

DEMOCRATIC AND POPULAR REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF ORAN ES- SENIA



Faculty of Letters, Languages, & Arts

Department Of Anglo- Saxon Languages, Section Of English

Magister Dissertation in British Civilization

**The Troubles in Northern Ireland
in the Late 1960s**

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**Academic Year 2011-2012
E.D 2007-2008**

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this modest study to the memory of my parents, without whom nothing could be achieved and who always stood by my side during all my studies. I hope they are proud of me where they are. May Allah bless them. I dedicate this work, too, to my husband, my dear children 'El Mokhtar' and 'Yacine, my sisters, and special thanks to my brother- in law Korbaa Omar.

AKNOWLEDGMENTS

By the Name of God the Clement and the Merciful, I would like to thank, very much my teacher and supervisor Doctor Zoulikha Bouhadiba for all her precious advice, her inestimable concern for all the students, and above all, her patience and comprehension. Dr. Zoulikha Bouhadiba's positive attitude pushed me to carry on writing this dissertation. For this, I am eternally grateful.

My thanks to Doctor Rachida Yacine for giving us the chance to pursue academic studies and for all that she did to enable me and my colleagues to never give up. I am also deeply grateful to my teachers: Professor Badra Lahouel, Professor Farouk Bouhadiba, Doctor Belmekki, Doctor Moulfi, Doctor Chami, and many others for educating and enriching us intellectually.

Finally, I would like to thank the members of the jury who had devoted time examining the present work. And I wish good success for all my colleagues from the Doctorate school.

ABSTRACT

The topic of the study is about the Troubles in Northern Ireland in the Late 1960s. During the period of the unionists' government (1922- 1972), the Catholics were suffering from bad social- economic conditions. They claimed to be discriminated against in the most vital areas: the electoral system, the allocation of houses and employment. As a result of this discrimination, this poorest section of the population organised themselves in Catholic civil rights movements that went out in the streets fighting for more equal civil rights. Thus, the late 1960s was characterised by manifestations and clashes between the two communities and the police. The violence that increased during the period (1969- 1972) resulted in 3,600 deaths and many more injured.

The paper will demonstrate that the roots of the 'Troubles' lay in history. The Troubles broke out as a result of a long existing hatred and division between the two hostile groups: the Protestants and the Catholics. And what increased this division was the partition of Ireland in the 1920s as it gave the Protestants, who constituted two thirds of the Northern Ireland population, the power which they used to discriminate against the Catholics minority.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

I.L.L: Irish Land League
HGA: Home Government Association
IPP: Irish Parliamentary Party
ILPU: Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union
LARU: Loyalist Anti-Repeal Union
UUC: Ulster Unionist Council
IASO: Irish Agricultural Organization Society
UVF: Ulster Volunteer Force
MPs: Members of Parliament
PR: Proportional Representation system
BBC: Belfast Boycott Committee
USC: Ulster Special Constabulary
RUC: Royal Ulster Constabulary
RIC: Royal Irish Constabulary RIC
NI: Northern Ireland
CSJ: Campaign for Social Justice
UCDC: Ulster Constitution Defense Committee
CSJ: Campaign for Social Justice
HCL: Homeless' Citizens League
CDU: Campaign of Democracy in Ulster
RLP: Republican Labour Party
NICRA: Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association
PD: People's Democracy
SDLP: Social Democratic and Labour Party
IRA: Irish Republican Army
PIRA: Provisional Irish Republican Army

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General Introduction

The Irish population consisted of Gaelic tribes who conquered Ireland in the centuries B.C. The Island had been much remote of the European political, economic and cultural life until it was invaded by the English under King Henry II in 1170. The English tried to transform the separate Irish tribal kingdoms that constituted the Gaelic system into a strong feudal state. The colonisation of Ireland started in the northern province of Ulster, where the settlers tried to establish a Protestant nation throughout the island.

The conquest of Ireland ended in the seventeenth century; the English king James I executed his Government programme of the Plantation of Ulster between 1608-1610. During these plantations, the six counties of Donegal, Tyrone, Derry, Armagh, Cavan and Fermanagh were settled by colonists from England, Scotland, and Wales. And the name of the city of Derry was changed to Londonderry. These plantations are considered to be the root of the present Northern Ireland problem.

The land that was colonised by the English and Scottish Protestants was previously held by the native Irish and the Catholic Old English who resisted strongly the Ulster plantations. The Gaelic population was dispossessed of their lands and the ability to hold power. Many battles occurred in this period and violence started to be accepted as the only political means for both the Irish and the English. In the centuries following the plantations, the differences between Protestants and Catholics increased and by the late nineteenth century, there was a new division between the Nationalists, who wanted a self- government for Ireland, and the Unionists, who preferred Ireland to remain part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

During the nineteenth century, many movements emerged in Ireland to overthrow the union with Great Britain. Some of the movements, as the Repeal

Movement in the 1840s and the Home Rule Movement in the 1870s, were parliamentary; they followed a peaceful policy to reach their goals. But there were other movements, like the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), who opted for the use of physical force to overthrow the Union. In April 1912, the third Home Rule bill was introduced in Westminster and the Union could be repealed if the First World War did not intervene. During the war, the IRB attempted an armed rebellion 'the Easter Rising' in 1916 but it failed and the leaders were executed. This act angered the Catholic community who started showing their sympathy and support for the Irish Republican Army (IRA) (the new name for the IRB) and its political wing the Sinn Féin. The Sinn Féin won the Irish General Election of 1918 and replaced the old Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP).

The 1916 rebellion paved the way for what was called 'the war of independence' or 'the Anglo- Irish war' during which violence increased between the IRA and the English forces and the demand for a Home Rule was changed to a demand for an independent Irish Republic. In 1920, a treaty was signed between Britain and the IRA, and the Government of Ireland Act (GIA) was passed to end the War of Independence. The treaty resulted in that Ireland was divided into twenty- six – southern county that became Irish Free State and six- northern county that remained a part of the United Kingdom.

Northern Ireland was born in violence; the IRA made many attacks to destroy the new born government, and a sectarian violence broke out among the Protestants and the Catholics especially in Belfast. Despite the fact that the Protestants were in majority in the new Northern Ireland, they never felt in security. They always feared that British policy might move to support a united Ireland. The Protestants also feared the half million Catholics who felt that their Irish identity was denied in this new state as they became powerless and cut-off from their brothers in the Free State.

The ruling government in Northern Ireland made sure to remain totally in

Protestants hands and the Catholics were discriminated against the Protestants in the allocation of houses and jobs, and other political rights as voting. The Catholics claimed that the boundaries of Northern Ireland that came into existence in 1921, were worked out between Westminster and the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) essentially to result in a state of Protestants majority and Catholics minority who remained second class citizens. During the first years of partition and the birth of Northern Ireland, both Catholics and Protestants believed the new state would not survive. Some Nationalists considered the state to be too small to form the basis of a state. Others thought the Boundary Commission would reduce its size even more which would end its existence. But the Commission's report that came up in 1925 resulted in no changes to the border. The Consequences of the 1920's arrangements were felt in 1968 when the Catholic civil rights movements went out in the Streets complaining about the status of the minority community who were in majority in Ireland before the 1920s partition.

The issue examined in this Magister dissertation is the Troubles in Northern Ireland in the late 1960s. The period from 1969- 1994 has been named the 'Troubles' because of the violence that increased in Northern Ireland. This dissertation will be about the beginning of the period (1969- 1972). Our goal is to find out the roots of what happened in Northern Ireland in the 1960s. To reach such goal, we had to consider the past. So, different periods of the 'Irish question' will be examined in an attempt to answer the following research question: What were the causes of the outbreak of the Troubles in Northern Ireland in the late 1960s?

The authors of the bibliography we possess, as Hennessey Thomas, Kennedy- Pipe, Caroline, Stewart, A. T. Q., and McKittrik, David and McVea, David try to explain how the British became and remained involved in the conflict between the Protestants and Catholics communities in Northern Ireland and they try also to understand the roots of the 'Troubles'. In all the references, the late 1960s was described as a terrible period where the Northern Irish

population did not live in any peace or security. Through reading and analysing these references we could formulate the following hypotheses:

- The Governmental system caused the Troubles of the late 1960s.
- The Social economic conditions of the Catholics caused the Troubles of the late 1960s.
- The Partition of the 1920s was the root of the late 1960s Troubles.

This dissertation is divided into three main chapters. The first chapter, which covers the period from 1170 to the end of the WWI (1918), traces the political and social evolution of Ireland under the British occupation. This chapter tells about the end of Gaelic Ireland under the successive British plantations, and the early Irish rebellions against them in the seventeenth century. The chapter moves to the eighteenth century to show how Ireland became part of the United Kingdom in 1801 and the movements that emerged in Ireland to overthrow the union with Great Britain in the nineteenth century. It ends with the Beginning of the twentieth century when the Home Rule Party was given birth. It also ends with reference to the division between the Catholic Nationalists who wanted a self- government for Ireland and the Protestant Unionists who preferred Ireland to remain part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain. During this period the British Prime Minister introduced the third Home Rule Bill. But the implementation of this latter was postponed by the First World War postponed its application.

The second chapter which covers the period starting from the partition of Ireland in the 1920s to the period of post- war reconstruction in the 1950s analyses the conditions in which Northern Ireland was born and the problems that faced the new born government. It also tackles the social, economic, and political conditions of the Catholic community who were a minority in a totally Protestant unionist state. Finally the chapter tries to set the changes that occurred in Northern Ireland that followed the example of the British Welfare state in the 1950s. It also tries to show the effect of these changes on the Catholic minority.

The third chapter tackles the outbreak of the major events of the ‘Troubles’ in the late 1960s. The first part of the chapter will be devoted to the ‘O’Neill’s Era’ (1963- 1969), a period where the new Prime Minister O’Neill tried to make important reforms and build a bridge between the Protestant and the Catholic communities. The obstacles that caused the failure of O’Neill’s policy will be analyzed too in this part. Finally, the chapter analyses the Loyalists violence and the emergence of the civil rights movements, the increase of violence, the arrival of the British troops, and the end of the unionists’ government in 1972.

Introduction

A Long time before the discovery of America, conflicts between the inhabitants of islands of what now constitute Ireland and the UK existed. Geography played the main role in linking the British history to the Irish one; Ireland and Scotland are separated by only some twelve miles of water between the Antrim coast and the Mull of Kintyre. The south-eastern coasts of Wexford and Waterford are just eighty miles far from the coast of Wales. It was in this area that the first serious Norman penetrations took place in 1170. An English colony known as “the Pale” was founded around Dublin and over times these early colonists were assimilated into the native Irish culture.

The conquest of Ireland ended in 1603 at the time of the English king James I who settled people from England and Scotland in the Northern Irish counties under a government program called the “Plantations of Ulster”. The local inhabitants did not accept that fact, and their struggle lasted for two centuries until the Act of Union in 1801 when Ireland became part of the English crown. This Union paved the way for endless rebellions and much violence.

This chapter analyses the process through which the British conquest of Ireland went From the Norman invasion in 1170 to the WWI. It sets the political, social, cultural and religious events that paved the way to England to colonise Ireland for more than 800 years? It tries to explain how an old Catholic region, of old monasteries that existed for more than 8,000 years before the British claim, could be changed into a Protestant nation and united to Great Britain. What are the reasons and factors responsible for that union? What was the effect of that union on the Irish people? And finally, how did the demands of the rebellious movement that emerged during the 19th century change from the Catholic Emancipation to a demand for Home Rule by the end of the century, and how did the Home Rule crises evolve during the WWI?

1- Ireland: From the Norman Invasion to the Battle of the Boyne (1170-1690)

1.1 The Norman Invasions (1170)

The Norman¹ invasion of Ireland occurred in Baginbun on the south- eastern area of county Wexford where a small party of Normans, who had sailed across the sea from Wales, landed on 1 May 1170. But the Normans did not invade Ireland on their own initiative. The Irish king of Leinster, Diarmuid MacMurchada, called for the help of the English king Henry II to crush his local enemies and after many negotiations a delegation of Norman knights arrived on the Wexford coast in 1170. These invaders were not soldiers of the king of England but of one of his barons, the earl of Pembroke known as Strongbow.

Strongbow captured the main cities of Waterford and Wexford and in the end he not only gained control over Dublin, but also married MacMurchada's daughter. And when MacMurchada² died he became king of Leinster. Henry II (the king of England) feared an independent Norman power would be established out of the English one. In 1171, he came to Ireland with a papal bull that provided him the lordship of Ireland. In this way, Ireland was conquered by the Normans and the English who changed the Gaelic tribal kingdoms into a feudal state affecting the Irish social, economic and political system. In this respect, Beckett

¹ The Normans had ruled England since 1066 when Wilhelm the conqueror seized the English throne in the battle of Hastings. Kenneth O.Morgan, *the Oxford History of Britain*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.1989. p. 29.

² Coogan asserts that MacMurchada's act caused the Irish eight hundred centuries of suffering, he says: "Eight hundred centuries of conflict were to flow from MacMurchada's act, a conflict that is still not over. MacMurchada is up to this day execrated by some in Ireland for thus making the first move both to the 'eight hundred years of British oppression' and its outcome, 'The Full National Demand' of later generations of Irish nationalists". Tim Pat, Coogan, *the Troubles. Ireland's Ordeal 1966- 1995 and the Search for Peace*. London, Hutchinson, 1995, p. 3.

states:

In the twelfth century Henry II's assumption of the 'lordship of Ireland' had opened the prospect of an Anglo-Norman conquest, transforming the loose congeries of tribal kingdoms that constituted the Gaelic political system into a strong feudal state.³

Ireland is too close to England (see map one, p.10), and unlike the other Celtic regions of Wales and Scotland, it continued through the centuries to be a problem for England. The English tried to subdue Ireland through invasions and settlements by the Tudors and the Stuarts as Oliver Cromwell, William of Orange and others. During their first invasions, the English faced geographical difficulties as the Irish Sea, which is very turbulent, and a strong resistance from the Irish who were accustomed to ask for outside help once they feel the threat of an invasion as MacMurchada did in the past⁴.

1.2 Plantations of Ulster in the Reign of James I (1603-1625)

The Irish continued to be loyal to Rome during the Reformation⁵. During his reign, the English king James I (1603-1625) made the Irish Society responsible of executing the Government programme of the Plantation of Ulster between 1608-1610. At that time, the four counties of Donegal, Tyrone, Derry and Armagh (the forfeited lands of the earls O'Neil and O'Donnell who had flown from Ireland in 1607)⁶ together with the two counties of Cavan and Fermanagh

³ J.C Becket, *the Making of Modern Ireland, 1603-1923*, London, Faber & Faber, 1981, p. 14.

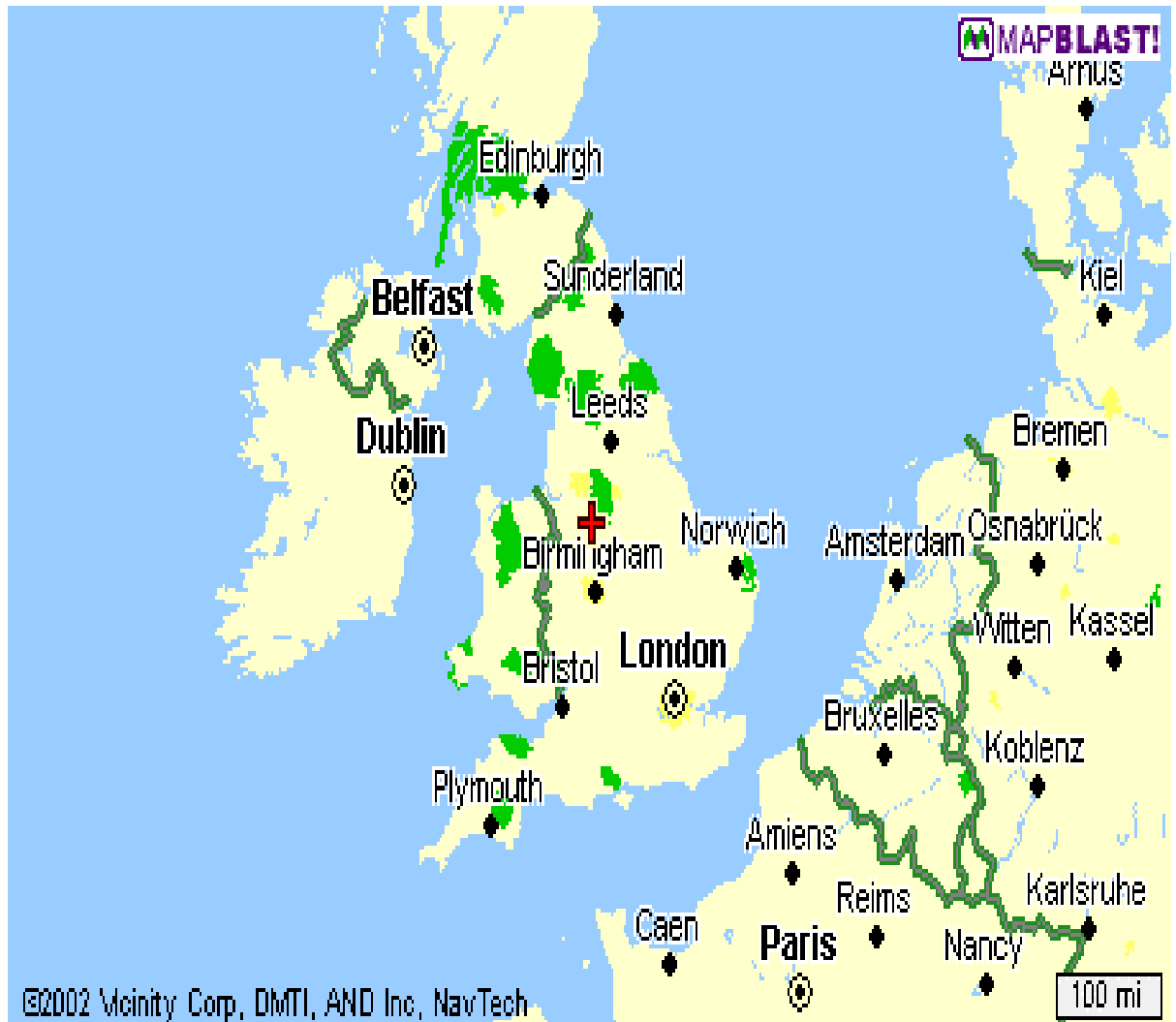
⁴ Tim. Pat. Coogan, *op.cit.*, p.5.

⁵ "The Reformation was a sixteenth century European religious movement for reform of the Roman Catholic Church, which resulted in the establishment of Protestant churches. The movement began in 1517 when a German monk, Martin Luther, protested against certain practices of the Roman Catholic Church. About forty years later, Protestantism was established in nearly half of Europe". Jim Cordell, *Essential Government and Politics*, London: Collins Educational, 1992, p.24.

⁶ The two flown Earls were Hugh O'Neill 2nd Earl of Tyrone who died in Rome in 1616 and Hugh Roe O'Donnell (1572-1602). The second was the son of Hugh O'Donnell (1557-1592) Lord of

MAP ONE

The United Kingdom



Source: Foster, R.F, *Modern Ireland 1600- 1972*, London, the Penguin Press, 1988, p.16

were settled by colonists of all classes from England, Scotland, and Wales. And the name of the city of Derry was changed to Londonderry as Coogan affirms:

*He (James I) added to the pro- Protestants policies of the Tudors, and their resultant slaughter, by “planting” six of the north-eastern counties of Ulster, in the process creating the new county of Londonderry around the hinterland of the ancient settlement of Derry.*⁷

The Plantations of Ulster in 1609 were unique and more successful than the ones in 1550s, 1560s and 1580s in the reign of the catholic sovereigns Philip and Marry⁸. All the previous attempts of planting colonies in Ireland failed because of lack of human support, or capital, or the rebellion of the Irish who had been dispossessed of their lands. Just before the 1609 plantation, two Scottish Protestants named Montgomery and Hamilton had attempted a private settlement in 1606 after a compromise with the local Gaelic chieftain (see map two, p. 12). This Protestant plantation took place in the eastern part of Ulster and it became the bridgehead by which individual Scottish settlers moved to Northern Ireland for the rest of the century.

