

Title	The Catholic Church and revolution in Ireland
Authors	Ó hAdhmaill, Féilim
Publication date	2013-12
Original Citation	Ó hAdhmaill, F. (2013) 'The Catholic Church and revolution in Ireland', <i>Socialist History</i> , 43, pp: 1-25.
Type of publication	Article (peer-reviewed)
Link to publisher's version	http://www.socialist-history-journal.org.uk/
Rights	© 2013, Socialist History Society.
Download date	2024-07-12 12:41:56
Item downloaded from	https://hdl.handle.net/10468/2852



UCC

University College Cork, Ireland
 Coláiste na hOllscoile Corcaigh

The Catholic Church and Revolution in Ireland

Féilim Ó hAdhmaill

Despite the involvement of radical socialists like James Connolly and the Irish Citizen Army in the 1916 Rising and the unanimous passing of the Democratic Programme (a socialist manifesto for the new Government) by the First Dáil in 1919, the Irish state has since its inception exhibited a highly conservative approach to social and economic policy, and politics generally in Ireland, North or South, have never faced a serious challenge from those seeking radical change.¹

Several factors have played a part in this and this article focuses on one of these—the power and conservatism of the Catholic Church and its influence in shaping the political landscape. Despite a decline in recent years, the Church remains influential north and south of the Border in education provision, the current debates in relation to abortion and in culturally important aspects of life—baptism, communion and burial.² In the past the Church's political influence among Ireland's majority Catholic community had been even more pronounced. The article begins by looking at the Church's attitude to revolutionary change in Ireland historically before focusing on its influence in the North during the Stormont years and during the more recent 'Troubles'—1969–98. It shows how the Church attempted to influence political thought and discourse in Ireland when it was at the height of its power. Whilst it is true that the Church was not a monolith, and there have always been individual priests who have adopted a more radical approach, the general thrust of the Church was conservative, attempting to ally itself with the power elites of the day where possible. It is this influence which appears to have stood the test of time despite attempts in past generations to radicalise the Irish population.

The Growth in Catholic Church influence in Ireland

Historically the power and influence of the Catholic Church in Ireland

can be traced to the colonial conquest of Ireland and in particular the Reformation during the Tudor period. Prior to the Reformation both the Anglo-Norman settlers in Ireland and the native Irish had been Christian/Catholic. Inter-marriage and adoption of Irish customs were common to the extent that, fearing the Anglo-Irish were becoming 'more Irish than the Irish themselves', the English Government in Ireland passed the Statutes of Kilkenny (1366) aimed primarily at stopping the Anglo-Irish mixing with natives.³

King Henry VIII's break with Rome in 1534, however, meant that the King's subjects were expected to pledge loyalty to him and not the Pope, and those who remained Catholic were viewed as disloyal. Priests were banished and could be executed if captured, while Church land was confiscated. The fact that the vast bulk of the Irish native population remained Catholic, despite being ruled by a now Protestant Britain, created an historic bond between Catholicism and a concept of ethnic Irishness on the one hand, and Protestantism and the ethnic identity of the coloniser on the other. The Catholic Irish were viewed as disloyal because they had sided with Rome and not the King. The fact that the native Irish found themselves in conflict with both a 'foreign' religion as well as a 'foreign' power strengthened the importance of religion as a bond of identity and solidarity. The same was true for the settlers from Britain, planted in Ireland to provide support for the Crown.

The various rebellions of the seventeenth century, their defeat and the institution of the Penal Laws, almost completely suppressed native Irish demands for independence from Britain. The Penal Laws, from 1695 on, categorised citizenship rights according to religion. Catholics were discriminated against socially, politically and economically. Presbyterians also suffered but this was mainly in terms of restrictions on religious practice rather than economic or political participation in society. Draconian property ownership restrictions were imposed on Irish Catholics and they were denied access to education. The main purpose, however, was not religious persecution, but to deprive the native Irish Catholics of political and economic power. As a result of these restrictions, which bore most heavily upon the Catholic gentry, political leadership of the Catholics passed to the clergy. As an international organisation the Church was the only body which could provide education, albeit outside of Ireland, and thereby give status and power to Irish Catholics. On their return to Ireland as educated clergy they assumed the leadership of the native Irish. Thus the tremendous influence wielded by the Catholic Church among Catholics in Ireland 'has its roots in the historic elimination of alternative avenues for Catholic political participation in Irish politics'.⁴

Although Catholics in Ireland and their Church were viewed as disloyal this did not mean that they favoured radical social and economic change. Both the Church and its congregation wanted an end to persecution, but the most that meant was changing the rulers or the way they ruled. As long ago as 1733 Jonathan Swift had observed in his *Reasons for Repealing the Sacramental Test* that:

the Catholics were always defenders of the monarchy, as constituted in these kingdoms, whereas our brethren the Dissenters were always Republican both in principle and practice.⁵

Indeed, the Catholic Church's influence in Ireland has, certainly since the late eighteenth century, provided a moderating influence on nationalism.

In 1766 the son of the deposed Catholic King James II died but the Pope did not recognise his son, 'Bonnie Prince Charlie,' as King of Britain and Ireland. This allowed Irish Catholics to recognise the de facto King George III. Coupled with the fact that by the latter half of the eighteenth century the Catholic/Irish had not rebelled for one hundred years, this led the authorities to lift some of the restrictions on their lives. There was a gradual repeal of the Penal Laws from the late eighteenth century on.⁶

The Catholic Church and Revolution in Ireland

It was the Protestant middle classes, not the politically silenced Catholic/Irish who began to demand greater political independence for Ireland from Britain in the late eighteenth century. Although Grattan and the Volunteers in the 1780s wanted greater political autonomy from Britain, this was to promote the political and economic interests of the growing Church of Ireland/Presbyterian middle classes. Although calls increased for concession towards the Catholic/Irish and a lifting of some of the worst excesses of the Penal Laws, there was no real desire to share greater political and economic power with them.⁷

It was not until the founding of the United Irishmen in Belfast in 1791, led primarily by Presbyterians, that the demand for political rights for Catholics began to be widely articulated. The United Irishmen were not simply arguing for greater autonomy from Britain, but complete separation and the establishment of a Republic. This was the first major movement to articulate the concept of a republic and of a citizenship in which the different religious strands of Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter would be united together 'under the common term of Irishmen'. Its founder, Wolfe

Tone, outlined its aims:

To subvert the tyranny of our execrable Government, break the connection with England, the never-failing source of our political evils, and to assert the independence of my country—these were my objects. To unite the whole people of Ireland, to abolish the memory of our past dissensions and to substitute the common name of Irishmen in place of the denomination of Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter—these were my means.⁸

The United Irishmen were, initially, constitutional, the majority of its founders being parliamentary reformers. However, under increasing state coercion, it was not long before they were plotting revolution and the overthrow of British control in Ireland, culminating in the failed uprising of 1798.

