : first, that in the past the housing authorities discriminated by refusing to house Catholics; second, that when the new County Council did decide to house Catholics, many of whom had lived in deplorable slum conditions for years, it did so by creating religious ghettos. A brief preliminary statement of the Unionist housing record will indicate how the present situation in Fermanagh came about.

Before 1945 **no houses at all** were built by any of the three Rural District Councils.

In 1937 the Enniskillen Borough Council, after 26 years of inactivity, built 31 houses; but since 153 families at that time were living in one - or two-room flats, and since, as early as 1928, 134 houses had been condemned by the M. O. H., this achievement could be regarded as considerably less than adequate.

Since the end of the second world war there has been considerable activity, but the records show that discrimination for its own sake and for the sake of preserving population balance in the electoral areas has been consistently, relentlessly and, as Mr. Elliott's remark shows, arrogantly exercised.

Until the appearance of the new County Council in 1967 the

housing position was as follows : —

1. Irvinestown R.D.C.

124 Catholics	144 Protestants
	(Catholic population 52%)

2. Enniskillen R.D.C.

16 Catholics	316 Protestants
	(Catholic population 49%)

3. Lisnaskea R.D.C.

52 Catholics	133 Protestants
	(Catholic population 59%)

4. Enniskillen B.I.C.

East Ward	1 Catholic	106 Protestants
North Ward	(No houses built in Nationalist Ward)	
South Ward	2 Catholics	154 Protestants
	(Catholic population 52%)	

Between 1945 and 1967, then, 195 houses in Fermanagh were allocated to Catholics, while 853 — over four times as many — went to people of other denominations. Approximately 54% of [the population, and that containing by far the greater number of those in need of houses, received only 18% of the Council houses.

The present situation in the county can be summarized from a report prepared in November 1968 by the Public Health Inspector's Department for the County Council :

“Between the period of 1st June, 1944 and 31st December, 1967 a total of 3,139 dwelling houses were erected in County Fermanagh and nine further buildings were adapted for living accommodation. Of this number 1,333 were erected by local Authorities.

“The Local Authority and Northern Ireland Housing Trust programme for 1968 shows that to date a further 142 houses have been built by the County Council and a further 54 are in ‘the final stages of completion, and should be ready for occupation during December, 1968 and January, 1969.’”

On the County Council's own estimate, therefore, Local Authorities in the last 25 years have erected 1,529 houses. The following, based on the Council's own List of addresses, is a

breakdown of post-war council housing in Fermanagh: —

Council Houses	T o t a l	Let to Catholics	Let to Protestants
Arney	10	3	7
Ballinamallard	101	6	95
Ballycassidy	16	1	15
Belcoo	6	6	0
Bellanaleek	32	2	30
Belleek	25	19	6
Boa Island	2	0	2
Brookeborough	38	5	33
Churchill	2	0	2
Derrygonnelly	38	15	23
Derrylin	15	15	0
Ederney	44	32	12
Fivemiletown	16	0	16
Florencecourt	29	1	28
Garrison	23	23	0
Irvinestown	187	115	72
Kinawley	6	0	6
Killadeas	10	0	10
Kesh	50	8	42
Lisbellaw	36	1	35
Lisnarick	26	6	20
Lisnaska	108	28	80
Maguiresbridge	59	24	35
Letterbreen	14	1	13
Newtownbutler	26	11	15
Trory	28	0	28
Tamlaght	30	0	30
Tempo	11	2	9
Springfield	10	0	10
Garvary	22	1	21
Enniskillen:—			
Drumawill	20	0	20
Drumgallon	12	0	12
Derrychara Estate	88	0	88
Coleshill Estate	81	1	80
Kilmacormick No. 1 Estate	151	149	2
Kilmacormick No. 2 Estate	122	72	50
Aluminium Bungalows	50	2	48
Factory Road	12	12	0
Castle Park	14	1	13
Fairview Avenue (new)	6	1	5
Fairview Lane	6	4	2
Irvinestown Road	7	1	6
Fermanagh Total	1,589	568	1,021

Our total includes houses built since January, 1969.