During the 1609 plantations, about 90 per cent of the land in the county of Derry was distributed between the Scottish and the English whereas the native Irish were given the ten per cent of the unfertile lands. Foster gives more details about the plan on the drawing-board of the 1609 plantation, he says:

Almost all the land of the County of Derry should go through these City companies to Scottish and English settlers who would not be allowed to take Irish tenants. A small proportion of the county –about five

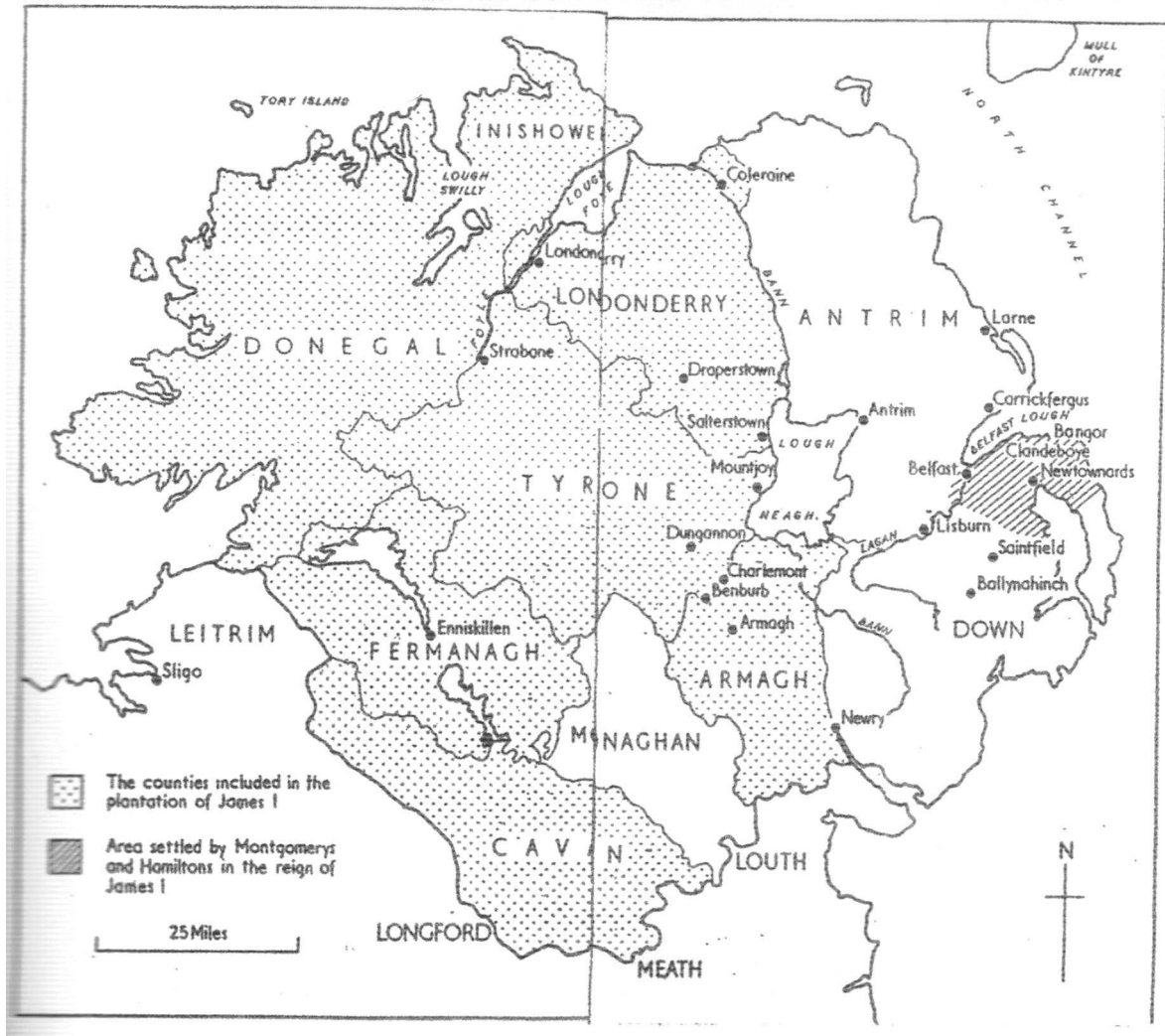
Tyrconnell and Irish Chieftain of Donnells. He was also called Red Hugh and represented the last of the old Gaelic kings of Ireland. G. m. Trevelyan, *English Social History*, Great Britain: Cox & Wyman Ltd,London, Reading and Fakenham., 1976, p. 86.

⁷ Tim. Pat. Coogan, op.cit., p. 9.

⁸ J.C Becket, op. cit., p. 72.

MAP TWO

ULSTER IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY



Source: J. C. Beckett, *the Making of Modern Ireland 1603-1923*, Great Britain, Cox & Wyman Ltd, Reading, Berkshire, 1981, p.515.

*allowed to take Irish tenants: the rest – about ten per cent – was allotted to the native Irish former occupants of the whole of it who now had to pay the Crown double the rent the settlers paid. And it was largely to the less fertile lands on the hills that the native Irish were to be officially confined.*⁹

By 1622, there were about 13.000 settlers. The Irish natives were excluded from the towns built by the Planters and banished to the mountains. Through these plantation a foreign society that had its own language, religion, culture, and way of life quite different from the Irish one settled in Ulster. This is what Darby affirms: “The main political purpose from this plantation was: The introduction of a foreign community, which spoke a different language, represented an alien culture and way of life, including a new type of land tenure and management”¹⁰.

Most of the new comers were Protestants by religion, while the native Irish were Catholics. They formed a mixed population of two hostile groups; one believed their land had been taken over and the other believed that their settlement was under threat of the natives’ rebellion. Generally, they lived in distinct neighbourhood and they identified their differences as religious and cultural as well as territorial. A description of Ulster and its population is provided by Beckett, who states:

*Ulster once the most Gaelic Irish and Catholic province of all, now had a mixed population of apposed interests and beliefs, often so closely entangled with each other that streets even in the same town would be named ‘Scotch quarter’ and ‘Irish quarter.’*¹¹

⁹ Foster, R.F, op, cit., p. 14.

¹⁰John, Darby, *Facets of the Conflict in Northern Ireland*, New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1995, p.32.

¹¹ J. C. Beckett, op. cit., p. 99.

1.3 The Beginning of Violence among the Catholics and the Protestants

During the sixteenth century the Catholics, who feared ethnical discrimination, started to organize themselves against the Protestants. Following this, the Protestants started to organize too to protect themselves from Catholics' attacks. The first Catholic's rebellion took place in Ulster on 23 September 1641. It was directed against all new settlements everywhere in Ireland, and it was stronger in the Ulster settlement because it was the largest in Ireland.

It started as a peaceful up-raising, where the Catholic leaders settled a rival parliament in Kilkenny that was called "the confederation of Kilkenny". They wanted to demonstrate that they were indispensable leaders in Ireland. The peaceful riot developed quickly into a violent one, it had been considered as a savage sectarian massacre where as many as 12.000 Protestants died.

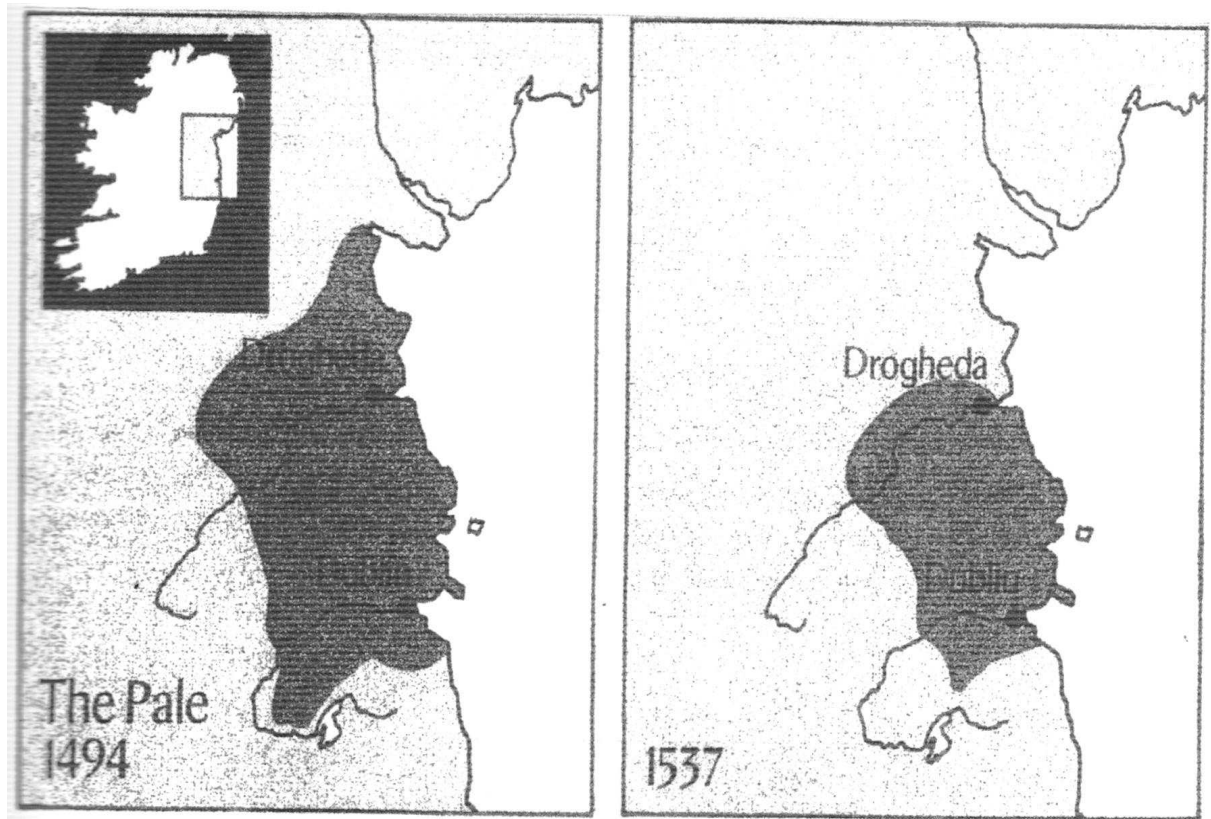
These dramatic events and massacres increased both Protestants and Catholics' hatred and fear of each other, and their separation and conflict grew much more. In 1649, the English army arrived in Ireland to crush the Catholic rebellion. Under the leadership of Oliver Cromwell, the army attacked and massacred Catholics. They attacked first Drogheda, though its inhabitants had not played any part in the rebellion of 1641 as the town had always been within the boundaries of the English Pale¹² (See map three p. 15). Robert Kee describes what happened in Ireland in this period, he says:

Awful events were slowly hammering the people of Ireland into two nations regardless of race: one Catholic and the other Protestant. And the man who was to do so much to further that process was to arrive in Ireland at the end of the decade. His name:

¹² "The Pale was an area around Dublin and Drogheda where the English rule was effective from the middle ages to the complete invasion of the country under the Tudors. It is also called the 'English Pale'". J.C Beckett, op, cit., p.134.

MAP THREE

THE ENGLISH PALE



Source: Robert Kee, *Ireland a History*, Great Britain, Weiden Feld & Nicolson Ltd, 1980, p.34.

*Oliver Cromwell.*¹³

From Drogheda, Cromwell's Parliamentary armies went to the south where some garrisons surrendered. But one town, Wexford, suffered worse than Drogheda. Cromwell's men killed at least 2.000 people, of whom 200 women and children were slaughtered in the market place¹⁴. After Wexford, the Parliamentary army's campaign was over.

In 1652, "The Act of Settlement", which in effect divided the people of Ireland into "English Protestants" and "Irish Papists", was adopted. The land of the Papists was declared forfeit with the exception of the province of Connaught. The forfeited land was to be divided between the Government and the soldiers. And this is what George, Boyce mentions: "The Act of Settlement resulted in all land owned by the King possessed by Catholics was confiscated"¹⁵. The Irish were moved to the more barren land in the province of Connaught. By the time of the rebellion of 1641, the Catholics land decreased to fifty nine per cent, and to twenty two per cent by the Cromwellian Act of Settlement. In 1714, Catholics owned only seven per cent of the land.¹⁶ Dramatic events, such as battles and revolutions, followed the Cromwellian era in Ireland, especially after the Restoration¹⁷. Those events caused the never- ending conflict between Catholics and Protestants.

¹³ Robert Kee, *ibid.*, p. 47.

¹⁴ Frank Foley, "North – South Relations and the Outbreak of the Troubles in Northern Ireland 1968-1969, the Response of "the Irish Press", Royal Irish Academy, Vol. 14, 2003, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3001961>, pp. 9-31.

¹⁵ George, Boyce, *Nationalism in Ireland*, London, Routledge, 1995, p. 45.

¹⁶ Mathew Hale, Richard Hawkins, Michael Partridge, "The Economic and Social History of great Britain and Ireland", Blackwell publishing on behalf of the Economic History Society, vol.53, No 4, Nov., 2000, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2598605>, pp. 783- 820.

¹⁷ "The Restoration is the period following the re-establishment of the monarchy in Britain in 1660, when Charles II became king". Kenneth O.Morgan, *op. cit.*, p.346.

1.4 The Battle of the Boyne (1690)

More hatred grew between Catholics and Protestants in the years 1688-1689 when the Catholic English King James II (1685- 1688) allied with the Catholics in Ireland in an attempt to retain the English throne. As a payment for the Catholics support, James II repealed the 1652 confiscation of land. He also formed a parliament where the Catholics had the majority, and this is what Beckett affirms: “*Roman Catholics were appointed as judges, admitted to corporation, and even given seats on the Privy Council*”¹⁸.

In 1688, James II was replaced by his competitor and nephew William of Orange (King William III) in Derry/Londonderry. The Protestants of the city always stood firm against any threat or invasion; on the 7th December of 1688, thirteen boys of the city helped William of Orange to save Londonderry from Catholics. Every year the Protestants celebrate the memory of that day.

James II, who had been deposed from the English throne, landed in Kinsale in 1689 with troops sent by the French King, Louis XIV. They laid siege to Derry; Boyce describes this siege to be the most famous one in British history, he states: “the most famous siege in British history began”¹⁹. The new King of England, William of Orange, allied with the Spaniards, the Dutch and the Pope, and together they were determined to oppose any increase in French power. The English houses of Parliament voted funds of over one million pounds for another army to land in Ireland and oppose King James’ forces. “*The Europeans became concerned with the Catholic and Protestant struggle in Ireland*”²⁰.

¹⁸ J.C Beckett, op.cit., p 140.

¹⁹ George, Boyce, op. cit., p. 47.

²⁰ Ibid

William of Orange had a larger force than James II had, his troops were victorious. In July 1689, his army defeated the Jacobites –partisans of King James II- at Oldbridge, three miles upstream from Drogheda, but the decisive battle was at Aughrim, and this was called the Battle of the Boyne where King James fled the battlefield. The Irish resistance lasted another year when the end came with the surrender of the town of Limerick under the leadership of Patrick Sarsfield in October 1691²¹.

Following the Battle of the Boyne, The Treaty of Limerick was signed in October 1691. This treaty promised the Catholics religious toleration, security in their property, and freedom to practice their profession. But the Protestants never fulfilled the promises and, instead, the Penal Laws that penalized the Catholics and worsened their situation were enacted. The articles contained in these Laws determined that a Catholic could not hold an office of state, nor stand for parliament, vote, join the army or navy. He could not buy land or even hold it longer than thirty- one years. Nor could he devise what he hold as he wished; on his death, his land had to be divided among all his children, but if one of them turned protestant, he inherited the lot. As a result, only five per cent of the land of Ireland remained in Catholic hands by the 1770's.

The law was, too, very harsh concerning religious matters. It placed severe limitations on the activity of the Catholic priesthood. Parish priests were allowed to officiate in Ireland provided they registered with the authorities. In this respect, Stewart sums up the effect of the penal Laws on the Catholic population, he states:

The period between 1704 and 1775 in Ireland was the era of the Penal Laws, that haphazard but effective accumulation of statutes that collectively excluded the entire Catholic population from the

²¹ John, Darby, op. cit., p. 89.

*political and public life of the country*²².

By the end of the seventeenth century relations between Britain and France were getting worse. And Pitt²³, at the head of the British Government at that time, feared that the French would invade Ireland. To face the French threat, the Prime Minister found that he had to strengthen the national unity by the abolition of the Penal Laws to calm the Roman Catholics. And this is what Townshend, Charles writes:

*Pitt's desire to conciliate Roman Catholic Opinion extended to Great Britain as well as to Ireland, and in 1791 much of the British penal legislation was repealed. In both countries his object was the same: to strengthen national unity in face of possible danger from revolutionary France*²⁴.

The 1704 Penal Law that prevented Catholics from inheriting and hiring land was abolished in 1778. In 1782 Catholics were allowed to trade properties. They were not given their full privileges of citizenship until 1793 when a Catholic Relief Act was passed. This later gave the Catholics their right to vote in local or parliament elections, and hold public office. But they were still not allowed to become members of parliament.

These reforms paved the way for more equality of status between the Protestants and Catholics. The Protestant minority was troubled; they feared to be dominated by Catholics, "to be governed as a conquered race"²⁵. For that reason, they felt that the Union with England would give them the necessary protection.

²²A. T. Q. Stewart, *the Narrow Ground Aspects of Ulster 1609- 1969*, London, Faber & Faber, 1977, p. 103.

²³ The younger Pitt was a Prime Minister during the period (1783- 1801). J. H. Plumb, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, Great Britain, Cox & Wyman Ltd, Reading, 1985, p. 69.

²⁴ Charles, Townshend, *Ireland the 20th Century*, London, Arnold, 1988, p. 16.

²⁵ Paul A, Fitzsimmons, *Independence for Northern Ireland. Why and How*, Washington D.C, the Juris Press, 1993, p. 48.

2- Ireland: A part of Great Britain

2.1 The impact of the American Revolution on the Irishman

The American colonies were, too, in rebellion against the British rule. As England was their common enemy, many Irish sympathized with the American Revolution of 1776. Connections between America and Ireland became strong. By 1770, At least one American in six who were living in the south of New England was of Irish Origin²⁶.

During the eighteenth century, the Protestant nation who was influenced by the American rebellion, started to assert their political and civic rights; the Irish Protestants developed their own culture that reflected their identity as Irishmen and independent from the one of Britain. They took the example of the American colonists who were struggling for their independence from England, and started their claim for an independent Irish parliament. The Protestant author Jonathan Swift urged the Protestants to burn everything English. He proclaimed that the English parliament had no right to legislate for Ireland which is the right only of the Irish parliament. Thus, during the eighteenth century modern Irish Protestant nationalism was given birth. In this respect Robert Kee states:

The Irish Protestants developed their own culture reflected in the literature of Swift, Sheridan, Goldsmith, Burke and others. On this culture they based a claim, as Irish citizens, to be treated by Britain as an equal nation. And this, curiously as it must now seem, was the first version of modern Irish nationalism: a Protestant version”²⁷.

²⁶ Miles Taylor, “*The 1848 Revolutions and the British Empire: Past and Present*”, Oxford University Press on behalf of the Past and Present Society, Feb, 2000, No- 166, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/651297>, pp. 146- 180.

²⁷ Robert Kee, op. cit., p. 75.

London considered the Protestant settlers in Ireland to be a safeguard of the crown; they stood against any Catholic resistance. For instance, Catholic peasants' rebellion in the south in the 1770s was crushed by northern Protestants forces. But at the end of the seventeenth century, The Protestant ruling class took advantage of the British government's necessity to form companies of armed "Volunteers" who were there to defend the Irish coasts against any invader in the absence of the British troops fighting in America, and formed their own volunteer force in 1782. This later was threatening the British Government in Ireland; Robert Kee mentions that the Volunteers, and the Patriot Party led by Henry Grattan forced the British to agree to establish an independent Irish parliament in Dublin in 1782:

In the splendid building in Ireland in which the Irish parliament sat (and which is today the bank of Ireland) the 'Patriot Party' was led by an eloquent lawyer, Henry Grattan. With his hand much strengthened by the existence of the volunteers, Grattan finally won in 1782 a declaration of independence from the British government which on paper removed from Westminster the right to legislate for Ireland²⁸.

The parliament was submissive to the House of Commons, and it was dominated by the landowning Protestant Ascendancy, who was mainly Anglicans or Church of Ireland. The Anglicans²⁹, like the Catholics³⁰, suffered from the Presbyterian Dissenters³¹ in the north who looked on them with disapproval and

²⁸ Robert Kee, *ibid.*, p. 59.

²⁹ "The Anglicans, one section of Protestantism, are Christians who belong to churches that are part of the Anglican Communion. These churches developed from the Anglican Church of England which was established under King Henry VIII". Tim Pat, Coogan, *op.cit.*, p.142.

³⁰ "The Roman Catholics, of the Church of Rome, are members of a local parish, led by a priest called a pastor. The Parishes in an area form a territorial district headed by a bishop. The Pop appoint bishops, and they are responsible to him". *ibid*

³¹ "The Presbyterian Dissenters are Protestants who refused to accept the Doctrines of the Church of England" *ibid.*, p.143.

disrespect. This encouraged some of them to sympathise with Catholics.