By the 1790s the Penal Laws had virtually all been repealed and the British Government was coming to the view that instead of attacking the Catholic Church, the only effective remaining political leadership of the Catholic/Irish, it made more sense to win it over. At the time, both the British establishment and the Catholic Church were terrified of the possible repercussions of the French Revolution, especially as there were revolutionary rumblings in Ireland in the form of the United Irish Society.⁹ In 1795, Maynooth College was established with an annual Government subsidy. This enabled priests to be educated in Ireland instead of travelling to foreign colleges where they might be influenced by anti-British or revolutionary ideas.¹⁰ This much welcomed finance also gave the Church a major incentive not to antagonise the Government.¹¹ Of course, even without Maynooth, the Catholic Church, because of its very nature, would not have favoured revolutionary change in Ireland, or anywhere else, especially if it was being allowed to operate freely.¹²

When the 1798 United Irish rebellion occurred it was vehemently opposed by the Catholic hierarchy, greatly lessening the participation of the Catholic Irish. Some did become involved, especially in Wexford. Father Murphy, the priest who led the Wexford rising, was excommunicated. However, most historians agree that the vast majority of Catholics, especially in the North, spurned it, and many joined Government militias, set up in 1793, to help suppress it. Most of the Northern rebels who took up arms were Protestants while the largely Catholic Monaghan Militia was, in fact, one of the mainstays of the Government forces in the North.¹³ While some Catholics fought on the rebel side at Ballynahinch, many more served with the militia. Belfast itself also remained quiet.¹⁴

The abortive rising of 1798 led directly to the 1801 Act of Union whereby Ireland was merged with Britain in the United Kingdom. The Government hoped that this arrangement would create stability in Ireland and rule out further threats to British control. Within the Union the Protestants of Ireland would feel safe even if Catholics gained political rights, since Protestants would still hold the political majority within the UK. Likewise, the Government felt that dealing with some of the grievances of the Catholics could stave off the possibility of further and potentially more devastating revolution in Ireland.¹⁵ To secure the support of the Catholic Church for the Union, Catholic Emancipation was promised. Thus by 1801, while Republicans were calling for total separation from Britain, the Catholic hierarchy and the Catholic middle classes were actively supporting the Union. The powerful Orange Order, set up to protect the Protestant Ascendancy in 1796, opposed any attempts at Catholic Emancipation after the Act of Union.¹⁶ Much of the English and Irish Establishment, including the King, threw their weight behind this anti-Catholic Emancipation campaign. Most Catholics did not have the vote and were still barred from Parliament by a requirement that all members should take an oath abjuring Catholicism.

When the promised Emancipation did not take place, after 1801, Catholics were encouraged by their Church to use constitutional means to try to achieve concessions. This non-violent approach was epitomised by Daniel O’Connell in his campaigns, first for Catholic Emancipation, which was eventually successful, and second for Home Rule, which was not. O’Connell founded the Catholic Association in 1828. In the same year he stood and was elected to the UK Parliament and refused to take the oath. The Government agreed to remove the oath in return for his agreement to increase the property qualification for the vote, disenfranchising many of those who had elected him and removing a perceived threat to the British establishment—a large effective Irish vote.¹⁷

Daniel O’Connell was the first great Catholic Irish constitutional nationalist leader.¹⁸ His political activities largely took place within British political structures and many future constitutional nationalists were to follow his strategy and tactics. He was strongly opposed to revolution and had been a member of the militia during the violent suppression of Robert Emmett’s attempted rising in 1803. He verbalised this opposition by stating that no cause was worth the shedding of one drop of human blood. He consistently opposed revolutionary change throughout the nineteenth century, opposing the Young Ireland Movement for example.

From the Church’s point of view ‘Catholic Emancipation’ allowed the use of constitutional methods to promote change. It had experienced the

feravour and violence of the French revolution and did not want the same thing to happen in Ireland. From the Government's point of view, it also allowed for non-threatening protest since only a few of the nationalist Irish had the vote and thus had little weight in Parliament. However, during the nineteenth century the franchise was continually extended, to a point where Irish MPs held the balance of power during Parnell's days.

Throughout the nineteenth century the Church increased its influence among Irish Catholics, now with State assent, by an increasing involvement in the provision of welfare and education services for Catholics. This was aided by the *laissez-faire* attitude of the British Government.¹⁹ The introduction of free primary education via the National schools in 1831 gave the Church control over the moral and cultural development of virtually all Catholic children in Ireland, as well as their obedience—and paid for by the British Exchequer.²⁰

By appealing to the elites in the Catholic/Irish community, the State hoped to lessen a major threat to its control in Ireland. Combined with a policy of repression towards those who refused to accept the system, it operated a 'carrot and stick policy'. This created further political divisions among the Catholic/Irish and the continued development of the often competing strands of constitutional and revolutionary nationalism. Throughout the nineteenth century the constitutional strand remained dominant. It was to take well over another hundred years before the revolutionary strand was able successfully to challenge it in most of Ireland in the 1918 elections.

Revolutionary nationalism, often led primarily by Protestants, received limited support from Catholics. It was also denounced by the leaders of the Church. An example was the Young Ireland Movement founded in 1842.²¹ Much of its initial work centred on the publication of the *Nation*, which supported O'Connell's Repeal of the Union Campaign. O'Connell worked with the group and used the *Nation* to whip up support for his campaign. However, he ousted them from his Repeal Association in July 1846 when they refused to pledge their allegiance to non-violence and constitutionalism. The Young Irelanders, exasperated by the effects of the famine (1846–48) and British policies, collapsed after a disastrous attempt at a Rising in July 1848. According to Ellis (1985) Pope Pius IX admonished priests involved with the Young Irelanders after pressure from the British and they were suspended by the Irish hierarchy.²² The Young Irelander, John Mitchell, claimed bitterly in his *Jail Journal* that 'the Church had ever been the enemy of Irish freedom'.²³ For him, the failure of the Young Irelanders could be attributed to the 'cowardice and treachery' of the priests.²⁴

From the mid-nineteenth century there had been a socialistic constituent

in revolutionary nationalism in Ireland.²⁵ James Fintan Lalor, for example, who took part in the failed Young Ireland revolt in 1848, had said in the same year:

The principle I state and mean to stand upon, is this, that the entire ownership of Ireland, moral and material, up to the sun and down to the centre, is vested of right in the people of Ireland...that the entire soil of a country belongs...to the entire people of that country, and is the rightful property, not of any one class, but of the nation at large.²⁶

The Fenian movement in the second half of the nineteenth century was not overtly socialistic; but, it did make links with other radical movements in Europe, including the First International (International Working Men's Association-IWMA). James Stephens and John Devoy, both founding leaders of the Fenians, joined the IWMA in the USA and the sympathies of the movement were also made clear in its proclamation of the Republic in 1867:

we aim at founding a Republic based on universal suffrage, which shall secure to all the intrinsic value of their labour. The soil of Ireland, at present in the possession of an oligarchy, belongs to us, the Irish people, and to us it must be restored...

We declare, also...complete separation of Church and State.

we intend no war against the people of England—our war is against the aristocratic locusts, whether English or Irish, who have eaten the verdure of our fields—against the aristocratic leeches who drain alike our fields and theirs.²⁷

Republicans of the entire world, our cause is your cause. Our enemy is your enemy...workmen of England, it is not only your hearts we wish, but your arms. Remember the starvation and degradation brought to your firesides by the oppression of labour...avenge yourselves by giving liberty to your children in the coming struggle for human liberty.²⁸

Indeed, the IWMA itself stated in 1867:

The Fenian declarations leave no room for doubt...They affirm the republican form of government, liberty of conscience, no State religion,

the produce of labour to the labourer, and the possession of the soil to the people.²⁹

Despite the moderate nationalist sympathies of figures like Cardinal Cullen, in 1863 the Catholic hierarchy condemned the Fenian Brotherhood,³⁰ and in 1867 Bishop Moriarty of Kerry denounced them as criminals saying:

when we look down into the fathomless depth of this infamy of the heads of the Fenian conspiracy, we must acknowledge that eternity is not long enough, nor hell hot enough to punish such miscreants.³¹

Pope Pius IX, issued in his 1864 encyclical *Quanta Cura*, a condemnation of anyone who supported the separation of church and state, one of the tenets of Fenian republicanism. In 1870, on the prompting of Cardinal Cullen, he issued a general condemnation of Fenianism.³² Yet others in the Church were more ambivalent or even quietly sympathetic towards revolutionary nationalism, and this is partly why when independence was achieved for twenty-six of Ireland's counties, the Church, far from being viewed as divorced from 'Ireland's freedom struggle', was mythologised as having led the people then and now. In nineteenth-century Ireland the ambivalent, or even sympathetic, attitude of some local priests and even Bishops to 'popular' revolutionary activity, meant that the Church could remain closely connected to its flock. Dr John MacHale, Archbishop of Tuam, appears to have been sympathetic. The 1863 Convention of the Chicago Fenians for example, received autographed portraits of MacHale to auction.³³ In 1886 Archbishop Thomas Croke of Cashel contributed five pounds towards a monument in the grounds of Limerick Cathedral to the 'Manchester Martyrs' of 1867. However, neither expressed open support for the organisation.

The Church was also concerned about the rising rural agitation for land reform in the late nineteenth century. Michael Davitt's Land League, started in 1879, argued for fair rents, fixity of tenure and free sale of land. It demanded rent reductions and organised resistance to evictions and boycotts of land owners. It soon came into conflict with the Church and Bishops, many of whom were landlords themselves. However, many priests and Bishops, such as Archbishop Walsh, supported it, despite Pope Leo XIII's April 1888 condemnation of the Land League's Plan of Campaign and the practice of boycotting.³⁴ The Church also held political influence among constitutional nationalists and brought about the demise of the great constitutional nationalist leader Charles Stewart Parnell over the O'Shea divorce scandal.³⁵

During the late 1800s the Church developed close links with ‘Constitutional Nationalists’ who wanted Home Rule for Ireland within the British Empire.³⁶ The Church at this time was interested in the concept of a Catholic Irish Nation. It continued to oppose revolutionary nationalism, excommunicating members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, for example. Even the children of revolutionaries were held accountable—the Catholic baptism of the late Sean McBride in 1904 reportedly had to be postponed for three months before a priest who was willing to perform the ceremony could be found. The local parish priest apparently objected to the ‘revolutionary’ character of his parents.³⁷ Throughout the early twentieth century the Catholic Church denounced socialism and opposed Jim Larkin and the TGWU during the 1913 Dublin Lockout. It even opposed a scheme whereby children of Irish strikers would be temporarily looked after by British trade unionists on the grounds that their souls might be endangered by Protestant or atheist influences.³⁸

The continuing importance of Catholicism for most Irish people, including the revolutionaries, was reflected in the wording of the 1916 Proclamation:

In the name of God and of the dead generations... We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God, Whose blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no one who serves that cause will dishonour it...

The writings of Padraic Pearse, in particular, also reflected a devotion to the Church and its teachings.³⁹ However, it is also clear that many of those involved in the Rising had a radical agenda. The 1916 Proclamation of the Republic, might have a number of different interpretations:

We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible...

The Irish Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens... cherishing all the children of the nation equally, and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien Government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past...⁴⁰

However, there is no ambiguity about the views of the trade unionist

and socialist and 1916 leader, James Connolly. As far back as 1897 he had written:

If you remove the English army tomorrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin Castle, unless you set about the organisation of the socialist Republic your efforts would be in vain. England would still rule you. She would rule you through her capitalists, through her landlords, through her financiers, through the whole army of commercial and individual institutions she has planted in this country...Nationalism without Socialism... is only national recreancy.⁴¹

Addressing the Irish Citizen Army shortly before the Easter Rising in 1916 he further stated:

In the event of victory, hold on to your rifles, as those with whom we are fighting may stop before our goal is reached. We are out for economic as well as political liberty.⁴²

Individual priests were undoubtedly sympathetic to the republican struggle from 1916–22 but the hierarchy was much more hostile.⁴³ Seven bishops publicly condemned the 1916 Rising.⁴⁴ The Irish Catholic at the time described the Rising as both insane and criminal and appeared to support the executions:

Pearse was a man of ill-balanced mind, if not actually insane...selecting him as 'chief magistrate' was enough to create doubts about the sanity of those who approved...no reason to lament that its perpetrators have met the fate universally reserved for traitors...⁴⁵

Cardinal Logue stated that no one could fault the government for punishing the rebels, provided that it did so 'within the laws of humanity'. In June a subcommittee of bishops was appointed to draw up a statement setting out the church's hostility to revolution, but by October 1916 they concluded that such a statement would serve no useful purpose.⁴⁶

By the 1918 Elections in which Sinn Féin won an overwhelming majority of seats, the Church was more willing to accept Sinn Féin as representing the bulk of the Irish people. However, whether the people had become enthused with Republican ideology or whether the shift was due more to other factors, such as the desire to avoid conscription into the British Army is debatable.⁴⁷ During the 1919–21 IRA campaign Bishops condemned both

IRA acts of violence and the actions of the British Government. Although the Bishop of Cork, Daniel Coholan, excommunicated the IRA, Tom Barry, a Republican leader in Cork, described how most local priests still administered the sacraments to them.⁴⁸ Though they strongly opposed Partition, the Catholic hierarchy came out in favour of the 1921 Treaty, before Dáil Éireann had voted on the issue.⁴⁹ Cardinal MacRory, the Archbishop of Armagh publicly denounced and encouraged the excommunication of anti-Treaty republicans during the Civil War including a future President of the Free State—De Valera.⁵⁰ Despite this, the Church's power was such that it could retain influence even with those political leaders it had condemned, after the establishment of the Irish State.

The death of Connolly in 1916 was a blow to the socialist element within the Irish revolutionary movement but did not crush it. Socialists like Liam Mellows continued to articulate that perspective within the republican movement, while the First Dáil (or Provisional Government) of the declared Republic unanimously passed the overtly socialistic Democratic Programme in January 1919.⁵¹

we declare that the Nation's sovereignty extends not only to all men and women of the Nation, but to all its material possessions, the Nation's soil and all its resources, all the wealth and all the wealth-producing processes within the Nation, .. that all right to private property must be subordinated to the public right and welfare...declare the right of every citizen to an adequate share of the produce of the Nation's labour...