2.2 The French Intervention in Ireland

In 1789, the French Revolution threatened all of Europe. The news of this event transmitted to all unstable societies the message that ‘the will of the people in Government was a right’. Such news had a particularly strong emotional and intellectual impact on Ireland. In Dublin, Catholics started to address each other as citizen. Some middle-class Protestants from Belfast formed a society called the United Irishmen. They asked for parliamentary reform and the unification of Catholics, Protestants, and Presbyterians in an Irish Republic. They were greatly influenced by Thomas Pain’s “Rights of Man” which went into at least seven Irish editions during 1791 and 1792.

It was the Society of the United Irishmen, joined by a young Dublin Protestant Theobald Wolf Tone, which had to speak in the name of both Catholics and Protestants. Tone is regarded as the founder of Irish Republicanism. By 1796, the United Irishmen had converted themselves into a secret Society with more radical aims and violent means.

England experienced one of the most dangerous moments in 1796 when a great invasion fleet of thirty- five French ships carrying 14.000 republican troops anchored in Bantry Bay (in the province of Munster, in South west Ireland) as an answer to Wolf Tone’s call. Tone convinced French generals that an invasion of Ireland would cause a general rebellion, and he made his statement saying: “break the connections with England, the never failing source of all our Political evils and to assert the independence of my country”³². Tone had come with this expedition wearing a French uniform.

³² Quoted in Tim Pat, Coogan, *op.cit.*, p.75.

The French fleet had experienced some misadventures on the way. In a storm at sea, it lost its flagship carrying the commander of the expedition General Lazar Hoche. The second in command decided to go ahead, but he was prevented from landing by a strong wind. There were almost no British government troops anywhere near the area and the way seemed open for the French to reach Cork. But nothing could be done until the wind stopped.

Twenty of the strong ships were driven down the bay and out to sea again. But the rest persisted and tried to advance towards more safe waters at the head of the bay. Because of the strong wind, there was little sign of human opposition, though the French stayed one week in the Bay. When about four hundred men of the militia moved forward on the shore, the owner of a house at the head of the Bay felt the dangerous threat and started to organize the local peasantry to resist the attack. But the bad weather made the ships turn around for home.

A second French Force landed in the company of Napper Tandy, a co-founder of the United Irishmen. To rouse revolution, Tandy posted a proclamation calling upon Irishmen to revolt against the English who he called ‘the murderers’ of the Irish people, he said: “strike on their blood cemented thrones the murderers of your friends!”³³ Unfortunately, Tandy was unsuccessful in his attempt as the Irish could not read the proclamation because it was written in Gaelic rather than in English. Tandy got drunk and was carried back to the ship, which returned to France.

An important other society called the “Orange Society” was founded among Protestants. It was founded after a bloody battle between Catholics and Protestants at Loughgall in County Armagh in 1795. This clash known as the Battle of Diamond is one of the three major battles where the Protestants triumphed over Catholics. The two other incidents happened in the seventeenth

³³ Quoted in R. F, Foster, *op.cit.*, p. 88.

century: the Siege of Derry in 1689 and the Battle of the Boyne in 1690.³⁴ In 1796, the Orange Society, which became the Orange Order, held its first twelfth of July demonstration. In later years the Orange Order established what came to be known as the marching season; they held hundreds of parades during the summer months to celebrate their ancestors' victory.

2.3 The revolution of 1798

Though it didn't succeed, The French invasion at Bantry Bay proved that the French were prepared to act on the behalf of the United Irishmen to help them. This fact made the British Government certain about the seriousness of the threat of the United Irishmen and they took military measures against the secret Society in Ulster. The army started searching for arms and information. By the end of 1797, they succeeded to break the conspiracy in Ulster.

In 1798, a National Directory of the United Irishmen for the whole of Ireland had been formed in Dublin. Its leader was Lord Edward Fitzgerald, a radical aristocrat, who tried to raise a national rebellion for the whole of the country with the help of the French and by joining the peasant agrarian secret society, called the "Defenders", to their organization. This society was widely spread and it succeeded to develop its national political thinking among the Catholic peasantry.

The United Irish Society started their contacts with the Defenders, but they were betrayed by three of the highly placed in the organization who worked as informers. All the National Directory was arrested in March 1798, and although Lord Edward Fitzgerald escaped for a time, he too was betrayed soon afterwards and he was arrested. The behaviour of the British army disgraced the Irish; the soldiers were billeted by force on Catholics who rouse in rebellion in that year.

³⁴ David McKittrik, and David McVea, *Making sense of the Trouble, Belfast*, The Blackstaff press, p.62

Boyce observes, “... in 1798 Ireland was a state in rebellion”³⁵.

The first out break was in May 24th; the rebels decided not to submit any longer to the British army’s torture. A local priest, Father John Murphy, was the leader of the rebellion in Wexford; he took charge of the peasantry who won a victory over the North Cork militia, a regiment of the yeomanry at Oulart Hill (county Wexford, in the province of Leinster, South East Ireland)³⁶. From Oulart the rebels pushed on to take the town of Enniscorthy where they set up their camp. After a month, they were pushed from their encampment in a decisive battle on Vinegar Hill where the Government troops killed about 50.000 rebels in a terrible slaughter. The United Irishmen rebellion in Wexford was over, and the news of the atrocities committed by the British army in the south ended an attempt of uprising in Ulster.

Several months later, a small French expedition landed in County Mayo, North West Ireland. They won a victory over government troops at Castlbar. But as they found no one there to co-operate with, they surrendered. Wolf Tone arrived with a new French invasion in the northern Irish coasts where they were defeated. Tone was captured and brought for trial to Dublin. He was found with his throat mysteriously slit in his cell. The 1798 rebellion gave the British an argument to dissolve the Irish parliament.

2.4 The Act of Union of 1801 and the Rise of Irish Patriotism

The 1798 rebellion made the British think of bringing Ireland firmly to the United Kingdom to secure against another French invasion. Pitt, the Prime Minister at that time, saw that a legislative union between Ireland and Britain, accompanied by Catholic Emancipation, was the best way of conciliating the

³⁵ George, Boyce, op. cit., p. 86.

³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 89.

hostile groups in the population and establishing a strong and peaceful government in Ireland.

Pitt discussed the matter with the members of his Cabinet. The Lord Lieutenant Cornwallis³⁷ and the Viscount Castlereagh³⁸, the Chief Secretary at that time, were in agreement with his Plan. But Clare, the Lord Chancellor, opposed the idea of Catholic Emancipation. He considered that if the Catholics were given similar privileges as the Protestants, the union would lose its value and objective which is to protect the Protestant Ascendancy. And he declared in a speech at the Cabinet's meeting that the Catholic admittance in the parliamentary franchise of 1793 was a great mistake.³⁹

The struggle in parliament continued between unionists and opposition during several months, but Clare, who had a strong influence that could not be resisted even by Pitt, was the victor at the end. The Prime Minister abandoned the idea of including Catholic Emancipation in the terms of union and authorised Cornwallis and Castlereagh to explain to the Catholics leaders that Emancipation should follow the Union soon after. And On January 1, 1801, an Act of Union joined Ireland and England under a single Parliament in London. The Union would last 120 years.

The legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland was set in terms embodied in eight articles. The first four articles determined the political basis of the union, the fifth was related to the Church (the Church of England and Ireland

³⁷ Charles Cornwallis, first Marquis Cornwallis, he was to be Commander in Chief as well as Lord Lieutenant. He had had experience of war and administration in India that might serve in Ireland. J. C Beckett, op. cit., p.173.

³⁸ Viscount Castlereagh, the Chief Secretary at that time. He had considered a possibility of legislative union as early as 1792, and Pitt depended on him more than anyone for his Irish policy. Ibid.

³⁹ Dennis, Kavanagh, *British Politics. Continuities and Change*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000, p.62.

was established), the sixth to commerce, the seventh to finance, and the eighth article was related to law and legal procedure.

The Catholics were greatly affected by the Act. They decided that violence was the only way to repeal it. In 1803, Robert Emmet⁴⁰ headed a rebellion in Dublin, and the rebels were arrested. Just before being executed, Emmet delivered a speech calling on future generations to fight for Irish freedom. The speech included the following:

Let no man write my epitaph.... When my country takes her place among the nations of the earth, then and not till then let my epitaph be written”⁴¹.

Emmet’s words were repeated from father to son over generations. Another effect of the Act of Union was a flood of emigration from Ireland, especially to North America. These Irish abroad provided much of the money that financed the Irish nationalist cause.

A third effect was that Protestants and Catholics were more separated. Dublin, which had a Catholic majority among its population, was no longer the seat of the Irish government. An unofficial capital emerged in Belfast, an industrial city with active port and trade. In the agrarian South, the peasants were facing heavy rents; any increase in the land’s output was followed by an immediate rise in rent. The Catholics moved to the north to work, and in this respect Stewart says: “By the mid 1800s, one-third of Belfast, and its poorest part, was Catholic”⁴².

⁴⁰ “Emmet made contacts with a band of outlaws who had been taking refuge in the Wicklow Hills since the rebellion of 1798. His plan was to seize Dublin Castle as a signal to the rest of the country to rise in arms. He had hoped to assemble 2000 men but he gathered only eighty. And on Saturday night, 23 July, A riot headed by Emmet broke out in Dublin. It was so cruel and murderous that Emmet ran away to hide where he remained for a month before being caught, tried and executed”. Robert Kee, op. cit., p.102.

⁴¹ Quoted in Robert Kee, *ibid.* p. 103.

⁴² A. T. Q, Stewart, op. cit., p. 158.

The Protestants declared their Union with the United Kingdom to be unbreakable. They considered it to be a union of their religion and the United Kingdom constitution. In one of the meetings of the House of Commons in 1805, the Irish Protestant politician John Foster reminded the British that they had to fulfil their duty which was to protect the Protestant Ascendancy by establishing an Irish Government on purely Protestant bases, he said: "*We claim as our inheritance all the blessings of that glorious Constitution which our ancestors and yours have fought and bled for, a Protestant king, with Protestant councillors, Protestant Lord and Protestant commons. That is what I call Protestant Ascendancy*"⁴³.

Meanwhile, a campaign for Catholic emancipation led by a Catholic lawyer, Daniel O'Connell, emerged in the beginning of the 19th century. O'Connell became the most outspoken opponent of Union. He was influenced by William Godwin, Thomas Paine, Adam Smith, and Jeremy Bentham's ideas that freedom is the right of every human being, he declared, "*My political creed is short and simple; it consists in believing that all men are entitled, as of right and justice, to religious and civil liberty*"⁴⁴.

O'Connell prepared the way to give birth to modern Irish nationalism; he did more than any other Irish man to give power to the Irish Catholics to live freely on their land and to practice their religion without any form of persecution or segregation. Stewart describes how this man did revolutionise the Irish politics, and bring the Irishmen in the real political scene:

They (the Irish Catholics) needed political leadership. The secret societies were too primitive and archaic to operate effectively on a national scale, even when linked to sophisticated political leaders like the United Irishmen. The Catholic Church was still the only representative organization

⁴³ Quoted in J. C Beckett, op. cit., p. 304.

⁴⁴ Quoted in Robert Kee, op. cit., p. 105.

the people had, but it was going to be of marginal use for the redressing of Catholic grievances in an overwhelmingly imposing protestant state. It was to this political sterility of the Catholic Irish people that O'Connell put an end and found an efficient remedy. He was to become known as the 'liberator' not because he liberated Ireland from England (he did not), but because he liberated the great mass of the Irish people from their irrelevance on the political scene⁴⁵.

Under pressure of O'Connell's Campaign, which was the greatest mass movement to emerge, the British Parliament granted Catholic Emancipation in 1829 by which the Catholics could undertake a political office. But soon, anti-Catholic Acts were passed to calm Protestant's fears. The Catholic electorate were reduced to about 16, 000 as the right to vote was based on property ownership. As a result, secret agrarian societies came alive once again to fight for the rights of poor tenants, especially to protest against the payment of tithes and rent to British landlords. 1832 witnessed a period of violence and crimes including 242 murders and 568 arsons⁴⁶. As a response to the crimes committed, the British passed the Coercion Bill of 1833 which temporarily suspended the Habeas Corpus, prohibited meetings, and replaced civil courts with military ones.

In 1837, the British Parliament passed the Tithe Communication Act; by law, the Catholics had been forced to give a tithe of their income to the maintenance of a church that was not theirs. In this respect, Coogan mentions: *"the Tithe Communication Act put an end to a major source both of Catholic complains and sectarian conflict"*⁴⁷. As a result of the collection of forty shillings in tithe debts from a Catholic widow, a fighting broke out between the Catholics and the English army. This war is known as "the tithe war". It ended with the

⁴⁵ A.T.Q. Stewart, op. cit., p. 171.

⁴⁶ James Lydon, *"Ireland and the English Crown"*, Irish Historical Studies Publications Ltd, May, 1995, vol. 29, No. 115, [http:// www. Jstor. Org/ stable/ 30006815](http://www.jstor.org/stable/30006815). pp 281- 294.

⁴⁷ Coogan, Tim Pat, op. cit., p. 98.

“Rathcormarck Massacre” in County Corck where many peasants were killed and many others were wounded.

By that time O’Connell organized what is regarded as the first successful non- violent civil rights organization in history: “the Catholic Association” (CA). O’Connell was also the leader of “The National Repeal Association” founded in April 1840. Both this organization and the CA fought to give Catholics better political rights.

After the British declared a huge meeting, which O’Connell had intended to address at Clontarf in 1843, illegal, the repeal of the Union did not succeed and the movement lost its force. Meanwhile, a new movement appeared in Ireland: the Young Irelanders who urged the Catholic peasantry to return to their Gaelic roots. The Young Irelanders used Gaelic terms in their writings and pushed the Irish to learn their own history in order to save the Irish soul by ‘de-Anglicizing’ it. But all these attempts to reform Ireland collapsed as a result of the Great Potato Famine that lasted from 1845 to 1851.

By 1841, Ireland had a population of more than eight million. The potato had become the basis of the Irish diet because it was cheap, easy to cultivate, and nutritious. In 1845, “The Great Hunger” came when a potato blight damaged that crop. During the famine years of 1845 to 1851, nearly a million of people died of starvation or of diseases as Boyce declares: “approximately 800.000 people (some 1/10 of the population) died from hunger and disease”⁴⁸.

In the ten years after 1845, two million Irish, a quarter of the population, emigrated in overcrowded ships to America or Canada. Often, a third or more of the passengers would be buried at sea, having died from illness. According to Kee, no event in Irish history has had a more emotional effect on Irish national feeling than the great Famine, he says: “*The story of what happened in Ireland in*

⁴⁸ George, Boyce, op. cit., p. 170.

those years (the years of the Famine) is deeply disturbing. It provides an emotional legacy in what is experienced in Ireland today”⁴⁹.

The famine intensified the Irish hatred for Britain as her mercantilist policies increased the Irish starvation. During the famine, Ireland had produced bumper crops. Ships to England were loaded with Irish wheat, barley, oats, rye, cows, sheep, and pigs, which Irish tenants had to sell to pay rent while their own families starved. For this reason, the famine was also called “The Great Starvation”. The British Corn Laws, which imposed duties on non-English grain imported by the Irish, increased the Irish suffering. The British grain was so expensive that the Irish could not import it to substitute for potatoes.

Sir Robert Peel, Prime Minister of Britain of the day, tried to find a solution to help the Irish to overcome the famine. In November 1845, Peel took three major decisions: Firstly, he had ordered a large supply of maize from America to be shipped to Ireland, to be sold at low cost from government depots there. Secondly, he had appointed a relief commission in Dublin to supervise these Indian corn depots. And the other more important task of this commission was to co-ordinate and co-operate with the local committees of the landlords and other local residents. These committees were set up all over the country to provide not only cheap food, but also public works by which the Irish could earn money to buy it.

Peel’s third decision was to remove all the duties on grain imported into the United Kingdom of Britain and Ireland in order to lower the price of bread⁵⁰. He said in one of the parliamentary meetings: “*The remedy is the removal of all impediments to the import of all kinds of human food*”⁵¹. In other words, he wanted to repeal what were known as the Corn Laws and this was a big decision.

⁴⁹ Robert Kee, op. cit., p. 77.

⁵⁰ “Lowering the price of bread in Ireland was of little use to people there because one third of the Irish population could hardly afford bread at any price. That was why they lived from potatoes. Still, by the standards of the day Peel had acted quite imaginatively.” John, Darby, op. cit., p.103.

⁵¹ *ibid.*, p. 104.

Members within his own party, the Tories, opposed the idea and Peel gave his resignation to Queen Victoria who refused to accept it.

The Corn Laws were repealed and another Act, the Coercion Bill, was introduced to repress the hunger in Ireland. But, the Liberals and the pro-Irish delegates did not accept it, and Peel was forced to resign. Referring to the consequences of the famine, Beckett said: “*The Famine had devastated Ireland, defeated a British prime minister, and hardened the hearts of the Irish and English against each other*”⁵².

The Famine had another important effect: Ireland became more religious. Before the famine, 40 percent of Catholics attended church; after the famine, rates rose to 90 percent⁵³. Now patriotism became a religious concept. Ireland earned a reputation as the world’s most devoutly Catholic country and, as it became more Catholic, it became more anti-British.

Another result of the famine that had an important impact was the formulation of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB)⁵⁴ also known as the “Fenian movement”. The IRB spread to New York where the movement became known as Clann Na Gael which means family of Gaels. Later members of both organizations were called Fenians. Both embraced violence as the way to overthrow English rule as Darby wrote: “*The IRB and the Fenians were dedicated to overthrowing the Union by the use of physical force*”⁵⁵.

During the American Civil War, at least 150,000 Union and 40,000 Confederate soldiers had been born in Ireland. Those combat-trained Fenians

⁵² J.C Beckett, op. cit., p. 337.

⁵³ Youssef Courbage, “*the Demographic Factor in Ireland’s Movements towards Partition (1607-1921)*”, Institut National d& 039; Etudes Demographiques, 1997, vol 9, [http// www. Jstor. Org/ stable/ 2953830](http://www.Jstor.Org/stable/2953830). pp 199- 190.

⁵⁴ “The IRB was a lineal descendant of the United Irishmen, and an oath-bound secret society”. Tim Pat, Coogan, op. cit ., p. 125.

⁵⁵ John, Darby, op. cit., p. 87.

arrived in Ireland in 1866 to teach soldiering to the IRB, but their attempts to raise a rebellion failed. Meanwhile, some members of the movement in America tried to invade Canada, a British colony, to apply pressure on the British to change their policy toward Ireland. About 600 Fenians crossed the Canadian border but they retreated as they heard that a company of British was advancing. The President Grant announced that an Irish government-in-exile was violating the frontiers of a friendly neighbour, an act that he would not tolerate. Soon after, American Fenianism declined. But a secret violent society had emerged in Ireland. The basic demands of the Irish were: religious tolerance, a just land system, and adequate education. They had remained the same through centuries.

3- Home Rule Crises

3.1 Land issue and Home Rule

Throughout the nineteenth century, Britain was unable to establish an Irish Government at peace where both the Protestant and the Catholic communities are integrated politically and culturally. In England, William Gladstone, the dominant personality of the Liberal Party, who became Prime Minister in 1868, recognized more than his predecessors that Irish nationalism was born and the British government had to look for some reforms to solve the situation in Ireland. During the next twenty five years he led the country four times and he tried desperately to find a lasting solution to ‘the Irish Question’. He had declared in one of his parliamentary meetings: “*my mission is to pacify Ireland*”⁵⁶.

During the British parliamentary session of 1869, which was devoted to Irish disestablishment, two major decisions were taken: the first one was to remove the Anglican Church as the state church in Ireland⁵⁷. Its property (worth 15 million pounds) was seized and half of it was given to charity and education. The second

⁵⁶ Quoted in Thomas, Hennessey, *a History of Northern Ireland 1920-1996*, London, Macmillan, 1997, p. 25.

⁵⁷ “Only one Irishman out of ten belonged to the Anglican Church”. Tim Pat, Coogan, op. cit., p. 124.

decision concerned land⁵⁸; two acts were passed: the Gladstone's Land Act of 1870 and the Secret Ballot Act of 1872. They obliged landlords to pay compensation to the outgoing tenants for the work they had done. These two Acts angered the British and the Irish Protestants.

The secret Ballot Act is considered to be the most important event of the 1870's. Despite the fact that the Act gave the tenant farmers some of their rights, it had another important effect upon the way Irishmen voted. Of 103 M.P's elected in Ireland in the General Election of 1874, 59 members could assert their independence and they called themselves neither liberals nor Conservatives but Home Rulers. Thus the demand for repeal of the Union changed to a demand for home rule and this is what Hennessey affirms. He states: "*the O'Connellite demand for repeal became adapted to a call for Home Rule*"⁵⁹.