It shall be the first duty of the Government of the Republic to make provision for the physical, mental and spiritual well-being of the children, to secure that no child shall suffer hunger or cold from lack of food, clothing, or shelter...all shall be provided with...proper education...

...The Irish Republic fully realises the necessity of abolishing the present odious, degrading and foreign Poor Law System, substituting therefore a sympathetic native scheme for the care of the Nation's aged and infirm, who shall not be regarded as a burden, but rather entitled to the Nation's gratitude and consideration. Likewise it shall be the duty of the Republic to ...safeguard the health of the people...⁵²

For a short period in April 1919, the Limerick Soviet embodied hopes of some for a new type of economic as well as political order in Ireland.⁵³ Nonetheless, the Partition of the country in 1920 and the defeat of the

republican forces in the Civil War (1922–23),⁵⁴ led to conservative, and in many ways reactionary Governments, North and South, and throughout the twentieth century and beyond, radical forces had had limited impact, either side of the border.⁵⁵ As Connolly had predicted about Partition:

Such a scheme as that agreed to by Redmond and Devlin, the betrayal of the national democracy of industrial Ulster would mean a carnival of reaction both North and South, would set back the wheels of progress, would destroy the oncoming unity of the Irish Labour movement and paralyse all advanced movements whilst it endured.⁵⁶

In the South, the pro-Free State Cumann na nGaedheal Government sought to ‘balance the books’, establish ‘a good credit rating’ with the capitalist world and appear ‘responsible’ in fiscal and budgetary matters. One of first acts of new finance Minister, Ernest Blythe, after the end of the Civil War in 1923 was to cut the Old Age Pension by a shilling to try and save on public expenditure. It was followed by the equally conservative Fianna Fáil Government of 1932, which introduced the 1937 Constitution, a Constitution reflecting Catholic Social Teaching and promoting ‘a conservative and distinctly sectarian state’.⁵⁷ Thereafter Governments in the South were dominated by one or other of these conservative parties.⁵⁸ In the North, the conservative Unionist Party dominated from 1921–72 when Direct Rule from Westminster was introduced.⁵⁹

There are many reasons why the momentum for radical change in Ireland was lost in the 1920s. These include the loss of many progressive elements through conflict and emigration; the division in the labour movement and working classes, caused by both the War of Independence and Partition; the absence of a strong industrial base in much of Ireland, and problems with economic development and continuing dependence on Britain for trade and income, North and South. However, the persistent, controlling conservative influence of the Catholic Church was also undoubtedly a major factor.

The Catholic Church in the new Free State

The Church continued to condemn radical republicanism and socialism in Ireland into the 1930s. In 1931 the Bishops issued a statement condemning the IRA and Saor Éire, a left-wing republican organisation and the left wing Republican Congress.⁶⁰ After 1921 it continued to be dominant in moral, social, educational and welfare matters in the new Irish state and this role was encouraged by the Government. It kept a separate Church controlled

education system, which virtually all Catholic children attended. It provided health and welfare services via its hospitals, children's homes, senior citizens' homes and hostels for the homeless and via its voluntary agencies such as the St Vincent De Paul Society and the Legion of Mary. According to Tom Inglis (1987), this control over the social and economic life of the Catholic community engendered the near blind faith of many Irish Catholics and their willingness to be led by and spoken for by their Church. Catholics are supposed to hand control over their spiritual lives to the clergy, and the social, political and cultural influence simply harnessed the Catholic community even more closely under Church control.⁶¹

Consequently the Irish state developed the character of a 'Catholic' state for a 'Catholic' people. Provision of schools, hospitals and social services were usually left to the Church. Catholic social teaching and the principle of 'subsidiarity', outlined in Leo XIII's 1891 encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, which rejected state intervention in relation to individual and family welfare, fitted with the conservative and laissez faire approach of successive governments. There was little state involvement in welfare provision until the 1970s and most attempts to alter that—such as Noel Browne's 1950/51 Mother and Child scheme ended in failure.⁶² This was also reflected in De Valera's 1937 Constitution. It was not until the 1980s that the combined effects of EU membership in 1973 and European Convention on Human Rights court cases, that Church control and influence over welfare provision and gender and sexual rights began slowly to wane, accelerating from the 1990s onward with the publication of clerical abuse cases and the general decline in vocations.⁶³

The Catholic Church in the North of Ireland

After the establishment of the Northern Ireland State the Church continued to act as it had in Ireland throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—as a quasi-state within a state. This was encouraged by the hostile environment of a 'Protestant State for a Protestant people'.⁶⁴ It retained a separate Church controlled education system which virtually all Catholic children in the North attended and through the schools it could reach into the home and supervise the parents in the upbringing of their children. As each new generation of parents handed over their children to Catholic schools, those who had let their Catholicism lapse had to take it up again.⁶⁵ As in the South, the Church provided health and welfare for the Catholic community via hospitals, hostels and homes and also had a virtual monopoly on leisure facilities in many areas via parochial halls and youth clubs. It was

also a major landlord and landowner. In relation to Belfast for example, large tracts of housing in Ardoyne, had been owned by the Church and rented to local people since the 1930s.⁶⁶ It was also an important landlord in the middle Falls area.⁶⁷ Land, a scarce commodity in the nationalist West Belfast area, continues to be held in large quantities by the Church. The influence and power of the Church over the North's Catholics was therefore not just religious, but also social, economic and political and this tended to cement stronger community links between Catholics in each parish and between each parish.

Partition greatly weakened the more radical elements in the IRA. It represented a defeat from which they could not recover. Throughout the period of Stormont until at least 1969, they remained ineffective despite periodic attempts at armed struggle. The constitutional nationalists in the North were also in disarray after Partition. The Nationalist Party was all that remained of the Redmondite Irish Parliamentary Party. It was not even really a party, just a collective term for those constitutional nationalists who were elected during the period of Stormont. Indeed, it was known instead as the National League of the North during 1928 and the mid-1930s and as the anti-Partition League from 1945 until the mid-1950s. It had no formal organisation or structure. Annual conferences were not held until 1965 and no formal statement of policy was ever issued until November 1964. The party was in effect simply 'a loose alliance of local notables', which only operated at parliamentary level.⁶⁸ Partly as a result of this lack of organization, the clergy had a large influence in nationalist politics often chairing candidate selection meetings. For example, eight of the twelve nationalist candidates in the 1924 Westminster elections were proposed by priests.⁶⁹

Throughout the Stormont period the Nationalist Party was powerless. It was caught in a contradiction which precluded even the possibility of escaping powerlessness. While it advocated the re-unification of Ireland through electoral means, the permanent unionist majority, reinforced by electoral legislation, made this virtually impossible to achieve by purely electoral means.⁷⁰ In the fifty years of the existence of Stormont no nationalist ever held a cabinet position and the only nationalist Bill passed into law was the Wildfowl Act of 1931.⁷¹ It even lacked power at local district council level, often due to unionist gerrymandering of electoral boundaries. The Nationalist Party was decentralised, poorly led and never settled on any consistent policy towards Stormont. From its establishment in 1921 through 1925, Stormont was boycotted by Nationalists; they began attending in 1925 only to walk out again in 1932. It was Church influence which led the nationalists to break their boycott of Stormont in October 1933 to try to

protect Church education interests.⁷² However, by 1935 party discipline had broken down and members began attending or boycotting individually, until they all began boycotting again in 1938.⁷³

In 1945 the nationalists returned to Stormont but it was not until 1965 that they finally consented to become the official opposition. Catholics in the North continuously had political leaders who never held power and were unable to affect even a limited amount of political change. In such circumstances the Catholic Church's state within a state was even more important.