The word "Home Rule" had been coined by Isaac Butt, a protestant Dublin lawyer who headed the group. His aim was to establish a parliament in Dublin in which Irishmen might control all domestic affairs while leaving foreign policy and imperial defence in the hands of the British Parliament at Westminster. In other words, The Home Rulers struggled for a self- government for Ireland, not completely independence. They were divided into two groups: constitutionalists and revolutionaries. The first group were more pragmatic in their policy whereas the second, whose roots are traced back to the IRB and the Sinn Féin movement, considered violence to be the only way to get the independence. And this is what McKittrik and McVea explain, they state:

The most central point is to be aware of is that the Home rule movement was neither revolutionary nor separatist; there were two views how this local autonomy should be. The first one was complete independence and the second one was some

⁵⁸ "Every year hundreds of families were evicted from their small holdings because their landlords found new tenants capable of farming the land more effectively and paying more rent". John, Darby, op. cit., p.105.

⁵⁹ Thomas, Hennessey, op. cit ., p. 99.

*ambiguous form of decentralization. There was also difference of opinion about the methods that should be used to realise these ends. One group took the view that revolutionary Nationalism was the only means available to attain the goal of independence. The roots of this group can be traced through the IRB and the emergence of Sinn Féin to the physical-force tradition of Irish republicanism that remains in Ireland today. The other group within the emerging of Irish Nationalist movement was less ambitious in its goals and more pragmatic in its political strategy*⁶⁰.

After the Great Hunger, rents increased by as much as 30 percent. Many tenants refused to pay the new tax. They said the British had no right to oblige them to pay any rent. Michael Davitt, an ex- Fenian, founded the Irish Land League (I.L.L) under the slogan “the land of Ireland for the people of Ireland”. It quickly became a mass movement aimed at breaking “landlordism” by refusing to pay rent. In the meantime, Butt and the Home Rulers created a political alliance: “The Home Government Association” (HGA). They were joined by Parnell who believed that the only way to persuade British politicians to give Ireland a home government was to persuade them that Britain would not have any peace or security as long as they refused to give Ireland its independence. At the end of his speech in front of the House of Commons in 1875 he asked: “*Why should Ireland be treated as a geographical fragment of England as I heard an ex-chancellor of the exchequer call it sometimes ago? Ireland is not a geographical fragment but a nation*”⁶¹.

After the Westminster General Election of January 1874, the HGA turned into a political party called the Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP) under the leadership of Butt and Parnell. Parnell replaced Butt, who died in 1879, as Home

⁶⁰David, McKittrik, and David, McVea, op. cit., p. 65.

⁶¹Cited in Robert Kee, op. cit ., p. 126.

Rule leader at Westminster. At that time, the Home Rulers began to get support from the Irish.

In the autumn of 1881, a war broke out between tenants and landlords. Some landlords were murdered and the British government declared the Land League to be illegal. Parnell and thousands of the Irish were arrested. Parnell was released in exchange for his pledge to support the Liberal government and cooperate to end crime and disorder. An Arrears Act was introduced with the intention of restoring 130,000 evicted tenants to their farms. This compromise reached by Gladstone and Parnell was called “Kilmainham Treaty”. It angered many Englishmen.

The British Conservatives who feared the demand for limited self-government within the UK could damage the British authority in other parts of the empire opposed this demand. During the 1885 General Election, Parnell and the IPP again sided with the Liberals as the Conservatives had always refused the Home Rule for Ireland, and William Gladstone became Prime Minister for the third time. The increasing expectation for Home Rule troubled deeply all of Ireland’s Protestants who refused to be outnumbered by Catholics in Government after centuries of “Protestant ascendancy”. Consequently many in Ireland began resisting any Home Rule government; *“If necessary they would use force of arms against such government”*⁶².

Some Irish Protestants were afraid that Catholics would take revenge upon them in return for their injustice, as the majority in a Home Rule Government would be Catholics. Other Irish Protestants felt that Home Rule would be disadvantageous to their own and to Ireland’s welfare. So, many of the Protestants did not wish for Ireland’s ties with Britain to be broken and they thought of Home Rule as the first step toward an independent Ireland. Thus,

⁶² Paul A, Fitzsimmons, op. cit., p. 113.

different Irish Protestants were able for the first time⁶³ to join together politically. And, as a result, the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union (ILPU) was organized in Dublin in 1885, and in early 1886, a Loyalist Anti-Repeal Union (LARU) was formed in Ulster.

In April 1886, Gladstone presented the first Home Rule Bill, but the Bill was blocked. The second Home Rule Bill presented in early 1893 again by Gladstone, passed through the House of Commons but it was thrown out by the House of Lords. There was a great political excitement in Ulster, and the Protestants decided to resist actively the Home Rule; they organized themselves in the Orange Order and in the Ulster Unionist Council (UUC) that was founded in 1904. According to Fitzsimmons the UUC gave birth to the Protestant 'unionism'. He states: "The UUC became the main organising body for the various Protestants-Union groups in Northern Ireland. '*Unionism*' was born."⁶⁴

Later in 1905, Arthur Griffith, a member of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society (I.A.S.O)⁶⁵, started a new political party that intended to represent Irish Nationalist voters. The party was named Sinn Féin which translates from the Irish as "We Ourselves". But it did not succeed to attract Catholics' attention or support for many years.

Meanwhile, the Liberals who were brought to power in Britain in 1906, created the foundation of a welfare state⁶⁶. The British budget was strained and

⁶³ "It was the first time that Protestants joined together to face a Catholic threat because they betrayed each other. Boyce asserts that: "the intensity in the conflict between Protestants and Catholics was caused by the Protestants 'double suspiciousness': it is because Protestants distrust Protestants, not just Protestants distrust Catholics that the Ulster conflict is so tense". George, Boyce, op. cit., p. 99.

⁶⁴ Paul A, Fitzsimmons, op. cit., p. 115.

⁶⁵ "Sir Horace Plunkett founded The Irish Agricultural Organization Society (IAOS) in 1894, claiming for better farming, better business, and better living for the Irish peasantry. Plunkett succeeded in creating many cooperative stores, and contributed through a review, 'The Irish Homestead', to the emancipation of the rural world in Ireland". *ibid.*, p. 116.

⁶⁶ "The United Kingdom has undergone transformation from the most powerful and successful example of a liberal capitalist economy, which she was before 1914, into a prototype of the social-democratic Welfare State. This can be traced not only in the growth of social legislation and the expansion of social services but also in replacement of the Liberal Party by the Labour Party as one of

taxes on inheritance, land profits, and high incomes were increased. But, the Tories were against these measures and they used the House of Lords to veto the Liberals' new policy. The Liberals asked support from the Irish delegates in the House of Commons. And as the House of Lords had always vetoed against any Home Rule Bill, the Irish delegates in the Commons refused to vote for the Liberal budget unless that situation was rectified. Consequently, a Parliament Act that abolished the House of Lords' veto to three consecutive sessions was passed in 1911. Coogan affirms: "The first major legislation of the liberal government duly abolished that veto (the House of Lords' veto) with the parliament act of 1911"⁶⁷.

A small delegation of Irish remained at Westminster to represent Ireland's interest in the Empire. At Stormont, 16 delegates out of 33 were nationalists (Home Rulers), and in 1912, the Home Rule candidates won a complementary ballot in Derry. According to the census of 1912⁶⁸, Protestants constituted a majority in the Province of Ulster: 900.000 out of the 1.580.000 inhabitants of Ulster, and 300.000 (Protestants) out of 2.800. 000 people in the rest of Ireland.

Though, The Home Rule Bill was temporarily blocked by the House of Lords, the Orangemen were always alarmed and they organized militarily. Sir Edward Carson, a wealthy lawyer, became the Protestants' leading spokesman. He created with the East Down delegate James Craig, the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) in 1913. They insisted on the exclusion of Ulster from the Home Rule, preferring to stay with the Crown. Carson created an Ulster provisional government that would go into operation in case the Home Rule was instituted. He was the first who signed an Ulster Solemn League and Covenant (USLC) by which signatories pledged:

the two major political parties in the country, and in the changing character of conservatism in modern Britain". Thomson, David, *England in the Twentieth Century*, England, Clays Ltd, St Ives plc, 1991, p.18.

⁶⁷ Tim Pat, Coogan, op. cit., p. 125.

⁶⁸ John Beddoe, "the kelts of Ireland", *Journal of Anthropology*, Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (Oct., 1870), Vol.1, N.2. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3024824>. pp, 117 – 174.

*To stand by one another in defending for ourselves and our children, our cherished position of equal citizenship in the United Kingdom, and in using all means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland*⁶⁹.

Half of Ulster's Protestant population signed the Covenant. In England, two million people signed a British Solemn League and Covenant in support of Ulster Protestants. In Ulster an army of 80,000 volunteers threatened to revolt if Home Rule was imposed. In the South, nationalists created their own army, too: the "Irish Volunteers". During six months, about 75,000 men joined the Irish Volunteers and within a year of its formation, there were 180,000 members.

The British feared Civil War in Ireland, so they banned the importation of arms. But, when Ulster Volunteers disobeyed this ban, there were no penalties and when the South also imported arms, British troops intervened. The British soldiers marched back from the seacoast to Dublin, where they were pelted with stones in the street. The soldiers killed 3 and injured more than 30 people. "A cry for open rebellion gripped the South"⁷⁰.

3.2 Ireland during the First World War

The British government tried to find a peaceful resolution of the developing Irish political conflict. On 21 July 1914, King George V called the opposing Irish leaders to meet in a conference at Buckingham Palace where partition was proposed. The plan proposed was a lasting partition of Antrim, Armagh, Down, Derry/Londonderry⁷¹, Fermanagh, and Tyrone from Ireland's other twenty six

⁶⁹ Quoted in Tim Pat, Coogan, op. cit., p.126.

⁷⁰ J. C Beckett, op. cit., p. 377.

⁷¹ "When James I began the plantation of Ulster, he created new counties which was shortly thereafter named Londonderry. In recognition of the city of London's substantial investment in this area, that

counties. According to this plan, the Protestants would be in majority in four counties as in Fermanagh and in Tyrone the Catholics outnumbered the Protestants. In this respect, Coogan states: “*Under this final plan, Protestants Unionists in the north would outnumber Catholic Nationalists by about a two- to- one ration*”⁷². Both Carson and Craig, who represented the Ulster Unionists, or Redmond and Dillon, who represented the Nationalists, did not accept the proposal.

Carson and the Unionists recognised that they could not save all of Ireland from Home Rule. So, he suggested instead the complete and permanent exclusion of all nine counties of Ulster from Irish Home Rule. Redmond, on the other hand, saw that the Ulster Unionists were politically and military strong; they could succeed to separate some part of North-Eastern Ireland from a Home Rule government. He suggested instead to give Ulster’s nine counties the choice of Home Rule or not. Fitzsimons asserts that “*a pole like that would almost undoubtedly have resulted in a four-counties Northern Ireland*”⁷³. Finally, the conference ended with no compromise, and only the outbreak of the First World War prevented a Civil War in Ireland.

On August 3, 1914, Sir Edward Grey, the British foreign secretary, informed the House of Commons that Britain would enter the war. John Redmond declared that the South would join with Ulster to defend a common homeland: Britain. The House of Commons cheered and the Home Rule was introduced to law on 18 September 1914. But to please the Protestants, the English Prime Minister, Henry H. Asquith, accompanied the measure by an Amending Bill, which suspended the Home Rule operation until after the war. Irishmen in the South did not all accept Redmond declaration; they split on the issue of war. Arthur Griffith who was against joining Britain in its war with Germany wrote:

city’s name was prefixed to the original Irish name of the city, Derry. Irish Nationalists use ‘Derry’, Northern Ireland Unionists use ‘Londonderry’ ”. *ibid.*, p. 466.

⁷²Tim Pat, Coogan, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

⁷³Paul A, Fitzsimmons, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

*Ireland is not at war with Germany. England is at war with Germany. We are Irish nationalists and the only duty we can have is to stand for Ireland's interests.... If Irishmen are to defend Ireland they must defend it for Ireland, under Ireland's flag, and under Irish officers. Otherwise they will only help to perpetuate the enslavement of their country*⁷⁴.

The IRB decided that the Great War offered a great opportunity to take advantage of England's difficulties to raise a general rebellion. The leaders of Clann Na Gael in New York and the German Foreign Service supported the IRB leadership. This small number of republicans paved the way for an armed rebellion against British rule; they did not want to wait anymore for Home Rule issue to be taken up again. They were interested in making a "blood sacrifice". Fitzsimmons said: "... they (IRB) wanted to organize a rebellion to revitalize the Irish Nationalism, which they felt, the four decades exercise in seeking Home Rule had wrongfully repressed"⁷⁵.

At the same time, nationalists tried to urge the Irishmen to not enlist in the British army. The British jailed the leaders of the anti-recruiting campaign. Meanwhile, the high number of the British killed in the war made the British public angry and wonder why conscription was applied to Britain and not to Ireland. The new Prime Minister, David Lloyd George, answered:

*What would be the result? Scenes in the House of Commons, possible rupture with America, which is hanging in the balance, and serious disaffection in Canada, Australia and South Africa. They would say, you are fighting for the freedom of nationalities. What right have you to take this nation by the ear and drag it into the war against its will?*⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Quoted in A. T. Q. Stewart, op. cit., p. 240.

⁷⁵ Paul A, Fitzsimmons, op. cit., p. 127.

⁷⁶ Quoted in Robert Kee, op. cit., p. 187.

Revolution in Ireland was inevitable. Easter Sunday 1916 was the date for the uprising. The Germans agreed to provide arms to the anti-British rebels. But when a German ship arrived offshore, the Irish failed to meet it. On the eve of the Easter rebellion, confusion split the IRB. At the last minute, the order for mobilization was countermanded. Yet, on Easter Monday, more than 1,500 rebels went out to fight. They marched through Dublin and seized the General Post Office. The battle lasted six days, with 508 dead. The rebels surrendered on April 29. Robert Kee considers 1916 to be a turning point in the British –Irish relation. According to him:

The Dublin Rising of 1916 was such a surprising , dramatic occurrence, and such great changes in the relationship between Britain and Ireland were eventually to flow from it that to view it as it was viewed at the time is even more difficult than in examining most important historical events⁷⁷.

Dubliners cursed the rebels, who were transported to jail, for causing violence. They called them “German dupes.” But, the British troops indiscriminately attacked Dubliners and killed one person. In the following days, sixteen rebel leaders were executed, including James Connolly and Padraig Pearse. More than 2,000 nationalists were transported to British prisons without trial. Coogan affirms that:

The rising was quickly put down, but the action of the British government bounced back: London was considered to have gone too far when the British executed sixteen of the Volunteer leaders, including James Connolly and Padraig Pearse. A huge swell of sympathy for the republicans followed⁷⁸.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 192.

⁷⁸ Tim Pat, Coogan, op. cit., p 151.

Meanwhile, an Irish Conscription Bill was passed by the British House of Commons. The Irish MPs walked out of Parliament in protest, and an anti-conscription pledge circulated throughout Ireland. The Catholic Church collected protest signatures after mass. Ireland was paralyzed by a general strike with the exception of Protestant Belfast and the British could not enforce Conscription in Ireland.

Conclusion

The English presence was established in Ireland in 1171 when Henry II was provided” the Lordship of Ireland”. This act marked the beginning of eight hundred years of British occupation and oppression. Ulster had been settled by Scottish Presbyterians and confiscation of Land began with Elizabeth I (1600-1603) and was continued during the reign of James I (1603-1625) in what was called “Plantation of Ulster”. By 1700, Catholics owned only about five per cent of useful land in Ireland, and the Protestant predominant class ruled the country.

During the sixteenth century, the hatred between Catholics and Protestants increased. The two hostile groups started to organize against each other; the Catholics feared ethnical discrimination whereas the Protestants wanted to protect themselves. The Catholics rose in rebellion in 1641, 1689 and later in 1798, but all these revolutionary attempts were severely crushed by the British Government who decided to put an end to the Irish Parliament by joining Ireland to the United Kingdom under the Act of Union of 1801.

Different political movements aiming at liberating Ireland from England emerged by the beginning of the nineteenth century. The “Catholic Emancipation” and “Repeal Association” movement, headed by the Irish Catholic agitator Daniel O’Connell (1775-1847), tried to defend the Catholics’ interests by granting them the right to live freely without being persecuted or excluded. But his movement collapsed as the result of the Great Potato Famine which struck Ireland in 1845- 1851. Thousands of people died and great numbers of others immigrated to America.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Irish struggle was directed to more radical aims such as Home Rule. The Irish members of the United Kingdom House of Commons in London led by Parnell became very active in expressing their grievances, denouncing British abuses and asking for the autonomy of Ireland. At the same time Gladstone's attempts at Home Rule were disapproved by the House of Lords and his own party. Nevertheless, the Ulster Unionists refused the Home rule project preferring to stay within the British crown.

The Prime Minister Henry H. Asquith introduced the third Home Rule bill in April 1912. But this time, the Home Rule Bill was certain to become law because the Parliament Act of 1911 had cut down the veto of the House of Lords for three successive governments. Unfortunately; the WWI broke out and it changed the situation by postponing the application of Home Rule.

The Sinn Fein, the most predominant Irish Nationalist party supported by the IRA (the Irish Republican Army) and the Irish Volunteers, headed by De Valera, refused the idea of a new Home Rule and opted for an independent republic. They started a guerrilla war against the British; they led a rebellion in 1916 which gave way to the war of independence.

Introduction

This chapter covers the period from 1920s when Ireland was partitioned, and Northern Ireland was given birth to the 1950s, the period of post-war reconstruction. It analyses the circumstances in which Northern Ireland was born, and the division of the North- East Ireland population into Protestant unionists, who were loyal to the union with Great Britain, on the one hand and Catholic nationalists, who were in favour of a united Ireland, on the other. The quarrel after the partition was about who should rule the province and how it should be ruled.

The Island was divided into two separate political entities: the Unionists who took over power in the region and the Nationalists who rejected the arrangement. Thus, sectarian rule was the feature of Northern Ireland government. So, how was it decided that the government should be entirely Protestant and what were the problems that faced the new born Unionist government headed by the Prime Minister Sir James Craig (1921- 1940)? This chapter tries also to set the social, economic and political conditions of the Catholics who rejected to be a minority among a Protestant majority. What was the Protestant ruling government's attitude towards this part of Northern population? How could the two hostile groups live together? The great event of the WWII will also be tackled: how did Northern Ireland survive the 'Great War'? How were the North- South- Britain relations?

The 1950s was the era of post-war reconstruction where the Unionists government tried to follow the British example in introducing the Welfare State: there were changes in the different economic and social services. Did the Welfare State improve the Catholics' status? And finally did this development help to end sectarianism and bring Catholics within Unionists' camp? All these questions will be dealt with in this chapter.

1-Northern Ireland: the formation of the new State (1921- 1925)

1.1 The Birth of Northern Ireland

In July 1917, Eamon De Valera, the only leader who survived the 1916 Easter rising, won a by-election in county Clare and became president of Sinn Féin. In the Irish General Election of 1918, Sinn Féin won 73 of 105 seats; 36 of the elected nationalists were in jail at the time. This was an important event in modern Ireland's history for one thing: America had always considered the Sinn Féiners to be a small group of radicals. But now, with a popular Sinn Féin victory, the Irish-Americans could ask the Democratic President Wilson for support to resolve the situation in Ireland. But Wilson was negotiating a post-war settlement with the British and he did not wish to worsen the delicate relation with Britain. And at that time, the Democrats lost most of their Irish-American support.

When the WWI ended in 1918, the Irish claim for Home Rule was changed to a demand for an independent Irish republic. The newly elected Sinn Féiners formed the Dáil Éireann (the Irish Assembly), and they settled their first parliament on January 21, 1919 in Dublin. The Dáil, with its own courts and using its own funds, was declared to be Ireland's rightful government.

The British attacked the Dáil and arrested its democratically elected leader, Éamon De Valera. He was deported to England where he was imprisoned but he returned to Ireland in 1920. In the following election, De Valera was declared president. The Irish election of 1920 was a public vote for the suppressed Irish government and Belfast was the only dissenting voice. Officials swore allegiance to the Dáil and they were often arrested. The Daily Press reported that during January 1920, the Dáil was attacked more than 1,000 times by the British forces.

Tension between the Protestants and the Catholics increased; during the riots, which broke out in Belfast in the summer of 1920, the Protestants attacked the Roman Catholic population of the neighbourhood. The Catholic lord mayor of

Cork was shot dead in his own bedroom. And in August, the new mayor of Cork was arrested and went on a hunger strike. Seventy-four days later, he died. Irish prisoners also went on hunger strikes to protest their arrest and demanded treatment as political prisoners.

Meanwhile, Michael Collins⁷⁹ emerged as a strong leader of the Irish Republican Brotherhood. The IRB had been reconstituted in 1919, and became known as the Irish Republican Army, or IRA⁸⁰. The IRA began a campaign of terror, to which the Northern Protestants responded by attacking Catholics. Members of the IRA rarely wore uniforms, so that even in daylight they could easily attack the crown forces that were morally affected. And even the Royal Irish Constabulary members, who were regarded by the people as traitors to the Irish cause, had suffered from the Republicans attacks.

The British met the IRA terror with terror. To face the situation, the government raised men in England, and since there was no immediately available supply of police uniforms, those English ex-warriors wore dark caps and khaki pants, they were called: “Black and Tans”. Another force, which consisted of young ex-officers, was established by the government. It was called “the Auxiliary division”. The Black - and- Tans and the Auxiliaries, who formed the main force of the government, attempted to break the IRA during the later months of 1920 and the first half of 1921. As Robert Kee affirms:

despite its electoral victory in 1918, Lloyd George’s coalition ministry, was not in strong position and its conduct of Irish affairs was under constant attack in Parliament and in the press; it dared not admit that

⁷⁹ Robert Kee affirms: “of all the many rebel leaders who shine out of Irish history only one stands out as a really effective revolutionary : Michael Collins, except for the fact that in his short public career he was too busy with practical matters to concern himself with social ideas , he was a sort of Irish Lenin. He took hold of a potentially revolutionary situation in Ireland and made it work”. op. cit., p. 174.

⁸⁰ “The IRA was an army of guerrillas, operating in flying columns, fifteen to thirty. They conducted a war of raids and ambushes... it was not sure that a guerrilla against an imperial army could achieve a military victory”. David McKittrik, and David, McVea, op. cit., p. 96.

*Ireland was in a state of war, and insisted that the IRA was supported by only a small section of population, and could be dealt with by police action. Though the number of troops in the country was steadily increased, and though some areas were later put under martial law, it was on the police that the government placed its main reliance*⁸¹.

The IRA prisoners were tortured and sometimes killed, and the Black and Tans continued their attacks against the IRA. In revenge for the killing of 17 of their members, they burned down the centre of the city of Cork. Afterward, the Black and Tans made this proclamation, “We burned down Cork, and we could burn this city as well”⁸².

In reality, there was a war between two military organisations whose objectives were to break the moral of each other by a system of terrorism. And during this struggle, the civilian suffered heavily. The IRA announced that the whole population owed allegiance to the republic, and that anyone who gave help to the Crown forces deserved to be executed as a traitor; on this principle they shot, without regard to age or sex, dozens of persons.

On the British side, they found themselves facing an enemy undistinguished by uniform: at any moment, a group of loungers in a village street attacked the British defining themselves as a detachment of the IRA. In such circumstances, The Black- and- Tans and the Auxiliaries usually carried out severe punishment on the population to avenge themselves. These acts were generally pardoned and sometimes encouraged by the commanders as did Sir Hamar Greenwood, who was appointed Chief Secretary in the summer of 1920. Beckett asserts: “*He (Sir Hamar Greenwood) was convinced that the police and the military should be given a free hand and he consistently defended them against all criticism*”⁸³.

⁸¹ Robert Kee, op. cit., p.185.

⁸² Quoted in Robert Kee, *ibid.*, p.187.

⁸³ J. C Beckett, op. cit., p. 274.

The world opinion condemned the British oppression. Consequently, and to please America in particular, Britain passed a Government of Ireland Act in December 1920. This Act created a Home Rule parliament for six Ulster counties and another parliament for the remaining 26 Southern counties; each part was to have its own parliament, made up of a house of commons and a Senate, and a responsible ministry. Both governments would send MPs to Westminster; both parts of Ireland were still to be presented in the imperial parliament which had the supreme power as Mckittrick and McVea observed: “*In essence Government of Ireland Act hoped to solve the problem by keeping all of Ireland in British hands while providing for a Home Rule parliament in the twenty six southern counties. Ireland was to be officially partitioned*”⁸⁴.

Ulster Unionists accepted the Government of Ireland Act as they were persuaded by the fact that, in the six counties left to them, they would be in a permanent majority and they would no longer fear that their interests would be sacrificed by the British government who sometimes tried to conciliate the Irish nationalists. And they hoped to prepare the way for a general settlement in the future. In May 1921, the first election for a Northern Ireland parliament was held. The Unionists succeeded to get 40 out of the 52 seats in the House of Commons, and a Cabinet was afterward formed. Sir James Craig assumed the complicated and dangerous task of leading the new government as the first Northern Irish Prime Minister.

The South rejected the proposal, and threatened to use all the means to destroy the new government in the North. The British response was very harsh; in August 1920, the Restoration of Order in Ireland Act was passed. This later gave a free hand to the British forces to use all the means to impose order in Ireland. The Black and Tans and the Auxiliaries tortured prisoners, sabotaged industries, killed family members of rebels, and shot civilians, including children. In the late summer and autumn of 1920, no part of Ireland escaped the violence of what was

⁸⁴David, McKittrik, and David, McVea, op. cit., p. 87.

called the Anglo-Irish War, or the Irish War of Independence. Again, the world opinion condemned the British policy in Ireland and forced them to find a resolution.

The British troops were needed in India which too was in rebellion. And Lloyd George knew that England was so busy to make more attempts to crush the rebels. So, he moved toward treaty negotiations, and the opportunity came on 22 June 1921, when King George V, speaking at the opening of the newly-elected Northern Ireland parliament in Belfast, called the Irishmen to reconciliation, he said: *“I appeal to all Irishmen to pause, to stretch out the hand of forbearance and conciliation, and to join in making for the land which they love a new era of peace, contentment, and good will”*⁸⁵.

Lloyd George invited De Valera and Craig to a conference. The negotiations that started in July lasted for five months; the British Cabinet made two conditions to grant Ireland self government: the first one was that Ireland had to remain within the empire, and the second was that the South had to recognise and respect Northern Ireland sovereignty.

Returning from the negotiations, the Irish envoys presented the British offer to the Dáil (the Irish Assembly). There was a disagreement among the Dáil Cabinet members who made a long delay before they accepted the terms embodied in the proposal: the official partition and an allegiance to the Crown. At first, the Cabinet refused the terms completely, but the Sinn Fein leader, Arthur Griffith and many of his colleagues were more concerned about the independence than about its form. The IRA powerful members opposed partition, and De Valera stood by their side. The Cabinet did not give any guide- lines to the appointed delegation headed by Griffith and made up of persons in agreement with his views. The envoys brought a counterproposal back to Lloyd George, who replied:

⁸⁵ Quoted in Robert Kee, op. cit., p. 195.

“I have here two answers, one enclosing the treaty, the other declaring a rupture, and, if it be a rupture, you shall have immediate war”⁸⁶.

The delegates felt that the decision of peace or war was in their hands, despite the continuous control from De Valera who refused to go to London. Collins, in particular, was convinced that the IRA would not succeed in case they renewed the struggle. Exhausted, the delegates signed the treaty on December 6, 1921, without consulting President De Valera.

According to the treaty, all of Ireland was to be a united dominion, the Irish Free State with the same status as other members of the British Empire, such as Canada. But Northern Ireland had the choice to remain part of the United Kingdom. Ireland was now partitioned; twenty-six counties of the three southern provinces (Connaught, Leinster, and Munster) became the Irish Free State, a dominion, not a republic with a governor-general, a parliament, and a prime minister. The six northern counties of Ulster retained ties with Britain, with a separate parliament. In two of the six counties, Catholics formed a majority (See map four. p 55).

De Valera resigned as president and was replaced by Arthur Griffith. The Dáil approved the treaty by a vote. Among the defectors were delegates from the IRA, who split into two groups: those who rejected the treaty and those who accepted it. The British began to depart from their oldest colony, which they had occupied for 800 years.

1.2 Northern Ireland boundaries

Westminster and the Ulster Unionist Party worked out the boundaries of Northern Ireland which came into existence in 1921. The six North –Eastern counties of Ireland made up the new state of Ulster with Belfast its capital.

⁸⁶ Quoted in R. F. Foster, op. cit., p.162.

MAP FOUR

Northern Ireland



Source: Foster, R.F, *Modern Ireland 1600- 1972*, London, The Penguin Press, 1988, p.16

The unionists did not make any attempt to bring reconciliation between Protestants and Catholics. The new Unionist government ran the state on the basis of Protestant majority; they discriminated against the Catholic minority in different areas like jobs and housing. “The religious dimension of the social division in Northern Irish society was evident in every area of social and economic life”⁸⁷. The Catholic political leaders and bishops hoped that Northern Ireland would not continue to exist, and they often boycotted the new institutions. The attitudes of the two groups towards each other were described by an Ulster Unionist party leader, David Trimble, when he said in his speech accepting the Nobel peace prize in 1998: “*Ulster Unionists, fearful of being isolated on the Island, built a solid house, but it was cold house for Catholics. And northern nationalists, although they had a roof over their heads, seemed to us as they meant to burn the house down*”⁸⁸.

1.3 The Circumstances the New Government Faced

The terms embodied in Government of Ireland Act of 1921 included the establishment of a Council of Ireland through which Westminster hoped to succeed to provide reconciliation between North and South and end partition. The majority of the North was satisfied as they would have a Unionist majority in their parliament. Yet, the South was fighting over the terms of the agreement with Britain. Disagreement over the Treaty led to civil war in the South that threatened the Protestants in the North. In this respect Coogan states: “*The birth of Northern Ireland was accompanied by external threats and constitutional, political and economic insecurities and uncertainties*”⁸⁹.

⁸⁷ Sabine, Wichert, *Northern Ireland since 1945*, London and New York, Longman 1999, p. 13.

⁸⁸ Quoted in Tim Pat, Coogan, op. cit, p. 133.

⁸⁹ Tim Pat, Coogan, ibid., p. 136.

The Government of Ireland Act provided a constitutional framework for the whole of the island, but had not set the political and economic terms for the six Northern counties; The Northern Ireland parliamentary system was a model of the Westminster's one with an upper house, the Senate, and a House of Commons which elected most of the Senate by proportional representation and was itself elected by universal suffrage. The Crown was represented in the person of the Governor. The powers of the government and Parliament in Northern Ireland remained limited, subordinated to Westminster. And because of the existence of the Council of Ireland, the government was not fully independent of Dublin. Coogan refers to the status of Northern Ireland to be "semi- colonial", he says: *"Because Northern Ireland opted out of the Free State, it was never a fully integrated part of the United Kingdom, nor did it achieve the degree of independence granted to British dominions, which gives some justification to the occasional reference to its status as semi-colonial"*⁹⁰.

The responsibility given to the Irish parliament was only for certain internal affairs like taxation, communication and coinage. British hopes that the Council of Ireland would lead to reunification soon proved to be mistaken. In 1922, Craig and Collins suggested to meet regularly at governmental level but soon relations between them deteriorated and their contacts ceased.

On 21 June 1921, the first Northern Irish parliament, that consisted of forty Unionists, six Nationalists and six Sinn Fein representatives, met in Belfast City Hall without the Nationalists and the Sinn Fein delegates being present. The Cabinet consisted of seven members under the leadership of Sir James Craig; they elected a Senate of twenty-six members with no Catholic as a result of their absence. Later meetings were held in the Presbyterian College until the parliamentary building, Stormont, was opened in 1932.

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 137.

The administration began its work under difficult conditions: civil war and political development in the South threatened the territorial integrity in the North. Financial basis⁹¹ and public order remained the major preoccupation of the government as it did not have at the beginning a strong and reliable security force. The Unionist government had to rule well and democratically so that it could not be removed by Westminster as Wichert states: “*All unionist power and future prospect thus rested on the maintenance of the constitutional status, and their insistence and proof that they could govern as well as Westminster*”⁹².

The political conditions in Northern Ireland did not suit the Westminster model of democracy, with its basic two party-systems and a strong government based on majorities and general consensus of the population on how it wanted to be governed. There was no agreement about the quality of the system because the unionists were in ‘a natural majority’ and they dominated the government.

Economically, Northern Ireland was more industrialized than the south but has no raw materials; moreover, its most prominent industries, shipbuilding and linen manufacture, had begun to decline. Its agriculture was backward and the health of the population was the poorest in all the British Isles; the population was about 1.5 million of whom one third were Catholics, and the Presbyterian formed the largest protestant group⁹³. Wichert describes the social and economic situation in Northern Ireland to be chaotic, she says:

By 1921 every single public service in Northern

⁹¹ “Financially, Belfast could never be independent from London. The financial provisions of the 1920 Act had envisaged separate budgets and an ‘Imperial Contribution’ for the whole of the Island. After partition, this was not repealed and not enough revenue could be raised in the province to pay for services such as: housing, education and health”. Caroline, Kennedy- Pipe, op.cit., p. 24.

⁹² Sabine, Wichert, op. cit., p. 25.

⁹³ “About one third of the Protestants living in Belfast were Presbyterian”. Ibid., p. 92.

Ireland was backward compared with its British counterpart: health, transport and communications, housing and education. Its agriculture was fragmented and backward. Its regional economy had specialized in shipbuilding and textiles since industrialization, and this made its economy vulnerable in the chaotic international atmosphere of the 1920s and the 1930s⁹⁴.

Culturally, too, the north had small intellectual and professional class, since the centre of the artistic activity where most talented people moved if they wanted to stay on the island was Dublin. Northern Ireland was disadvantaged compared with the South. The greatest problem that faced the new government, besides the above, was its survival as it was opposed one third of the population⁹⁵, the government had to use force in order to stay in power.

1.4 The political system

The political system in Northern Ireland did not change for nearly fifty years after 1921. Though, the Ulster Unionists Party (UUP) always tried to convince the world that Northern Ireland was in formal way of democracy, it had never been a democratic country as it was a one party- state, and the nationalists were entirely excluded from power. MacKittrick and McVea state: “*the 1920 settlement had ensured that nationalists were forever excluded from power and that Unionists forever wielded it in unbroken one party-ruler*”⁹⁶. The Unionists Prime Ministers ran the country for very long terms, a fact that proves the political stability and stagnation of the system; the first Prime Minister was Sir James Craig who held the post from 1921 until his death in 1940. The second,

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 99.

⁹⁵ Catholics representatives of the time tended to hope not for some new shared system, but for its collapse. They often resorted to boycotting the new institutions, both political leaders and Catholic bishops making no secret of their hope that Northern Ireland would not last”. MacKittrick and McVea, op. cit., p. 79.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 82.

John Miler Andrew stayed three years (1940-1943), the third, Sir Basil Brooke, continued for twenty years (1943-1963). Even the members of their cabinets had stayed in post for long time; four of the seven ministers of Craig's cabinet had served for eighteen years.

Elections in the Stormont system were decided on religious basis. The nationalists were in permanent opposition and sometimes, they abandoned the parliament meetings by way of protest. One of the new government's earliest Acts was to change the voting system and local Council boundaries. In the first council election after partition, the Unionist Party won control of two thirds of the seventy-three local authorities⁹⁷. Some of the western councils voted to withdraw from Northern Ireland and join the South, while others refused to vote. Northern Ireland's first Prime Minister, James Craig, responded by revising the voting system and changing boundaries so that Unionists could control those troublesome councils.

In 1922 the voting system known as 'Proportional Representation'⁹⁸ was abolished. This system had been used before the partition to protect both Catholic and Protestant minorities in the two parts of Ireland and it was a symbol of respect to their views. Instead, a new system called the 'first-past-the post'-system was introduced. The local boundaries were redrawn which was of great benefit to the Unionist Party. One of Craig's cabinet Ministers sent a letter to him, expressing his fears they would lose control of the city of Derry/Londonderry, and he asked him to take more measures to save the city from the hands of the nationalists, he said: *"Unless something is done now, it is only a matter of time until Derry passes into the hands of the Nationalists and*

⁹⁷ "The seventy-three local authorities were important as sources of power and patronage in areas such as housing and education". *ibid.*, p.83.

⁹⁸ "The PR voting system is based on proportional representation and preferential voting. Under PR, an elector's vote is initially allocated to his or her most preferred candidate, and then, after candidates have been either elected or eliminated, any surplus or unused votes are transferred according to the voter's stated preferences. David, McKittrik, and David, McVea, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

Sinn Féin parties for all the time. On the other hand, if proper steps are taken now, I believe Derry can be saved for years to come."⁹⁹

The government made new arrangements to guarantee that around 7,500 Unionists voters returned twelve councilors while 10,000 Nationalists voters returned only eight. That is how Derry, that had a Nationalists majority, moved to the Unionists' hands. These changes made by the Unionists government, made the Nationalists lose thirteen of twenty-four councils where they had a majority of electors. This is a clearest image of discrimination against the Catholics in Northern Ireland.

The abolition of the PR system in local government's elections strengthened the Unionists' party's power and made Craig do the same thing for Belfast parliamentary elections in 1921. The Unionists' government carefully calculated that under a 'first-past-the-post system'¹⁰⁰ and with the new boundaries, nationalists would keep a dozen of the fifty-two seats, a figure that would not threaten the Unionists control. The 'first-past-the-post system worked successfully that Craig's party won thirty seven out of the fifty-two seats in 1929. The votes that followed became just formalities; thirty seven seats were uncontested by the non-unionists in the parliament elections of 1933. As a result the Unionist party had won the elections before the poll started.

A delegation of Nationalists went to London in 1928 to complain about the unionists' undemocratic practices in Belfast and the abolition of the PR system. But Westminster, who retained the supreme power over Northern Ireland

⁹⁹ Quoted in R. F. Foster, op. cit., p.171.

¹⁰⁰ "The first-past-the post" electoral system is a plurality/ majority system, using single member districts and candidate-centered voting. The voter is presented with the names of the nominated candidates and votes by choosing one, and only one, of them. The winning candidate is simply the person who wins the most votes; in theory he or she could be elected with two votes, if every other candidate only secured a single vote". David, McKittrik, and David, McVea, op. cit., p. 103.

according to Section 75 of the 1920 Government of Ireland Act, answered that such matters were the concern of the Belfast parliament itself. And a conservative Home Secretary in London wrote to Craig assuring that Westminster would never interfere in his governmental matters, *“I don’t know whether you would care at any time to discuss the matter with me; of course I am always at your disposal. But beyond that “I know my place”, and don’t propose to interfere”*¹⁰¹.

In 1922, the House of Commons, too, established a convention that prohibited parliamentary debates on Belfast parliamentary matters. This Convention continued to exist for half a century. With the absence of Westminster supervision, a permanent Unionist government was established and the Unionist party dominated the Local government. In the field of justice and law; Judges and magistrates were all Protestants. Between 1937 and 1968, thirteen Unionist MPs were appointed judges.

2- Political Forces and Social Classes (1925 – 1943)

2.1 Communal violence

The Republicans, who claimed to speak for the whole minority population, used violence to destroy whatever and whoever represented the British administration. This increased the division between the two communities and Belfast became an area of violent incidents, shootings, and house-burnings. The violence resulted in 300 people killed, many others wounded and 3 million pounds worth of property destroyed between 1920 and 1922. The first intercommunal violence had broken out in Londonderry in April 1920 when 1, 500 British troops arrived; eight Catholics and four Protestants had been killed. As the violence continued, members from Sinn Féin, the IRA and a bishop formed the Belfast Boycott Committee in August 1920. This committee called

¹⁰¹ Quoted in Paul, Bew, Peter, Gibbon, and Henry, Patterson, *Northern Ireland 1921-1994. Political Forces and Social Classes*, London, Serif, 1995, p. 29.

upon the Assembly of Ireland (Dàil Eirann) to boycott Belfast goods and banks as an answer to the crimes committed against the Catholics.

During the 1930s violence continued, Catholic riots rouse in Armagh, Lisburn, Portadown and Belfast where many Catholics were killed, others were wounded and hundreds of families were driven from their homes as their properties were greatly damaged. Michael Connolly summed up the events occurring during this period, he says:

The 1930s witnessed a number of unsavoury events which left the minority increasingly battered. In 1931, serious anti-Catholic riots in Armagh, Lisburn, Portadown and Belfast followed the prevention by the IRA of an Orange meeting in Cavan; in June 1932 the northern travellers to and from the Eucharistic congress in Dublin were assaulted, and the security forces were seen to provide scant protection; in 1933 sectarian murder returned with the shooting of a Catholic publican in York street, Belfast, an area where tension and violence was to remain throughout 1934. In 1935, riots in Belfast in May, June and early July were the precursors of the most serious outburst of the decade, between 12-21 July, when nine people were killed, scores injured and hundreds driven from their homes, with accompanying damage to property on a wide scale¹⁰².