The Church saw itself and itself alone as representing the interests of the Catholic community. On occasions this meant condemning a discriminatory government. In 1941 for example the Catholic Bishops of Northern Ireland issued a lengthy statement beginning:

Our people suffer grievances and disabilities which extend to every phase of their life, ranging from indignities which bitterly afflict all sensitive minds to discrimination in employment.⁷⁴

The Church was able to combine the roles of religious, community and often political leader without major opposition from any other group⁷⁵ and Catholic politicians recognised the importance of clerical support for their political pursuits.⁷⁶

During the inter-war years the Church's influence was such that it was often called upon to arbitrate between different anti-Partitionist factions. It also felt strong enough to negotiate with the Government on behalf of the Catholic Community. The exclusion of that community from the processes of the State and the promotion of an apartheid-like socio-economic system strengthened further the power and influence of the Church. This was the period when the Church's influence among Northern Ireland Catholics was at its height. The State did little in Catholic areas other than enforce law and order, thus giving the Church a virtual monopoly over other necessary services. However, it has been argued, that the increasing encroachment of the State after World War II into social, welfare, health, housing and education provision eroded the influence and power of the Church.⁷⁷

One view is that with the introduction of the Welfare State into Northern Ireland the State was now aiding Catholics and this dictated a new relationship between the Church and the State.⁷⁸ Arguably, this was a factor leading to the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association and ideas about reforming the state rather than abolishing it. When Bishop Philbin, the Bishop of Down and Connor took up office in 1962, within a month he was sitting in

Belfast City Hall having dinner with the Unionist Lord Mayor Wallace, the first such visit by a Catholic prelate. In December 1970 he took the symbolic step of appointing Fr Robert Murphy as Catholic chaplain to the Stormont Parliament, something his predecessors had stubbornly refused to do. The Church sought an accommodation with the State and this was reciprocated by the State in the form of education and other grants and positions for the clergy on advisory bodies and so forth.⁷⁹ This was something many Republicans found hard to accept.

The Catholic Church and the Troubles in the North 1969–98

When the Northern Ireland Troubles broke out in 1969 the Church was still the most important body in Catholic areas of Northern Ireland.⁸⁰ For example, when the people of the Catholic Falls Road area of Belfast erected barricades in 1970, Bishop Philbin accompanied the British Army to the barricades and told the people to take them down. Traditional loyalty held sway and Philbin was obeyed.⁸¹ This echoed a previous era in 1912, when the Catholic clergy had patrolled the Catholic Pound District to prevent celebrations during the reading of the Home Rule Bill from developing into a riot.⁸² As the Troubles gathered momentum and republican activity increased it was inevitable that this would lead to conflict with the Church.

Throughout the 1970s, 80s and 90s the Bishops issued regular scathing condemnations of both IRA activity in the North and of Sinn Féin.⁸³ Some Bishops such as Cahal Daly (later Cardinal) urged Catholics to support the RUC.⁸⁴ The use of Catholic schools in ghetto areas as channels for RUC Community Relations Projects often caused resentment among the more Republican orientated parents.⁸⁵ In 1973, as Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise, Cathal Daly chaired a team from the Irish Council of Churches which published a report entitled *Violence in Ireland*. In this it was stated that: 'It is essential to distinguish between the lawful use of force and the unlawful use of force which is violence'. 'The State', argued the report:

has the right to use such force as is necessary to restrain wrong-doers, for anyone else to use force is unlawful and therefore constitutes 'violence'... The Churches jointly remind their members that they have a prima facie moral obligation to support the currently constituted authorities in Ireland against all paramilitary powers.⁸⁶

Some individual Catholic priests did speak out against the State and some

even criticised the pro-establishment line of the hierarchy.⁸⁷ Even amongst the hierarchy there were differences of emphasis. For example, Cardinal O’Fiaich was often seen as sometimes representing an anti-establishment approach. His condemnation of conditions in the H Blocks in July 1980, his claims in 1984 that Catholics in Northern Ireland were alienated from the State and his public statements in 1985 and 1989 to the effect that the British Government should make a declaration of intent to withdraw from Northern Ireland, all caused controversy.⁸⁸ Despite being a member of an international conservative church hierarchy he was influenced by local conditions and aspirations.

However, despite occasional criticisms of the state the Church hierarchy, including O’Fiaich,⁸⁹ and clergy were largely consistent in their condemnation of republicanism throughout the Troubles and their support for the moderate constitutional nationalism of the SDLP. This became particularly clear during the 1980s when Sinn Féin began to contest elections. As John Darby noted in 1986, the clergy in Killeen ‘regarded radicals and republicans as greater threats to the stability of the area than any external enemies’.⁹⁰ It was the role of the SDLP to maintain some element of stability and opposition to groups like Sinn Fein who were not only espousing armed struggle, but also notions of socialism and secularism. However, the decline of the SDLP and the rise of Sinn Fein in some areas of the North was to prove challenging to the Church.⁹¹ Many clergy felt that if the SDLP was not delivering the goods, then they were duty-bound to take on that role themselves in competition with republicans. This is well illustrated by the battle for hearts and minds, in which the Church engaged with the growing power of Sinn Féin and the Republican Movement in places like West Belfast in the 1980s.⁹²

Government suspicion of democratically elected community bodies in the strongly republican West Belfast area, and the State’s desire to remove community leadership from Sinn Fein meant that the Church increasingly found itself the channel of Government resources and finance. It gained control over State-sponsored schemes for the unemployed, training and economic development, to its obvious satisfaction, but to the dismay of many grassroots community bodies.⁹³ Besides having control over a large slice of the normal statutory funding in the area it also received the bulk of other types of funding such as Belfast Action Teams (BAT) funding and grants to the area from the International Fund for Ireland.⁹⁴ Bill Rolston (1980), argued that in the 1970s the Church had similarly obtained most of the funding available under the Belfast Areas of Special Need (BAN) initiative, the forerunner to BAT.⁹⁵

Referring to the operation of Action for Community Employment (ACE) schemes in West Belfast, for example, one newspaper reported in 1988, 'wherever possible, the schemes are left in the hands of local management, usually with a strong Church connection. This eliminates the danger of paramilitary involvement on both sides of the community'.⁹⁶

According to one report, Cathal Daly, then Bishop of Down and Connor, called his clergy together in March 1983 and asked that at least one priest in each parish involve himself in social issues. In April of the same year Daly also appointed two auxiliary bishops in his dioceses, for the first time in 120 years, mainly to help co-ordinate the social issues work of the Church in areas like West Belfast.⁹⁷ In Daly's words, 'to tackle the deprivation is to combat violence too, in a way which is far more effective than security measures alone'.⁹⁸

Despite the efforts of the Church hierarchy, by the early 1980s Sinn Féin had become the largest political party in West Belfast in electoral terms, a position it has retained. The signing of the 1998 Good Friday Agreement and the development of a partnership Government led to Sinn Féin becoming the main political party of the Catholics/nationalists throughout the North.⁹⁹ In the process however, it has itself become transformed from a revolutionary party into a constitutional nationalist party. It is no longer seen by the Church hierarchy or by the British state as a threat. Its policies, which had verged on Marxist in the late 1970s, had come to resemble much more the politics of Tony Blair and social democracy in the 2000s. By then the power of the Church had begun to wane both north and south of the Border and a host of other factors had become much more influential in political developments.

Whilst accepting the Catholic Church was not monolithic and that many individual priests were supportive of radical change and even sometimes active in revolutionary movements, there is no doubt that the Church overall played a major role in stunting the development of revolutionary or radical politics in Ireland over many centuries. Its power and influence ensured that from the late eighteenth century it was increasingly wooed by the State. The concessions this attracted, plus its natural conservatism, meant that the Church promoted a conservative constitutional approach to reform. It led the fight against the growth of revolutionary republicanism, secularism and socialism. Its unique history meant that it was able to maintain the devout allegiance of the bulk of the native population while at the same time developing alliances with the very state which was oppressing them. It also ensured that those who claimed to be trying to liberate them, the revolutionary republicans and socialists, remained marginalized and ineffective. While the power

of the Church in Ireland is now but a shadow of its former past, its legacy nonetheless lives on in the social, cultural, political and economic fabric of society North and South.

Notes and References

1. *Democratic Programme of the First Dáil* on <http://historical-debates.oireachtas.ie/D/DT/D.F.O.191901210015.html>. C. Desmond Greaves, *Life and Time of James Connolly* (London, 1961). Connolly was the last of the 1916 Rising leaders to be executed, on 12 May 1916.
2. In relation to education see e.g., ‘Schools and the Catholic Church’, *RTE News*, 6 April 2011: <http://www.rte.ie/news/special-reports/2011/0406/299556-catholic/> accessed on 20 March 2013; and ‘Northern Ireland schools report calls for greater emphasis on shared education’, *Irish Times* 23 April 2013: <http://www.irishtimes.com/news/education/northern-ireland-schools-report-calls-for-greater-emphasis-on-shared-education-1.1369160>, accessed on 23 April 2013. In relation to the abortion debate see e.g., ‘Call for ‘rational’ abortion debate’, *RTE News*, 2 January 2013: <http://www.irishtimes.com/news/call-for-rational-abortion-debate-1.1070420>, accessed on 20 March 2013; and ‘Catholic bishop of Down and Connor expresses concern over abortion services in Belfast’, *RTE News*, 12 October 2012: <http://www.rte.ie/news/2012/1012/341322-ni-bishop-dismayed-over-belfast-abortion-services/> accessed on 20h March 2013.
3. Thomas Bartlett, *Ireland A History* (Cambridge, 2010), pp.34–79.
4. Belinda Probert, *Beyond Orange and Green: The political economy of the Northern Ireland crisis* (London, 1978), p.21.
5. Jonathan Swift, ‘The Prose Writings of Jonathon Swift’, in Herbert Davis (ed.), *Vol.XII: Irish tracts, 1728–1733* (Oxford, 1964), p.286. See also ‘98: Do the Unionists know the facts?’ *Irish News* 11 July 1988.
6. Eamon Phoenix, *Two Acres of Irish History: A study through time of Friar’s Bush and Belfast, 1570–1918* (Belfast, 2001).
7. Ian Budge and Cornelius O’Leary, *Belfast: Approach to Crisis* (London, 1973), pp.9–10.
8. R. Barry O’Brien (ed.), *The Autobiography of Theobald Wolfe Tone 1763–1798, Vols I and II* (Dublin, 1893), p.xi.
9. Peter Berresford Ellis, *A History of the Irish Working Class* (London, 1985), pp.70–4.
10. Berresford Ellis, *Irish Working Class*, p.83
11. Gearoid Ó Tuathaigh, *Ireland Before the Famine* (Dublin, 1972).
12. Tom Inglis, *Moral Monopoly: The Catholic Church in modern Irish society* (Dublin, 1987).
13. Hereward Senior, *Orangeism in Ireland and Britain 1795–1836* (London, 1966), quoted in Berresford Ellis, *Irish Working Class*, p.81.

14. Budge and O'Leary, *Belfast*, p.12.
15. John Magee, *Northern Ireland: conflict and crisis* (London, 1974), p.37.
16. Beresford Ellis, *Irish Working Class*, 1985, p.83.
17. Liam O'Dowd, Bill Rolston, Mike Tomlinson, *Between Civil Rights and Civil War* (London, 1980), p.5.
18. Tom Garvin, *The Evolution of Irish Nationalist Politics* (Dublin, 1981), pp.43–52.
19. See for examples, John J. Silke, 'The Roman Catholic Church in Ireland 1800–1922: A survey of Recent Historiography', *Studia Hibernica*, 15, 1975, pp.61–104; S. J. Connolly, 'Catholicism and Social Discipline in Pre-Famine Ireland', Ph.D. thesis, (New University of Ulster, 1977); Sean Connolly, *Religion and Society in 19th Century Ireland* (Dundalk, 1985); David W. Miller, 'Irish Catholicism and the Great Famine', *The Journal of Social History*, 8, 1975, pp.81–98; Liam Kennedy, 'The Roman Catholic Church and Economic Growth in 19th Century Ireland', *Economic & Social Review*, 10, 1, October 1978, pp.45–60.
20. Donald H. Akenson, *The Irish Education Experiment: The national system of education in the nineteenth century* (London, 1970).
21. Richard Davis, *The Young Ireland Movement* (Dublin, 1988).
22. Berresford Ellis, *Irish Working Class*, p.116.
23. John Mitchell, *Jail Journal: Or five years in British prisons* (Dublin, 1982) p.xliv
24. Mitchell, *Jail Journal*, 1982, p.267.
25. Priscilla Metscher, *Republicanism and Socialism in Ireland* (Frankfurt, 1986).
26. James Fintan Lalor, *Irish Felon*, 24 June 1848 cited in Beresford Ellis, *Irish Working Class*, p.117.
27. Fintan Lane, *The Origins of Modern Irish Socialism 1881–1896* (Cork, 1997), p.22.
28. Joseph Lee, *The Modernisation of Irish Society 1848–1918* (Dublin, 2008), p.56.
29. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *On Ireland and the Irish Question* (London, 1971), p.383, quoted in Priscilla Metscher, 'Ireland Her Own: Radical Movements in Nineteenth-Century Ireland', *The Republic*, 2, Spring/Summer (2001), pp.59–72.
30. 'The Church in Northern Ireland', *Belfast Bulletin*, 8, Belfast Workers Research Unit, Belfast, Spring 1980. See also Tomás Ó Fiaich, 'The Clergy and Fenianism', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Fifth Series, CIX, Feb. 1968, pp.81–103.
31. E.R. Norman, *The Catholic Church and Ireland in the Age of Rebellion 1859–1873* (London, 1965) p.117.
32. Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Emancipation, Famine & Religion: Ireland under the Union, 1815–1870', U.C.C. Multitext Project in Irish History, available at http://multitext.ucc.ie/d/Paul_Cullen
33. For more on this period see Donal McCartney, 'The Church and the Fenians', *University Review*, 4, 3, Special Fenian Issue, Winter, 1967, pp.203–215; Oliver Rafferty, *The Church the State and Fenian Threat 1861–75* (London, 1999); Norman, *Catholic Church and Ireland*, pp.86–134.
34. Bernard O'Hara, *Davitt: Irish patriot and father of the Land League* (Pennsylvania, 2009).