As the feeling of insecurity increased in Belfast because of the much violence, the unionists established an armed force of special constables. They recruited three categories of Ulster Special Constabulary (USC) or ‘the Specials’ to help the RUC ¹⁰³(the Royal Ulster Constabulary) to keep order and repress the violence. These groups were called: the ‘A’ Specials, full-time members who were to operate through out the province; ‘B’ Specials, part-time members to

¹⁰²Michael Connolly, *Politics and Policy-making in the Northern Ireland*. London: Philip Allan, 1990, p. 109.

¹⁰³ “The Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) evolved not only as a law enforcement service, but it also had to fulfil military functions. It was more centrally controlled than any other police force in the United Kingdom. The head of the service was termed the Inspector General and was answerable to the Minister of Home affairs. One third of all RUC places were to be set aside for Catholics but much fewer joined- by 1969 only 11per cent of the force were Catholics” *ibid.*, p. 85.

serve only in their own districts, and the 'C' Specials were the reserve. In 1921, a new branch was added, the 'C1' Specials who were to have a semi-military training. By the end of this year there were 8000 A Specials, 25,000 B Specials and 11,000 C1 Specials who were part-timers but could be called up for full-time duty. A great number of ex-servicemen entered the Specials which were organised by Captain Basil Brooke¹⁰⁴. They were helped with arms and equipment from the army. The Specials continued after the disbandment of the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) and operated in rural areas.

By 1922, there were about 50,000 policemen working in Northern Ireland. They operated particularly in the border areas which were much affected by events in the South and where the worst incidents occurred. The activities of the police and the violence increased the social and religious division. For Catholics, the RUC was a representation of repression; its members were involved in the murdering of Catholic civilians. From the Protestant viewpoint the RUC were seen as defenders against the IRA terror campaign. Coogan describes what happened during this period, he states: “ *the violence affected virtually everyone, fear and apprehension about the ‘other side’, and made resort to violence at moments of political difficulties and uncertainties endemic, a feature that has remained a socio political part of the Province’s landscape*”¹⁰⁵.

Under the terms of the Special Authorities Act of 1922, the Minister of Home Affairs for Northern Ireland had considerable powers which he could delegate to the officers of the police; these included search and arrest without warrant, appropriation of documents and other properties, destruction of buildings, banning of meetings and publications, and the prohibition of approach to specific places. Belfast was not at peace until 1924; the government used all its authorities for that the Protestants live in peace. But for the minority population,

¹⁰⁴ Captain Basil Brooke was a Prime Minister and Lord Brookeborough (1943-1963). Caroline, Kennedy- Pipe, op. cit., p. 17.

¹⁰⁵Tim Pat, Coogan, op.cit., p. 131.

the nationalists and republicans, their fears grow stronger; they believed they were not living in a liberal- democratic state from which they could expect equal political and social rights. The Special Authorities Act was renewed annually until 1933 where it became permanent.

2.2 The Orange Order

The Orange Order was founded in 1795 following clashes between Protestants and Catholics in ‘the Battle of Diamond’ in County Armagh. This battle is one of the major events in the Orange history, together with two other incidents in the seventeenth century when Protestants triumphed over Catholics: the siege of Derry 1689 and the Battle of the Boyne in 1690¹⁰⁶. The Orange Order developed into a powerful force during the nineteenth century.

This Protestant organisation was seen by Catholics as anti-Catholics whereas; the Protestants regarded it as an important preserver of their heritage. Every year, the Orange Order established the marching season, holding hundreds of parades during the summer months to remind the Catholics of the triumph of their ancestors over them, and to enforce the feelings of Protestant superiority.

The Orange Order had an important place in the political life; it played an essential role in linking the Unionists community that was split into different dominations: Anglicans, Presbyterians and dissenters¹⁰⁷. Hennessey describes the organisation as “*the political cement that held them (the Protestants) together*”¹⁰⁸. According to the Orange restrictions, the Orange members had to

¹⁰⁶ Concerning the siege of Derry and the Battle of the Boyne (see chapter one, section 1-4).

¹⁰⁷ The census of 1926 broke down the religious affiliations as follows: 33.5 per cent Catholics, 31.3 per cent Presbyterians, 27 per cent church of Ireland, 3.9 per cent Methodists, 4.3 per cent others. This remained the same until at least the 1960s. G. m. Trevelyan, English Social History, Great Britain. Cox & Wyman Ltd, London, Reading and Fakenham. p, 189.

¹⁰⁸ Thomas, Hennessey, op. cit., p.89.

resist the Catholics by all lawful means. They were also warned not to attend any act or ceremony of ‘Popish worship’ (the Catholic worship).

Orangemen made up the majority of the B-Special. The aristocratic classes considered the order to be a means of mobilizing the lower classes Protestants for the defence of the state, and the established Church of Ireland. The Protestants peasants and working class saw the order as a means to protect their employment by its influence over employers while few Catholics were lucky to get job. Catholics complained of Protestants clerical intervention in politics, particularly in reference to the Orange Order which “*contrived a systematic discrimination against them*”¹⁰⁹. The most essential thing for the Unionists was to maintain ‘Unionist unity’. This was the task of the UUP which governed Northern Ireland from 1921 to 1972. In this respect, Foster states: “*Unity was, among other factors, secured within the structure of the party’s own organization by its association with all bodies of Unionist opinion, particularly with the orange order. These associations ensured a popular base for the Unionist politics, a well- organized structure and a cross-class alliance of interests.*”¹¹⁰

‘The Orange Order’ became an integral part of the state. The Prime Minister Craig affirmed proudly in one of his speeches in 1932 that he was an orange man, and his government was a protestant one. Between 1921 and 1969 only three of the fifty four Unionist cabinet Ministers were not from the order. One of the three Ministers was expelled because he attended a Catholic service as part of his public duties, and another resigned when his daughter married a catholic. During the same period, eighty- seven of the ninety- five Unionist backbenchers were members of the order which was institutionally linked to the Unionist party¹¹¹ that was occupying a considerable percentage of the seats in the

¹⁰⁹ David, McKatrick and David, McVea, Op. cit., p. 74.

¹¹⁰ R.F, Foster, op. cit., p.89.

¹¹¹ The Unionist Party (UP) was effectively founded in 1886 in a meeting of seven Orangemen who were MPs at Westminster. Hennessey, op.cit., p. 25.

Ulster Unionist Council (UUC). So, “*from the start Northern Ireland took on a distinctively Orange complexion*”¹¹².

The Orange Order parades were a demonstration of control of the territory and Protestant power. Orange marches became part of the structure of the Unionists Government while Nationalists parades were not allowed. In 1935 the Orange Parade was fired on near Belfast centre. This incident caused the worst wave of sectarian riots the city had seen since 1920- 1922¹¹³. It continued for three weeks, during which thirteen people were killed, many were injured, and hundreds of Catholic families were driven from their homes. The Parade was outlawed by Sir Richard Dawson Bates, but he was obliged by the Orange Order to repeal the interdiction. The Twelfth of July celebrations became a ritual in Northern Ireland.

The Orange Order influence over Unionists rulers at Stormont¹¹⁴ was great. In 1933 the Minister of Labour (and later Prime Minister) J.M. Andrews reacted quickly to rumours made by the Orangemen that the porters at Stormont included many Catholics. He told his MPs: “*Another allegation made against the government, and which was untrue, was that, of thirty one porters at Stormont, twenty eight were Roman Catholic. I have investigated the matter, and I find that there are 30 Protestants and only one Roman Catholic there temporarily*”¹¹⁵. Another incident happened in 1934 when the order complained that a catholic was working as a gardener in the ground of Stormont, and the man was excluded from his job because of the orange objection to his religion.

¹¹² Michael Connolly Op., cit. p.109.

¹¹³ Caroline, Kennedy- Pipe op cit., p. 39.

¹¹⁴ Stormont was the new Parliament building that was constructed in a large estate located in the east of Belfast, the capital of Northern Ireland. Jim Cordell, Essential Government and Politics, London, Collins Educational, 1992, p 92.

¹¹⁵ Quoted in Michael, Connolly, op cit., p.97.

Ministers and MPs regularly made statements against Catholics. One Minister, Basil Brook (later Prime Minister) declared: *“Many in the audience employ Catholics. Catholics are out to destroy Ulster with all their might and power. They want to nullify the protestant vote and take all they can out of Ulster, and then see it go to hell”*¹¹⁶. When the Prime Minister, James Craig, was asked to disclaim this statement he responded not with condemnation but with approval. He said in Stormont: *“he (Brook) spoke entirely on his own when he made the speech, but there is not one of my colleagues who does not entirely agree with him, and I would not ask him to withdraw one word”*¹¹⁷.

The Unionists party was in the hands of men from the upper class of society¹¹⁸; they sheared the same feeling to their roots and transmitted the same message concerning Catholic minority who were seen as ‘bloody rabbits’ that had to be persecuted. Thus, for Catholics nothing had changed for three hundred years since the battle of the Boyne.

2.3 Discrimination against Catholics

The Catholic Nationalists were considered as second class citizens, and dangerous to the State; “to be a Catholic was synonymous with being a traitor”¹¹⁹. Consequently, their position was weak and defenceless while Protestants were more protected and privileged concerning houses and jobs. Mainly, the Catholics complained about two things: firstly, they claimed to be discriminated in the public service, in education, in housing, and in employment. Second, they

¹¹⁶ Tomas, Hennessey, op .cit., p,102.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p,103

¹¹⁸ Craig was a son of a millionaire whisky distiller, while Brook came from a land owning family which had centuries earlier settled in rich Fermanagh farmland. Bew, Gibbon, Patterson. Op., cit. p. 236.

¹¹⁹ Michael Connolly, op. cit., p. 41.

complained of the repression of the special powers.

From the start of the new State, the Unionist party's leaders made sure that the power stayed firmly in Protestants hands. Consequently, the representatives of the Nationalists were banned from any political power or influence. Discrimination against the Catholic was an institutionalized injustice; the Stormont system helped to ensure that such pattern of segregation would continue. One of the government's first Acts set about changing the voting system and local council boundaries so that the Unionists could control the majority of the councils. The Unionists were ready to use all the means, lawful or not, so that the new Protestant State could continue to exist. Wichert describes the Unionists policy towards the Catholics, she says:

*It was institutionalised partiality, and there was no means for redress for Catholic grievances, no avenue of appeal against either real or imagined discrimination. Freed from any effective oversight the Unionist machine was able to function without any checks or balances or mechanisms which might have curbed excesses*¹²⁰.

In relation to jobs, the RUC security forces made jobs available only for Protestant to keep law and order. The civil service was Protestant, with 10 per cent Catholic representation in its lower ranked jobs. A 1943 survey confirmed that there were no Catholics in the 55 senior jobs, with only 37 Catholics in the 600 middle ranking posts.¹²¹ And it was nearly the same case for most local authorities and public sector where the Protestants had more advantages. Arnstain gives a picture of the employment in Northern Ireland, he says: "*there were no Catholics among the cabinet, the senior staff in the Stormont commons, the top*

¹²⁰Sabine, Wichert, op.cit., p. 45

¹²¹ Steven G. Ellis, Representations of the Past in Ireland: Whose Past and Whose Present, Irish Historical Studies, Vol. 27, No. 108 (Nov., 1991) Irish Historical Studies Publications Ltd, p. 296, [http// www. Jstor. Org/ stable/ 30008412](http://www.Jstor.Org/stable/30008412).

ranks of the RUC, the civil service Commission, and other important jobs”¹²²

Catholics were employed in some lower-status occupations, such as the drink trade while Protestants dominated the private sector: they worked in large firms, shipyards and heavy engineering industries. Indeed the whole industries had a workforce more than 90 per cent Protestants, and the few Catholics employed were most of the time expelled by force when there were the so called ‘periodic clean-outs.

The figure of the unemployed Catholics was generally more than double the unemployed Protestants as most Catholics lived in areas of high unemployment such as the west, which is the poorer part of Northern Ireland. And certain practices such as recruitment of staff by recommendation of a friend or a relative, that had to be a Protestant since most employers were Protestants, was another factor that contributed to the rise of Catholics unemployment. In this respect Connolly states: *“in relation to local government employment, it was argued that local authorities, again particularly in the western and poorer part of Northern Ireland, discriminated against Catholics in local government employment”¹²³.*

After the Second World War, Northern Ireland lived, economically, some good years. But soon, the Province faced a decline of its shipbuilding industries, linen production and agriculture. As a result, immigration increased especially among Catholics because the unemployment was at a high level, and many of the better jobs were reserved to Protestants (see table one p.70). According to Fitzsimmons, *“emigration rose from an estimated 187,000 in the decade 1936-*

¹²² Walter L. Arnstain, *Britain, Yesterday & Today 1830 to the present*, Boston, D. C, Heath and Company, 1966, p. 15.

¹²³ Michael Connolly, *op. cit.*, p, 51.

1946 to 197,000 in the first half of the 1950s and 212,000 in the second”¹²⁴. The high Catholic birthrate was balanced by a higher emigration rate; consequently, there was not a big change in the Catholics’ demographic growth which was 34 per cent at the time of partition while the Protestants constituted 65 per cent of the North’s population.

Table one: Number of Roman Catholics in selected professions (1861-1911)

	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Legal:	873	736	837	848	975	999
Barristers and solicitors	34°/°	35°/°	40°/°	41°/°	44°/°	44°/°
Medical	971	830	968	887	951	1,092
	35°/°	34°/°	39°/°	39°/°	43°/°	48°/°
Civil service officers and clerks	420	2,227	2,707	3,324	4,875	5,998
	39°/°	50°/°	54°/°	53°/°	59°/°	61°/°
Schoolteachers	11,034	12,350	13,35	13,015	12,689	12,721
	57°/°	62°/°	64°/°	62°/°	62°/°	69°/°
Architects, accountants, civil engineers	498	1,050	1,261	1,038	1,450	1,618
	31°/°	43°/°	45°/°	42°/°	42°/°	46°/°

Source: Charles, Townshend, *Ireland the 20th Century*, London: Arnold, 1998, p. 109.

¹²⁴ Paul A, Fitzsimmons, , op. cit., p. 43.

Housing, as it was in the hands of local councils, is another area of the Catholics oppression. A new house would carry two votes, while voting in local government elections was limited to ratepayers: only owners of properties were allowed to vote and anyone living at home with his parents could not vote. The voting restrictions¹²⁵ affected the poorest section of the population, the Catholics, especially in the western counties. Those suffering people were to lead later the civil rights movement with its demand for 'one man- one vote'. The increase of house building after 1945 sharpened the disputes as the local councils were granted more houses to allocate; in most cases the distribution of individual houses was decided by small groups of councilors at council meetings. In 1949, the council had built 194 houses in the East that it allocated to Protestants, and according to Townshend: "*it was to be conflict over council housing allocation that precipitated the civil rights agitation of the late 1960s*"¹²⁶.

Regarding education, the first Unionists government tried to establish a non-sectarian elementary school system through the Education Act of 1923, but neither Catholics nor Protestants or the Orange Order agreed with the idea. The Catholic Church firmly controlled the education of the young Catholics to keep them out of the grasp of Stormont. In the following years, the government applied a plan for financing education in Ulster. It granted much support to schools under their control whereas Catholic schools received the smallest amount of financial aid. When UK introduced education reforms in the late 1940s, the working class students, both Protestants and Catholics, could have a third level education. Many catholic schools advised pupils not to apply to the civil service or local

¹²⁵ "To qualify as an elector, it was necessary to be a British subject at least twenty one years old, to have been born in Northern Ireland, or to have resided continuously in the United Kingdom for the whole of the seven years preceding the qualifying date and to qualify as a resident occupier or general occupier. A resident occupier was an owner of or tenant of a dwelling-house who had lived there or elsewhere in Northern Ireland for the preceding three months. The occupier's husband or wife also received a vote. A general occupier was an owner or tenant of a land or premises (not a dwelling-house) of an annual valuation of not less than £10". Michael Connolly, op. cit., p.65.

¹²⁶ Charles, Townshend, *Ireland the 20th Century*, London, Arnold, 1998, p.194.

authorities for jobs, and the ones who reached senior posts were viewed as *'unpatriotic creatures'*¹²⁷.

The two hostile communities, Protestants and Catholics, continued to live each one in his side. They kept apart in their housing, education and employment. One Catholic observer talked about how the two communities were living together, he said: *"if there is one thing which I have learned in my 30- 40 odd years as a community social worker it is this: that, broadly speaking, two communities have lived side by side in Northern Ireland without really knowing each other, or without making any real honest, sincere and conscious effort to bridge the communications gap"*¹²⁸.

3-War and Welfarism (1943 – 1951)

3.1- Northern Ireland during the WWII (1939-1945)

When Britain declared war on Germany in September 1939, Lord Craigavon¹²⁹ immediately offered to place the whole of Northern Ireland resources at the command of Westminster. And as Eire remained neutral, the North geographical position gained importance. Through the advantage of its ports that it offered to the empire, Northern Ireland became, for the first time, an essential part of the UK. The war gave the province a new experience both to reinforce its identity and distinctness from the South and strengthen its relationship with the mainland. London government's attitude towards Belfast changed, this is reflected in Churchill's letter quoted to Prime Minister Andrews in 1943 where

¹²⁷David, McKittrick and David, McVea, op, cit., p. 106.

¹²⁸ Quoted in R.F, Foster, op. cit ., p. 97.

¹²⁹ Sir James Craig is also known as Lord Craigavon. Thomas, Hennessey op. cit., p.17.

he assured that the tie between Britain and Northern Ireland was unbreakable as a reward for their contribution during the war, he wrote: “*the bonds of affection between Great Britain and the people of Northern Ireland have been tempered by fire and are now, I firmly believe unbreakable*”¹³⁰.

As the North Frontier to the South was open¹³¹, government in Belfast worried about possible IRA sabotage of their war- installations such as shipyards and aircraft factories. There was a German embassy in Dublin, and it was a good opportunity for the IRA to ally with the enemy to weaken the authority and stability of the North. Northern Ireland, that feared an invasion in 1940, created a Ministry of Public Security to which the special powers were confirmed by the Ministries Act NI 1940. The Prime Minister Andrew said that this step was necessary for public security, civil defence and the protection of persons and property from injury or damage in the present emergency.

Because of the war urgency, Stormont gave less importance to the improvement of transport and housing that were badly affected. Emergency legislation was introduced to prepare for civil defence and control civil life; the most important of these measures was the issuing of identity cards, food rationing, and compulsory tillage. This later resulted in a revolution in agriculture; great efforts were made by the Ministry of agriculture to improve farming. The Minister, Sir Basil Brooke, wrote a letter to every single farmer urging him to increase tillage, and the efforts were successful as the acreage ploughed in 1943 was double that of 1939. Consequently, the province’s food-producing industry increased during the war.

¹³⁰ Quoted in Arthur, Aughey, and Duncan, Morrow, (eds), *Northern Ireland Politics*, London: Longman, 1996, p. 15.

¹³¹ “There were restrictions on movement to Britain, but none of traffic to Eire” Sabine Wichert, op, cit., p. 55.

By 1945, Northern Ireland's economy strengthened. The efforts made to feed Britain during the war had immediate consequences; the agriculture was modernised and it differed greatly from the one of the 'backward' south. The war-related industries worked at full capacity especially shipbuilding, engineering and aircraft manufacture. Belfast was no more the industrial base as the market was widened throughout the whole region. As a result industrial employment increased by 20 per cent. In 1939, income per head of population had been three-fifths of that in Britain, while by 1945 it was three-quarters¹³².

The war also brought changes in the province's finance. Britain promised equality of social services as a reward for Northern Ireland contribution in the war. This resulted in a review of housing needs. In Belfast for instance, it was estimated that 5000 houses had been uninhabitable before the war. Proposals for improvements in health, educational services, and rural reconstruction followed. Brooke, who became Prime Minister in 1943, continued with his government his energetic policies that not only included the working class but brought their representatives into government for the first time. And as for previous governments, little attention was paid to the needs of the minority community who had extremist opinions towards the war; in the spring of 1939, the Northern bishops of the Catholic Church put forth a statement of opposition against conscription. Thus, this later had not been introduced in Northern Ireland, despite the Protestants' enthusiasm for the war.

The neutrality of Eire and the extremists' attitudes increased the unionists' hostility and hatred to the Catholic minority. The possibility for a new population with a common identity was not realised though the two groups shared the experience of the war with both its suffering and prosperity. There was one occasion where the two parts of Ireland could be united forever. It was in 1940

¹³² Arthur, Aughey, and Duncan, Morrow, op,cit; p. 29.

when the British Prime Minister Churchill made contact with Eamon de Valera, the Dublin Prime Minister, to propose to look at the option of uniting the two parts of Ireland in return for Irish assistance during the war. But the idea was dropped as there was no answer from the South. The unionist's government was shocked and angry, and this event made the Stormont ministers understand that Britain could sacrifice Northern Ireland for her interests at any time.

At the end of the war, the Northern Ireland union with Britain strengthened, the economy improved and there was a great promise for British help and future prosperity. But the social and political division between the two communities remained as it had been before. Discrimination against Catholics continued, and Brooke declared: "*there is no need to appeal to the minority community*"¹³³.

3.2 - The North- South- Westminster Relations and the IRA Border Campaigns

Though Dublin did not want the North to establish a separate state, Collins and Craig met in London to discuss the position of the Catholic minority in the North in March 1922. They signed an agreement which protected the minority rights and settle their status. Despite this meeting, Craig feared that the South would invade. He decided that Ulster had to be mobilized, and by August, a large proportion of the Protestant population was armed.

At that time, Michael Collins and De Valera were struggling to control the anti- treaty forces in the south and provide the stability of the new Free State. Meanwhile, Collins was certain that the IRA in the North would not allow discrimination against the Catholics in the province. Effectively, in that period a part of the IRA tried to occupy Belleek which is a Catholic village located in the

¹³³ Quoted in Arthur, Aughey, and Duncan, Morrow, *ibid.*, p. 104.

Northern county of Fermanagh, and which is isolated from the rest of the North by lakes and mountains. The A and B Specials of the Northern forces were alerted and sent in the area to recover it, but they retreated under fire.

There were no Unionists forces left in the area and the IRA were freely parading through the streets. At that time, Craig asked the Cabinet in London for support. The English Prime Minister, Churchill, sent troops there and they retook the village on 4 June. They stayed garrisoned there to enforce Unionists authority until August 1924 and a neutral zone was established at the borders near the village to prevent a major crisis between the North and the South. According to Kennedy-Pipe, “*From the 1920s, it was the British troops who underwrote the division of Ireland and upheld the position of the Unionists*”¹³⁴.

During the 1930s, tensions between the North and the South grow stronger. In particular, when the new Irish constitution, that reaffirmed the distinct territorial and political integrity of Ireland, was formed in 1937. Article one of the document declared that the Irish nation reaffirmed its sovereign right to choose its own form of government and to determine its relations with other nations. Article 2, that was immensely provocative for the Unionists, proclaimed that the national territory consisted of the whole island of Ireland not only the South.

The nationalists, led by their Taoiseach (Prime Minister) Eamon de Valera, viewed that partition had been a short- term solution and that it had been forced upon the south. De Valera advocated separation from Britain but he used “*gradualist policies vis-a-vis the mainland*”¹³⁵. He signed important economic agreements with London during the 1930s. And despite the 1948 Republic of Ireland Act that confirmed both its status as a republic and its withdrawal from membership of the Commonwealth, the government in Dublin and Westminster

¹³⁴ Caroline, Kennedy-Pipe, op, cit., p. 65.

¹³⁵ Paul, Bew, Peter, Gibbon, and Henry, Patterson, op. cit., p.97.

continued to maintain their close political and economic links.

In 1949, the UK Ireland Act was passed. It recognized the new status of the Republic, but it also guaranteed the Unionists that the union between the North and Britain was unbreakable. Kennedy- Pipe comments on the role Britain was playing during this period, she says: *“it appeared, at least superficially, that the British government was still operating the role of trying to satisfy both the North and the South. Yet British motives in the late 1940s were not that simple”*¹³⁶.

During the post-war period Britain tried to maintain strong relations with both the North and the South of Ireland as the USSR, that had a vast military power, was threatening the stability of the European continent with the emerging of the cold war. In these circumstances, the British Ministry of defence argued that they needed to maintain their strategic bases in Northern Ireland. One Chief of Staff wrote in his report in 1948 that *“it was undesirable that there should be any division of the waters between Eire and the UK as a result of a decision by an international court which did not give the UK the navigable channel”*.¹³⁷ So, the British military presence in Northern Ireland was not motivated by its worries of the ethnic conflict in the Province but by the Cold war threat, especially when the South refused to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) which meant that it would stay neutral in case of a future war.

During the WWII, the IRA renewed their attacks against the British troops. On the eve of World War II, in 1938, the IRA Council sent the British government a final proposition to withdraw its troops from Ireland. Three days later, with no British response, they declared the nationalist war that they attempted to take on the British soil. Their campaign in Britain consisted of bombing of cinemas, public houses, shops and post offices. The worst incident

¹³⁶ Caroline, Kennedy-Pipe, op, cit., p. 67.

¹³⁷ Quoted in Thomas, Hennessey, Op, cit., p, 146.

was an explosion on 25 August 1939 in Coventry which killed five people. At that time, the British government was not concerned with the IRA bombing but with the Nazi threat; for that reason the campaign did not succeed to reach its goals.

In 1949, the IRA changed its policy and declared war against the administration in the North. The Vice President of Sinn Fein (the political wing of the IRA), Christrar O'Neil, declared that the aim of the army was to force the invaders to leave the soil of Ireland and to restore the independence declared in 1916. Previously, the IRA had waged war against the Government in Dublin, but these military actions were outlawed as the South became a Republic. De Valera's policy and actions satisfied the majority of the nationalists in the South who got their independence and the question of Irish unity remained an emotional subject but no longer a main objective. As a result, the IRA had to find support from the nationalists in the North to proceed with its policy of unity by using violence.

The IRA proclaimed that their mission was to strengthen resistance in areas of the province which were occupied by British troops. Yet, their attacks did not get any popular support among Catholics whose position improved as the North economic conditions developed since the 1950s. For example, a large proportion of Catholics were able to attend university thanks to the 1947 Education Act, which provided for a free schooling. The minority community started to consider themselves as part of the Northern Irish State that was offering them great opportunities. In the elections of 1959, the Sinn Fein lost its seats at Westminster and that was a sign of both Catholics acceptance of the Northern Irish State and the Failure of the IRA campaigns.

The IRA also was defeated because of the Dublin government that introduced interment in July 1957 as a means for dealing with the organisation; by the end of 1958, nearly all the IRA executives were in jail and the organisation

was unable to operate properly. In 1962, the IRA accepted that they had lost the battle. They blamed their defeat on the public and their lack of interest in what is considered to be the primary purpose of the Irish nation: the unity of Ireland. In this respect Stewart says: “by the late 1960s, the Republican vision of a thirty-two-county state was no closer to realization than in 1923”¹³⁸.

3.3 Post- War Reconstruction and Prosperity during the 1950’s

During the post- war period, the Unionist government did more effort to improve the economy, and introduce a modern welfare state as Britain and many other parts in the UK did. John Andrews, who had succeeded Craig as Prime Minister in 1940, feared the emergence of political difficulties if the Unionists did not follow the British in their reconstruction program. In a letter he sent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in August 1942, Andrews explained the situation and outlined the political problems, he said:

*Our people frequently chafe at their feeling of inability to exercise any sort of initiative in their desire for reform. For a very considerable time a very definite and sustained demand has been pressed upon me that I should give a real lead as regards to government’s intensions on social problems in future years. We cannot maintain the necessary interest in our parliamentary institutions if we are not allowed to exercise some initiative.*¹³⁹

Andrews discussed the issue of post- war reconstruction at a Cabinet meeting where he indicated that many social services in Ulster were inferior to those in Britain. Sir Basil Brooke, who was the Minister of commerce made it clear that to introduce a welfare state would require Treasury clearance. As a result, it was agreed to establish a Post- War Planning Committee chaired by

¹³⁸ A. T. Q. Stewart, op.cit., p. 145.

¹³⁹ Paul, Bew, Peter, Gibbon, and Henry, Patterson, op. cit., p. 102.

Brooke and composed of the Minister of Finance and the Permanent Secretaries for Home affairs, Agriculture, Labour and Commerce. And in his speech in Stormont, Andrews promised slum clearance, a housing programme, educational expansion and large –scale extension of mains water, and electricity provision to rural areas.

As promised, the changes occurred in different fields despite the Treasury disapproval and the Unionists MPs who had voted with the Conservative opposition against much of the welfare legislations. In 1945, more inducements were offered to firms to set up in Northern Ireland according to the Industries Development (Northern Ireland) Act, and the infrastructure was greatly improved. These efforts continued during the 1950s and the 1960s. Yet, not enough new firms were attracted and not enough new jobs were created to compensate the decline and the closure of old industries. Unemployment was about 6 per cent. Agriculture was the only sector in economy that developed successfully during the war and after, both the production and the export continued to increase.

The most important changes took place in the field of education; the Education Act Northern Ireland (NI) 1947, allowed access to secondary and further levels of education. The Eleven Plus examination, which enabled brighter children to receive grammar school-education regardless of their economic and social background, was introduced. Furthermore, educational authorities were also obliged to provide free medical inspections and treatment, transport, milk, meals, and books for the students.

Following the British example, Northern Ireland established the National Health Service in 1948. The population health, which was very poor and neglected for many decades, improved. General medical, dental, pharmaceutical and eye services were directed by the Northern Ireland General Health Service Board which was the new Northern Ireland Hospital Authority appointed by the

Minister. Thus, the Local authorities' responsibilities for hospitals disappeared. They were left the responsibility of managing matters of hygiene, such as water supply, housing and sewage. And because of sectarianism, changes in health service, as in many other areas, could not be implemented as easily as in Britain. A large Catholic teaching hospital in Belfast refused to be taken over by the state, and as a result, it was deprived from any funds.

Housing, which was insufficient and backward, was another area that needed to be taken into consideration by the reconstruction plan. The housing survey made by the Ministry of Home Affairs in 1943 showed that about 70 per cent of the existing houses needed repairs and the minimum number of the new houses required was 100,000¹⁴⁰. The Northern Ireland Housing Trust was established to build dwellings that benefited more from the state aid than the other social services, and the annual rate of construction doubled in the twenty years following the Act, although the 100.000 dwellings were not finished until the early 1960s. Housing improved but the Catholic minority was still suffering from discrimination as the allocation of houses was in the hands of the local authorities.

After 1945, the province became prosperous. And the conservative unionist cabinet did not oppose anymore the implementation of the Westminster's socialist legislation. They found that social legislation helped them to maintain their political dominance. The adoption of British social policies implied a financial dependence on Westminster; in 1949, Stormont and British government reached the Social Services Agreement, under which it was agreed that if the cost of national assistance, family allowances, pensions and health services was more than 2.5 per cent of the total UK cost, the British exchequer would pay 80 per

¹⁴⁰ Guy P.F. Steed and Morgan D Thomas, "*Regional Industrial Change: Northern Ireland*", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 61, No. 2 (June., 1971), Taylor & Francis, Ltd, on behalf of the Association of American Geographers, [http:// www. Jstor. Org/ stable/2562450](http://www.jstor.org/stable/2562450), p 344.

cent of the excess¹⁴¹.

Conclusion

Northern Ireland was born in violence that lasted for many years. Two communities who had a long history of hatred had to live together. The Protestants were feeling more relaxed as they were in majority in the North, and the established Government was totally Protestant. Whereas, the fears of the Catholics, who were in minority, increased as they were under the power of the Protestants. The political system in Northern Ireland remained undemocratic as it was a one- party system, and it was based on sectarianism. Thus, the Catholics were discriminated against in the different public services as education, housing, and employment. Moreover, they were suffering from the repression of the special powers.

During the 1930s, the relationship between North and South, between Dublin London and between the two communities in the North got worse. Then the WWII broke out. This later presented a great opportunity for both the North and the IRA: the North took the advantage of Eire being neutral and opened its ports to the British navy to face the Nasy threat. Consequently, it could strengthen its relation with Britain. For the IRA, the ‘Great War’ was an occasion to renew its struggle against Britain that was in difficulty.

By 1945, Northern Ireland saw a great development in much of its vital fields. The changes in the economic structure of the province and the introduction of the welfare state affected the social structure of the Catholics; the improvement of education as well as the increased demands of the new industries for better trained and professionally educated managers encouraged the catholic middle class to evolve. Thus, the number of Catholics in professional and managerial

¹⁴¹ Sabine Whichert, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

occupations began to rise. But, despite these changes, segregation between the two communities continued in housing, education and marriage. Mixed marriages were very rare and it was the conflict over housing allocations that precipitated the civil rights riots of the late 1960s.

Introduction

The economic, social, and political improvement of the fifties continued during the sixties. In this period the system started admitting the minority community. The new unionist Prime Minister, Terence O'Neill (1963- 1969), as opposed to his predecessors, tried to reunite the two hostile groups: the Protestants and the Catholics, so that all the population could benefit from modernization. But the reforms, that he proposed, were faced with the Unionist party disapproval. They considered O'Neil's policy to be a threat to the existence and the continuity of the Unionists ruling class. This chapter deals with what is historically known as the 'O'Neil's Era'. It will tackle the following questions: What were the changes brought by the new Prime Minister? Who were for and who were against such reforms? What was the impact of O'Neil's policy on both Protestant and Catholic communities?

Because of many obstacles, O'Neill's promises could not be fulfilled which encouraged demonstrations and the emergence of civil rights movements. By the end of the sixties, 'troubles' broke out in different places in Northern Ireland, and violence increased during 1968- 1969. So, it was impossible for the government to bring the situation under control. O'Neill's policy failed and violence increased. So what were the causes of the outbreak of the troubles in Northern Ireland in the late 1960s? Was the failure of O'Neill's Policy the real cause? Did the late 1960s troubles have roots back to the partition of Northern Ireland in 1921? All these questions will be analyzed in this chapter.

1- O' Neil's Policy and its Failure

1.1 The O'Neil Era

The period between 1963 and 1969 is identified as “The O’Neil Era”. The Northern Irish Prime Minister of that time was Captain Terence O’ Neil whose policy was different from the one of his three predecessors. O’ Neil was appointed as Prime Minister on 24 March 1963 after the resignation of the Prime Minister Brook. O’Neil’ six- years’ term was a turning point in Northern Ireland history. He tried to change both the social and industrial conditions in Northern Ireland. He was the first Prime Minister who wished that all the inhabitants of the province should benefit from modernization. During his first speech, he said: “*I would be in business of making changes and of producing bold and imaginative measures*”.¹⁴²

The O’ Neil government started to build up new connections with the trade union movement to attract new investments from abroad to replace the existing industries that were very poor. But, he faced much opposition from the Unionist party as he stressed on improving community relations. He wanted to put an end to decades of division between the Catholic community and the Protestant one. McKittrik and McVea describe O’Neil to be “*an enthusiastic promoter of reform, not only open to change*”.¹⁴³ For more than forty years, Northern Ireland first three Ministers based their policies on ‘sectarianism’; providing more privileges to the Protestant majority and discriminating against the Catholics minority.

O’Neil thought that he could incorporate Catholics into the Northern Ireland State. He rejected that “apartheid” existed in Northern Ireland, and he claimed

¹⁴² Quoted in McKittrik, David and McVea, David, op. cit., p. 109.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

that the division between the Catholics and the Protestants “*was almost a consequence of entirely voluntary separation from the mainstream of public and social life*”¹⁴⁴. He believed that people from the two communities paid more attention about their lives and their children education, and that they did not think anymore about their past quarrels. And he argued that a modern government could be established in Northern Ireland without sectarianism¹⁴⁵.

The new Prime Minister aimed for a better- planned economy as much of the industry in Northern Ireland was old (the whole economic infra- structure required to be modernized). Unemployment rate, which had increased up to levels double of the UK average because of the shipbuilding and linen industries decline, was another reason that pushed O’ Neil to follow a new strategy. And under pressure from Westminster, which was worried about the increasing Bill of Northern Ireland, regional development policies had to be pursued.

As Minister of Finance, O’Neil had built up good relations with the Treasury in Westminster and with labour leaders, which helped him to pursue his policies. In his program, he promised the construction of a new city, Craigavon, out of the adjoining towns of Lurgan and Portadown in the County Armagh and industrial centers in seven other towns. Massive road buildings, a new housing plan and a second university in Colerain were the great lines in the Prime Minister’s regional development program. O’Neil succeeded to some extent to reach his major objective which was to attract outside industry. Different big multinational firms came to Northern Ireland like: Michelin, Goodyear, Du Pont, Grundig, ICI, and Courtaulds. However, unemployment was still high in many districts as the number of the new created jobs did not keep up with the large number of people who lost their jobs in the old industries.

¹⁴⁴ Sabine Wichert, op. cit., p.103.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

O'Neil faced economic difficulties and political problems with the emergence of the Northern Ireland Labour Party (NILP). This was a new political challenge for O'Neil; the NILP was a left-leaning party that supported the Union with Britain and attracted a large number of Protestants. It won four of the Stormont's fifty-two seats and twenty-six per cent of the total vote in the 1962 General Election. O'Neil got worried that the Protestants' support moves to the NILP. Effectively, the support for the NILP grew when the labour came to power in Britain with Harold Wilson as Prime Minister in 1964. Wilson was Anti-Unionist and was not approving the Stormont. "*O'Neil was the first Prime Minister to be in front of a British counterpart unfriendly to his government*"¹⁴⁶. These dangerous circumstances obliged him to make more efforts to settle a modern industry and reconcile the Protestants and the Catholics.

On this background it was essential that Northern Ireland's economy and its politics improve progressively. O'Neil was aware of the importance of showing the image of a State with no aspect of instability; for that reason, he tried to attract abroad investment to convince first Britain then the world that the Province's quarrels were settled. As part of his campaign, O'Neil tried to end the cold war between Belfast and Dublin; the relations between North and South were so deteriorated that the Prime Ministers of the two states had not met since the 1920s¹⁴⁷.

In 1965, O'Neil invited Lemass (the Dublin Prime Minister at that time) to Belfast. The visit was arranged without the cabinet being aware; this event had a great political and economic importance as no Southern Taoiseach (Prime Minister) had come to Stormont before. The visit shocked the Reverenced Ian Richard Kyle Paisley and some Unionist ministers who complained that they had

¹⁴⁶ McKittrik, David and McVea, David, op. cit., p. 112.

¹⁴⁷ Hennessey, Thomas, op. cit., p. 129.

known of the visit only after Lemass was at Stormont. The initiative was successful, and O’Neil followed it up by visiting Dublin two times. In this respect, McKittrik, and McVea, state: “*this (the visit) was seen as significant political melting*”¹⁴⁸.

In many of his discourses, O’Neil asked all sections of the community to feel proud of their province, and to be convinced that the government is working for the good of all the population and not only those who voted Unionist. The Unionist party succeeded remarkably in the 1965 elections. During the O’Neil era, the Catholic middle class that was created during the nineteen- fifties and influenced by the reforms of the Welfare State such as the 1944 Education Act, was much strengthened by the mid nineteen- sixties¹⁴⁹. The Catholic graduates went into the teaching, the medical and the legal professions, since the Protestants dominated the public service. The new Catholic middle class also started modernising the traditional nationalist politics; they wanted to play a role in the political life of Northern Ireland not only in the economic and the social fields. As foster states: “*their growing economic and social confidence was transformed into the desire for full and equal rights of citizenship*”¹⁵⁰.

Most middle class Catholics supported O’Neil policies. A survey in 1967-1968 showed that most Catholics (65 per cent, against 56 per cent of Protestants) felt that community relations had improved since O’Neil had become Prime Minister¹⁵¹. But this did not adjust their political and social situation; they were still suffering from discrimination in the fields of employment and housing. The Catholics believed that without constitutional changes that would permit them to

¹⁴⁸ McKittrik, David and McVea, David, op. cit., p. 113.

¹⁴⁹ Hennessey, Thomas, op. cit., p. 142.

¹⁵⁰ Foster, R.F, op. cit., p. 115.

¹⁵¹ Nicolas Canny, “*Protestants, Planters and Apartheid in Early Modern Ireland*”, Irish Historical Studies Publications Ltd (Nov., 1986), Vol.25, N. 98. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30008522>. P. 105.

take part in government, they would have no actual political part to play in Northern Ireland. The Nationalist politicians got support from their constituencies to play their role as official opposition in 1965. In this respect, Wichert states: “ *the population of the province, if in unequal proportions, thought that community relations had improved and a very great majority of them (79 per cent Protestants and 89 per cent Catholics) wanted further improvements*”¹⁵².

There were also greater tolerance and relaxation in the Catholic Church. Local priests in particular in rural areas no longer dealt with political issues. This helped Catholic politicians to achieve their task. In 1958, a Catholic speaker at a social studies conference urged the Catholic community to serve the new government and co-operate with the authority. The National Unity (NU), a Catholic middle class movement that was founded in Belfast in 1959, was a sign of the birth of new nationalism. It did not succeed to unite all nationalists but it pushed the Nationalist Party to work out a political programme. Following this step, Catholics started their claim for full political participation and a share in power. From 1964 to 1969, Eddie McAteer, who accepted the role of official opposition for his party at Stormont, led the National Party. But it was difficult for the party to develop a new political programme as it was anti- partitionist for a long time. They did not also get any help as the unionists at Stormont refused to welcome them.¹⁵³

O’Neil’s politics had a great impact on Catholics voters. The Unionist government was offering real economic, social and even political progress for Catholics. But the Catholic parties were not yet capable to progress. Despite the fact that the National Party had made efforts to develop their politics, some middle class Catholic voters started to move towards moderate unionist parties.