35. In December 1889 Captain O'Shea filed suit for divorce from his wife citing the leader of the Irish Nationalist Party, Parnell as her lover. The case destroyed Parnell's political career. See F.S.L. Lyons, *The Fall of Parnell, 1890–91* (Dublin, 1960); Conor Cruise O'Brien, *Parnell and His Party 1880–91* (Oxford, 1964).
36. Emmet J. Larkin, *The Roman Catholic Church and the Plan of Campaign in Ireland, 1886–88* (Cork, 1978).
37. *Andersonstown News*, 30 January 1988.
38. Conor Kostick, *Revolution in Ireland: popular militancy 1917 to 1923* (Cork, 2009), p.18.
39. Pádraic H. Pearse, *Collected works of Pádraic H. Pearse; political writings and speeches* (1922), available from <http://archive.org/details/cu31924028175259>
40. An original copy of the 1916 Proclamation can be viewed here: <http://www.anpost.ie/AnPost/History+and+Heritage/History/1916+Rising/The+Proclamation/>
41. James Connolly, *Socialism and Nationalism* (Dublin, 1897), p.25.
42. Greaves, *Connolly*, p.403.
43. In 1917 the elected Vice President of Sinn Féin was Fr. Michael O'Flanagan. He was removed by the Church from clerical duties in 1927. See Denis Carroll, 'Fr Michael O'Flanagan, 1876–1942: A priest for the people', *The Furrow*, 43, 10 (October 1992), pp.547–550
44. 'The Church in Northern Ireland', *Belfast Bulletin*, 8, Belfast Workers Research Unit, Belfast, Spring 1980, p 21.
45. *The Irish Catholic*, 29 May 1916, p.2. For more about the Catholic Church's attitude towards the Easter Rising see Roger McHugh, 'The Catholic Church and the Rising', in Owen Dudley Edwards and Fergus Pyle (eds), *1916: The Easter Rising* (Dublin, 1968).
46. Oliver Rafferty, 'The Catholic Church and Fenianism', *History Ireland* accessed 29 March 2013, <http://www.historyireland.com/volumes/volume16/issue6/features/?id=114211>
47. Britain attempted to bring conscription into Ireland in April 1918 and Sinn Fein vigorously opposed it. In November the war ended without conscription and in December 1918 Sinn Fein had a landslide victory in the General Election winning 73 out of the 105 seats.
48. Tom Barry, *Guerrilla Days in Ireland* (Cork, 1955) pp.56–7
49. See *Irish News* 10 December 1921, press statement from the Bishop of Killaloe praising the Treaty and encouraging Catholics to support it.
50. See UCC Multitext Project in Irish History, 'The 31st International Eucharistic Congress, Dublin, 1932', http://multitext.ucc.ie/d/The_31st_International_Eucharistic_Congress_Dublin_1932; *Iris*, 9, December 1984, p.36.
51. For more on Liam Mellows see C. Desmond Greaves, *Liam Mellows and the Irish Revolution* (London, 1971).
52. The Democratic Programme, 1919, <http://historical-debates.oireachtas.ie/D/DT/D.F.O.191901210015.html>
53. D.R. O'Connor Lysaght, *The Story of the Limerick Soviet, April 1919* (Limerick,

- 2003).
54. The Government of Ireland Act 1920, passed by the Westminster Parliament during the war between the IRA and the British, led to the partition of Ireland and establishment of a new Unionist dominated Parliament for the six north eastern counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down, Derry, Fermanagh and Tyrone. The new Northern Ireland had a Protestant Unionist majority and was dominated by the Unionist Party until Direct Rule was introduced in 1972.
 55. For more on the Irish Civil War see Calton Younger, *Ireland's Civil War* (London, 1968); Cormac K.H. O'Malley and Anne Dolan (eds), Ernie O'Malley, *No Surrender Here! The Civil War papers of Ernie O'Malley 1922–1924* (Dublin, 2004).
 56. James Connolly, 'Labour and the Proposed Partition of Ireland', *Irish Worker*, 14 March 1914 in Peter Berresford Ellis (ed.), *James Connolly: Selected Writings*, (London, 1997) p.275
 57. Frederick W. Powell, *The Politics of Irish Social Policy 1600–1990* (New York, 1992). p.220.
 58. Powell, *Politics of Irish Social Policy*.
 59. Michael Farrell, *Northern Ireland: The Orange State* (London, 1976).
 60. Brian Hanley, *The IRA 1926–36* (Dublin, 2002).
 61. Tom Inglis, *Moral Monopoly: The Catholic Church in Modern Irish Society* (Dublin, 1987); J. H. Whyte, *Church and State in Modern Ireland, 1923–1979* (Dublin, 1980); Desmond M. Clarke, *Church and State* (Cork, 1984).
 62. Mairead Considine, and Fiona Dukelow, *Irish Social Policy: A Critical Introduction* (Dublin, 2009); Mel Cousins, *Explaining the Irish Welfare State: An Historical, Comparative, and Political Analysis* (New York, 2005); Powell, *Irish Social Policy*; Inglis, *Moral Monopoly*, 1987.
 63. See Considine and Dukelow, *Irish Social Policy*.
 64. 'They still boast of Southern Ireland being a Catholic State. All I boast is that we are a Protestant Parliament and Protestant State'. Sir James Craig, Unionist Party, first Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, 24 April 1934, *Parliamentary Debates*, 'Northern Ireland', *House of Commons*, XVI, Cols.1091–95.
 65. Inglis, *Moral Monopoly*, 1987
 66. Frank Burton, *The Politics of Legitimacy: Struggles in a Belfast Community*, (London, 1978).
 67. Ronnie Munck and Bill Rolston, *Belfast in the Thirties: An Oral History* (Belfast, 1987), p.179.
 68. Richard Rose, *Governing without Consensus* (London, 1971), p.221
 69. Farrell, *Orange State*, 1976 p.103.
 70. Michael MacDonald, *Children of Wrath: Political Violence in Northern Ireland* (Cambridge, 1986), p.67.
 71. John F. Harbinson, *The Ulster Unionist Party, 1882–1973: Its development and organisation* (Belfast, 1973), p.119.
 72. Farrell, *Orange State*, p.142.
 73. Farrell, *Orange State*, p.184.

74. Farrell, *Orange State*, p.169.
75. For more information on the historical role of the Catholic Church in Irish politics, see: K.B. Nowlan, 'The Catholic Clergy in Irish Politics in the 1830s and 40s', *Historical Studies*, IX, (Belfast, 1974), pp.119–35; Oliver MacDonagh, 'The Politicization of the Irish Catholic Bishops 1800–50', *The Historical Journal*, XVIII, 1, 1975, pp.37–53; Emmet Larkin, 'Church, State and Nation in Modern Ireland', *The American Historical Review*, 80, 5, 1975, pp.1244–76.
76. See also W.D. Birrell, J.E. Greer and D.J.D. Roche, 'The Political Role and Influence of the Clergy in Northern Ireland', *Sociological Review*, 27, 1979, pp.491–512.
77. O'Dowd et al., *Between Civil Rights and Civil War*.
78. See M. Morgan and R. Taylor, *Fortnight*, 266, October 1988, p.7.
79. For an analysis of this see John Dearlove, 'The Control of Change and the Regulation of Community Action', in David Jones and Marjorie Mayo (eds), *Community Work One* (London, 1974), p.213.
80. For background to the re-emergence of conflict in 1969, see John Darby, 'Conflict in Northern Ireland: A Background Essay', Seamus Dunn (ed.), *Facets of the Conflict in Northern Ireland* (Basingstoke, 1995).
81. *Irish News*, 16 September 1969, p.1, reported that a meeting had been held in the Falls area of West Belfast to discuss a British Army request to remove the barricades, stating no decision had been reached. Bishop Philbin urged people to remove the barricades and accept the British Government's assurances of protection. Others argued against this. *Irish News* 17 September 1969, p.1, reported that disagreement raged on in the Falls area over the Church's promotion of the removal of barricades. One parish priest accused infiltrators from outside his parish of causing trouble by not letting the barricades come down. *Irish News* 18 September 1969 reported that local residents helped the British Army to remove the barricades.
82. Quoted in John Darby, *Intimidation and the Control of Conflict in Northern Ireland* (Dublin, 1986), p.17.
83. See *Irish News* 3 January 1984, press statement by Bishop Cathal Daly, Bishop of Down and Connor; *Irish News* 20 October 1984, p.1, and 1 September 1986, p.1, for statements from Bishop Daly of Derry attacking the IRA; *Irish News* 3 January 1984, p.7, for full page article and 15 March 1985, for Bishop Cathal Daly attacking both the IRA and Sinn Fein; *Irish News* 12 August 1988, p.1, 24 September 1987, p.1, and 19 March 1986, p.1, for Bishop Cathal Daly blaming the loyalist sectarian murder of a Catholic on IRA provocation; *Irish News* 2 January 1986, p.1 for statement from Bishop Cathal Daly attacking Sinn Fein; *Andersonstown News* 19 May 1984 for statement from Fr. Dennis Faul calling on Catholics not to vote Sinn Fein; *Irish News* 5 December 1988 for report on how the parish priest of Castlederg snubbed the annual lighting of the Christmas Tree Lights ceremony because it was to be performed by the Sinn Fein Chairperson of Strabane Council.
84. The Royal Ulster Constabulary was the armed police force of the Northern

- Ireland state and was viewed by republicans and many Catholics as a unionist force. It was replaced by the Police Service of Northern Ireland as a result of the 1998 Belfast Agreement.
85. See *Andersonstown News* 19 November 1988 and 26 November 1988 for related controversies over RUC involvement in a school outing for a girls comprehensive school in West Belfast about which there was no prior knowledge accorded parents or pupils. A similar controversy was said to have erupted over the same issue at the Twinbrook Secondary School in the late 1970s.
 86. Fifth Working Party appointed by the Irish Council of Churches/Roman Catholic Church Joint Group on Social Questions. *Violence in Ireland: A Report to the Churches* (Belfast, 1976) p.90.
 87. *Irish News*, 19 March 1985, reported that three Jesuit priests had accused the RUC of discriminatory behaviour against nationalists; Joseph McVeigh, *A Wounded Church: Religion, Politics and Justice in Ireland* (Dublin, 1989).
 88. *Irish News*, 31 July 1978, reports the Cardinal as stating: '...I was shocked by the inhuman conditions prevailing in H-Blocks 3,4, and 5 where over 300 prisoners are incarcerated. One would hardly allow an animal to remain in such conditions, let alone a human being. The nearest approach to it that I have seen was the spectacle of hundreds of homeless people living in the sewer pipes in the slums of Calcutta'; *Irish News* 27 April 1984; *Irish News* 28 April 1984; *Irish News* 14 March 1985; *Irish News* 15 March 1985; *Irish News* 28 November 1989.
 89. *The Economist*, 12 December 1981, p.4, quotes Cardinal O'Fiaich as stating that membership of the IRA was 'a mortal sin which will one day have to be accounted before God'; *Irish News*, 24 August 1985, p.1 for statement by Cardinal O'Fiaich attacking the IRA.
 90. See Darby, *Intimidation and Control*, p.156.
 91. Darby, *Intimidation and Control*, p.155.
 92. For more on this see, Feilim Ó hAdhmaill, *The Function of the Ghetto: A Study of Nationalist West Belfast*, University of Ulster, PhD, 1990.
 93. For more information see Des Wilson and Oliver Kearney, *West Belfast—The Way Forward?* (Belfast, 1988); 'Church Aims for 350 ACE Jobs: Bishop to Become Biggest Employer in West Belfast', *Andersonstown News*, 13 September 1986; 'People or Power—Bishop Must Choose', *Andersonstown News*, 10 September 1988 p.1; 'Dairy Farm Community Enterprises Ltd', publicity booklet, 1988 (This was a Church controlled economic development project for the greater Twinbrook/Poleglass area); *Irish News* 20 February 1986 discusses a Church controlled economic development project in the nationalist Ardoyne area of Belfast; *Irish News* 22 January 1986 discusses a Church controlled economic development project in the Poleglass area of West Belfast, separate from the Dairy Farm enterprise.
 94. Resentment generated amongst local community groups expressed in *Joint Statement by West Belfast Community Groups*, July 1988, leaflet which criticised the International Fund for Ireland for political motivation in selectively funding Church controlled projects in the area to the exclusion of others.

95. See Bill Rolston, 'Community Politics', in O'Dowd et al., *Between Civil Rights and Civil War*, p.175; A. Pollack, 'Sinn Fein moves into community arena' in *Fortnight*, July/August 1984, pp.7–8, which discusses Church's interest in trying to keep influence in the community in West Belfast and how the Government, during the BAN period, used it as a conduit for funds. Both BAN and BAT were British Government funding initiatives set up ostensibly to tackle unemployment and deprivation in disadvantaged areas of Belfast in the 1970s and 1980s respectively.
96. *Belfast Telegraph*, 5 August 1988, discusses Government ACE (Action for Community Employment) schemes in West Belfast, suggesting that the Government relies heavily on the Church in that area to ensure that funds are not directed into the hands of Republican sympathizers.
97. *Iris*, July 1983, 6, p.23–24.
98. Bishop Cathal Daly's Lenten Pastoral, *Irish News*, 2 April 1984.
99. Philip Dunwoody, 'Nationalism 1987–2009: Rise of republicanism', BBC Northern Ireland, 2010, accessed on 20 March 2013: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/election_2010/northern_ireland/8648663.stm