¹⁵² Sabine, Wichert, op. cit., p. 101.

¹⁵³ Ibid., p. 107.

Thus, the Catholics who wanted to develop the traditional Nationalists politics to improve matters for the community were faced with a politically passive community.

As time went on, without any real reforms being applied by the O'Neil government, the Catholics started to organize themselves into political pressure groups by the mid- sixties, The first of these groups was the Campaign for Social Justice (CSJ), which tried to collect and make public evidence of discrimination, particularly in housing and in the elections.

O'Neil wanted to transform the whole government by uniting the Northern Irish population, but the Prime Minister met serious difficulties and disagreement among his own parliamentary party. In 1965 the Observer newspaper reported: "*He (O'Neil) is better liked outside his party than in it*"¹⁵⁴. The idea that the Catholics are 'the enemies of the state', as they were named by the Prime Ministers Craig and Brook, was rooted in the Unionist population who were shocked by O'Neil's plan to bring them back to Society. Paisley talked in one of his speeches about O'Neill's idea of 'building a bridge' between the two communities, he said: "*a traitor and a bridge are very much alike, for they both go over to the other side*"¹⁵⁵. In 1966, some backbenchers made serious effort to remove O'Neil in favour of Brian Faulkner.

Paisley led opposition to O'Neil through the Ulster Constitution Defense Committee (UCDC), which was a revival of the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF). Then, he formed the Ulster Protestant Volunteers (UPV) which emerged from UCDC. The UPV's members were only Protestants, and Protestant members of the B- Specials. The UCDC constitution stated that they and the UPV were one

¹⁵⁴ Quoted in Stewart, A. T. Q, op. cit., p. 136.

¹⁵⁵ Quoted in McKittrik, David and McVea, David, op. cit., p. 123.

united society of Protestant patriots and no Roman Catholic was accepted for membership. They pledged to maintain the constitution at all costs. Hennessey says: *“Protestants patriots pledged by all lawful methods to uphold and maintain the Constitution of Northern Ireland as an integral part of the United Kingdom as long as the United Kingdom maintains a Protestant monarchy and the terms of the (seventeenth century) Revolution settlement.”*¹⁵⁶

The UCDC declared that Paisley did not want to cope with anyone of the Unionist party leaders. And that he was not interested in joining any team. No one could silence his troublesome disagreement. O’Neill had to face many internal battles. When he resigned in 1970, Paisley won his seat as Northern Ireland Prime Minister.

1.2 The Loyalist Violence and the Civil Rights Movements

As republicans celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the 1916 rising in 1966, the UVF carried out during two- months a series of attacks that led to the killing of three civilians. The UVF, though named after the organization that contributed to the forming of Northern Ireland, was far away from the original organization of that name. It was made up of a dozen of men who met in the back street pubs in Shankill Road district to discuss means of combating the IRA. Most people were shocked by the repeated attacks that were condemned by everybody. The members of the gang were quickly caught up by the RUC and they were put in jail.

Most Unionists were in opposition to violence, and they also stood against O’Neill. By 1967, some groups of the Orange Order led a manifestation against him; they were criticizing and condemning his policy. In 1968, supporters of Paisley attacked O’Neill with stones while he was attending a Unionist party

¹⁵⁶ Hennessey, Thomas, op. cit., p. 139.

meeting. McKittrik and McVea affirm that the Prime Minister's task was very difficult as he was facing division and a strong opposition among his own party, they state: "*All of this meant that O'Neill was talking about change in society against an increasingly troubled setting*"¹⁵⁷.

The Unionists revived their old hatred; they started their attacks against the Catholics and Nationalists who wanted to play a role in the Northern Irish politics. Those Nationalists found new methods of making their political voice heard thanks to the British post-war educational reform. This new generation of Catholic middle class agreed that the Nationalist Party was unsuccessful, and regarded the IRA and the Sinn Féin as belonging to the past. In the 1960s, a number of Catholic voices that claimed for Catholic involvement in the state emerged. One of these was John Hume, an old Catholic teacher, who urged Catholics to be more positive. He wrote in a newspaper article in 1964: "*there has been no attempt to be positive, to encourage the Catholic community to develop resources which they have in plenty, to make a positive contribution in terms of community service*"¹⁵⁸.

An important organization called the Campaign for Social Justice (CSJ) was founded by Conn and Patricia McClousky in Tyrone. The CSJ was formed out of the Homeless' Citizens League (HCL) in May 1963¹⁵⁹. It consisted of thirteen Catholics professionals who collected and distributed detailed statistics showing figures of discrimination against Catholics in the fields of housing and elections. On 17 January 1964, the CSJ was launched in Belfast, and it differed from previous minority pressure groups in that it focused its efforts on the British opinion. The Catholics power was more strengthened with the election of the Labour Government in 1964 when Wilson, who was an anti- Unionist, became

¹⁵⁷ McKittrik, David and McVea, David, op. cit., p. 125.

¹⁵⁸ Fitzsimmons, Paul A, op. cit., p. 83.

¹⁵⁹ Kavanagh, Dennis, *British Politics. Continuities and Chang*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 58.

the Prime Minister in Britain. Wilson represented a largely Irish Catholic constituency in Liverpool, and he showed his strong disapproval of the Stormont policy. In June 1965, a Campaign of Democracy in Ulster (CDU) was formed at Westminster. The CDU succeeded to get the support of a hundred of Labour backbenchers who pressed Wilson to pay attention to Northern Ireland issues.

In 1966, the Republican Labour Party (RLP) headed by Gerry Fitt who had a long experience in Northern Ireland politics, won the West Belfast seat at Westminster from the Unionists. A year after his election, Fitt became an important figure that emerged at Westminster. He represented a serious threat to Unionism. McKittrick and McVea describe Fitt as a remarkable politician, they state: *“He enjoyed the friendly recognition of ministers and labour backbenchers alike. He is an astute politician- one of the most effective non- Unionists who have been sent to Westminster by Northern Ireland – and his presence has materially helped to alter the climate frustration- aggression theory the Ulster Unionists”*¹⁶⁰.

O’Neil was pushed by Wilson and his colleagues to make reforms. The Home Secretary at that time, Roy Jenkins, insisted on the Unionists to make real effort to solve some of Northern Ireland problems unless Westminster would intervene. O’Neill told his cabinet that there was much pressure coming from London. He was aware that the British pressure should be taken seriously into consideration, but many members in his party did not care¹⁶¹. The Catholics and Nationalists made profit of the situation and started their claims for their full civil rights of citizenship.

At the beginning, the civil right movement had no central leadership and no official membership. It included supporters of the Nationalist Party, members and

¹⁶⁰ McKittrick and McVea, op. cit., p. 125.

¹⁶¹ Bew, Paul, Gibbon, Peter and Patterson, Henry, op. cit., p. 77.

supporters of the IRA, communists, liberals, trade unionists, students, and middle-class professionals. But on 9 April in 1967 a committee called the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) was formed. It was founded by Dr. Roy Johnston, Antony Coughlan, Conn and Patricia McCausky, and the Dublin Wolf Tone Society¹⁶² to talk at the tongue of all the civil rights groups. Hennessey, Tomas affirms: “NICRA was, when it emerged, composed of those who, like the IRA, had revolutionary intentions but were in minority and those who, like the CSJ, were reformist, who were in power”¹⁶³.

The Civil rights movements included too the well-educated representatives like Fitt, Hume and Bernadette Develin and other well-known Catholic public figures. They organized marches, and publicized the cause on the different media. The movement was influenced by the black civil rights movement in America under their leader Martin Luther King. The manifestations of students and workers in Paris, Prague, and other places had their impact on the movement. Hennessey describes the evolution of the events in Northern Ireland at that time to be the new politics that differed from the old one, he says: “*This was to be the new politics, which would break the old mould*”¹⁶⁴.

The demands of NICRA included: “one man- one vote”, the redrawing of the electoral boundaries, anti-discrimination legislation, a right system for housing allocation, the repeal of the Special Powers Act, and the disbanding of the B- specials. The most important demand was the equal voting rights for all citizens. During the 1920s, the Stormont government concluded that equal voting rights for all citizens might have helped the Nationalists to win a large number of seats in Tyrone, Fermanagh and Derry/Londonderry city¹⁶⁵. This may have led to

¹⁶² Sabine, Wichert, op. cit., p. 126.

¹⁶³ Hennessey, Thomas, op. cit., p. 144.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 149.

¹⁶⁵ McKittrik, David and McVea, David, op. cit., p. 139.

a loss of Unionist party control over much of the west. So, to make the Nationalists lose many of their supporters' voices in this area, the Unionist government decided that, subtenants, lodgers and anyone living at home with his parents were not allowed to vote in Council elections. Thus, the Stormont and the council elections remained inaccurate and undemocratic for decades.

O'Neill did not accomplish his reform proposals, though he had been in Office for five years in 1968. Much of what he did as reforms was not enough to better the Catholics and the Nationalists' conditions. Many of the new companies attracted to Northern Ireland settled either in Belfast or in its surrounding towns, often in Protestant areas and recruited protestant workforces. Catholics complained that the largely Catholic west was not concerned with the industrial modernization. The new city that O'Neill projected was located in a Protestant area and it was named Craigavon in memorial of the old Unionist Prime Minister. Even the second university promised by the Prime Minister was built in Coleraine which had a large Protestant majority. Derry/Londonderry's Catholics and many of its Protestants criticised the choice that was based on sectarianism.

2. The Outbreak of the Troubles

2.1 The Civil Rights Manifestations

In June 1968, NICRA held its first manifestation. This occurred when the young Nationalist MP Austein Currie protested by settling in a house in the County Tyrone. That house was allocated by a local Unionist party councillor to a nineteen- year- old single Protestant girl. She was a secretary to the councillors' lawyer, who was also a Unionist parliamentary candidate. The girl was given the house in preference to two Catholic families. The families had protested that the

same councillors refused the building of houses for Catholic tenants in the area of Dungannon. Currie discussed the matter unsuccessfully both with the Local Council and at Stormont. As the result of the heated debates, Currie was ordered to leave the commons chamber. He symbolically occupied the girl's house before he was evicted by the RUC. The Catholics in the County had suffered over the years of the unjust housing allocation which led to a lot of Catholic anger. In this respect, Kavanagh, Dennis states: "*Local Catholics saw the facts as a clear example of politics and religion taking superiority over housing need*"¹⁶⁶ .

The first large protestation NICRA conducted was on 16 August, 1968. The march went from the village of Coalisland to the town of Dungannon. Two thousands protesters assembled in Coalisland, accompanied by Nationalists bands. In Dungannon, 1, 500 members and supporters of Paisley's UVF met to confront them. The confrontation was prevented and, the march passed on peacefully. The event was viewed as a determining moment in Northern Ireland history; it was the beginning of the troubles. Hennessey states: "*the pattern of demonstration and counter- demonstration was established*"¹⁶⁷ .

On the 5 October 1968, a second march took place in the city of Derry/Londonderry. A group of Catholics organized the march and they succeeded to provoke the authorities into confrontation. The Minister of Home Affairs, William Craig, forbade the march and ordered the RUC to react; they used water cannons and batons on peaceful group of marchers. The incident was filmed by a Dublin television cameraman. The film clip was broadcast on television hundreds of times in the years that followed. It showed how the troubles broke out. Gerry Fitt and three of the MPs were among the protestors. Fitt who had been in the front line was injured. He recounted later: "*A sergeant grabbed me and pulled my coat down over my shoulders to prevent me raising my*

¹⁶⁶ Kavanagh, Dennis, op. cit., p. 65.

¹⁶⁷ Hennessey, Thomas, op. cit., p. 146.

arm. Two other policemen held me as I was batoned on the head”¹⁶⁸.

The world condemned the Northern Irish policy, and O’Neill’s government was damaged by the repeated events. The Unionists had to defend their system, and Craig justified the act by accusing NICRA to be in relation with the IRA. The events in Derry on 5 October caused a huge anger inside the Catholic community, and increased their support for civil rights movement. In the weeks later, marches, sit-ins, demonstrations, and protests became daily events. O’Neil saw that concessions had to be made quickly, but he did not get the support of many in the party who asked him to be more firm and use force to crush the rebels.

Westminster, the British and the world press criticized the situation in Northern Ireland. O’Neill told his cabinet, as he returned from a meeting he got with Wilson on the 14 of October 1968, that London would intervene unless definite reforms were introduced in Northern Ireland to solve the situation. He said: “... *we shall be told that unless we can give a definite undertaking that we will introduce further reforms, her Majesty’s Government will no longer be able to stand aloof from the situation*”¹⁶⁹. The cabinet discussed a number of reforms, but they could not agree for equal voting rights for all citizens. On 16 November, about 15,000 people organized another march, but there was no violence despite the presence of a large number of policemen.

2.2 The End of O’Neill’s Era

O’Neill, Craig and Faulkner met Wilson and James Callaghan at Westminster on 4 November 1968. Wilson opened the meeting with a reminder that Stormont was subordinate to Westminster and he threatened to cut off some of Northern Ireland’s money. Craig said that local government reforms were at

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 148.

¹⁶⁹ Michael Connolly, op. cit., p.113.

work, but Wilson and Callaghan insisted on quick reforms, especially universal suffrage. As soon as the unionists arrived at Stormont, they decided to make a series of reforms that they hoped would please both London and the unionist party.

On 22 November, the O'Neil government agreed on five main reforms which included the establishment of a development commission to control the Local Government Council of Derry/Londonderry City, changes in housing policy, ombudsman to be appointed to investigate complaints, limited voting reforms, and the abolition of the Special Powers Act. Yet, these reforms proposals did not answer the NICRA's demands as there were no changes concerning the voting system; a quarter of a million of people could not still vote. Secondly the reforms did not exclude the gerrymandering to give a just representation for those who opposed the UUP. Even the system proposed for the allocation of houses could be modified by the local authorities to suit their needs.

The situation worsened when a confrontation between Paisley supporters and civil rights demonstrators took place on 30 November in the city of Armagh. O'Neill felt that the situation was out of control and he made a television speech on 9 December in an attempt to calm down the situation. This has been known as "The Crossroads Speech". After O'Neill's speech, some elements in the civil rights campaign agreed to pause. In a few days, O'Neill's differences with Craig concerning Northern Ireland's position with the UK increased. Craig considered that London did not have to interfere in Northern Irish internal affairs as both had separate parliaments. He said: "Northern Ireland had a federal relationship with Britain, which meant that the Westminster Parliament and the Northern Ireland Parliament each had their own spheres of responsibility, into which the other parliament could not interfere"¹⁷⁰.

¹⁷⁰ Quoted in MckKittrick and McVea, *op. cit.*, p.173.

The 1968 was a very bad and difficult year for O'Neill who wrote a letter on the Christmas Eve showing how much he was pessimistic: "what a year! I fear 1969 will be worse. The one thing I can not foresee in 1969 is peace"¹⁷¹. In fact that was the case: a group of students from the queen's university in Belfast arranged a march from Belfast to Derry on 4 January 1969 to disapprove the police behaviour in Derry/Londonderry. This group became a militant organization called People's Democracy (PD). A group of Loyalists and off-duty- B specials mobilized by Paisley challenged the march. The images of demonstrators with blood flowing from their heads were shown on the world's TV screens. And, once again, this event was a disaster for the Unionist government and the RUC.

The police was accused of not acting as the surprise attack took place. And the PD won sympathy from the entire Catholic community. In the following weeks, there were more demonstrations. The RUC worked hard to overcome the violence and the street activity. Yet, the force had just 3,000 members and they could not deal with so many marches.

O'Neill announced the establishment of the 'Cameron Commission' to investigate the causes of the events of 5 October 1968 in Derry/Londonderry. He was desperately trying to please Westminster, but Faulkner disapproved this decision which put the Unionist Government in a position of looking like to be forced to make reforms. And as a response, he resigned from his post in the Northern Ireland Cabinet.

In February, eight days after Faulkner's resignation, twelve Unionists MPs met to ask for O'Neill's resignation to keep the party united. In response the Prime Minister announced the dissolution of Parliament and called for a General Election. This later was called 'The Crossroads Election' that was held on 24

¹⁷¹ MckKittrick and McVea, *ibid*.

February 1969. During the election campaign, there was much competition between pro-O'Neill candidates and the ones who were against him. There was a small number of voters who voted for O'Neill. And even the Unionist party was no longer the one-party that monopolized the election as it had always been; the election resulted in a number of younger Catholic civil rights candidates, among them Hume, who replaced a number of Nationalist MPs.

In the weeks following the elections, the instability in Northern Ireland increased as the electricity and water facilities were bombed. A thousand B-Specials were mobilised to protect public services. The RUC accused the IRA to be responsible for the attacks. Yet, later, it was proved that the bombings were the work of the loyalist UVF who wanted to defeat O'Neill. In fact, the Prime Minister announced his resignation and left office. And O'Neill said: "*I was blown out of office by the bombings*"¹⁷².

2.3 The British Troops Arrived

O'Neill's cousin, James Chichester Clark, succeeded O'Neill as Prime Minister on 1 May 1969. He won the Stormont election and defeated Faulkner by seventeen votes to sixteen. Some members of Chichester's family have held their seat at Stormont since partition, and that helped him to win the elections.

Chichester Clark wanted to go on the reforms, and he focused on the universal suffrage 'one man- one vote'. At that time, riots broke out throughout Northern Ireland in July and August; the Apprentice boys of Derry, an organisation similar to the Orange Order wanted to hold its usual march in Derry, but both Stormont and the London government worried that the parade would outbreak of troubles. They discussed the matter. But, in the end, the permission was given to the organisation.

¹⁷² Quoted in Hennessey, Tomas, op. cit., p. 146.

As it was expected, there were clashes between the Catholics and the Protestants, and the riots went on for days. This was known as ‘the battle of the Bogside’; many Catholics and Protestants were wounded. The street battles spread to Belfast and other places in Northern Ireland where hundreds of houses were set on fire. Thousands of stones and missiles were thrown, and barricades were set across the streets. The RUC and the B Specials killed eight people. The police force, which was only 3,000 men, was no longer able to contain the situation as many of its men were exhausted and many others were injured¹⁷³.

Chichester Clark asked London to send troops to help to restore order, though he knew that the Army would not be placed under Stormont control. On 14 August 1969, the First British troops began to relieve the RUC in the streets of Derry/ Londonderry and Belfast. The Catholics welcomed the Soldiers’ arrival which led to a short break from the violence. Violence caused much damage to people and properties. In addition to the eight deaths at least 750 persons were injured, 150 of them suffered gunshot wounds. 180 homes and other buildings were demolished. 1,800 families had escaped from their homes in the disturbances. As a result, at least 2.25 million pounds compensation was estimated. The damage caused by the violence of 1969 deepened community division. And Part of the Bogside became a ‘no- going area’: closed by barricades that remained in position until 1972.

The relationship between the Catholics and the RUC had been destroyed as many of them had been killed by their members. In one incident an eight- years old Catholic boy was killed in his bedroom when a bullet fired by the RUC from a heavy machine gun ripped through walls and hit him in his head. And seven

¹⁷³ “43 members of one RUC unit that consisted of 59 men were treated for injuries.” Colim Campbell and Ita Connolly, “Military Intervention in Northern Ireland and the 1970 Falls Curfew”, *Journal of Law and Society*, Sep 2003, Vol. 30, Blackwell publishing on behalf of Cardiff University, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1410535>, pp. 341- 375.

men died following other fights with the police in July and August. There were many occasions where the B-Specials and the RUC officers acted with the Protestants rioters during battles with Catholics.

The relationship between the Westminster and Stormont government also changed. The British officials were stationed in Belfast to act as ‘London’s eyes and ears’, and to pass on instructions to Stormont. Callaghan said: “*Our officials are there to put some stiffening in the administration*”¹⁷⁴. One official sent to Belfast reported to London concerning the Stormont cabinet, he said: “*in my view they were not evil men bent on maintaining power at all costs. They were decent but bewildered men, out of their depth in the face of the magnitude of their problem. I was convinced that not only did they want to do the right thing; they also wanted to be told what was the right thing to do.*”¹⁷⁵

Callaghan and Wilson urged the Unionists to make more progress to settle some reforms. After a short time, London sent Stormont a list of reforms including the abolition of the B- Specials. A few months later, an English policeman, Sir Arthur Young, was appointed at the head of the RUC in order to modernise the force. Faulkner wrote in his memoirs that Callaghan became ‘Big Brother’, and he added saying: “*I increasingly felt that he was pressurising and bullying Chichester-Clarck into taking hasty decisions.*”¹⁷⁶ Unionists opposed Callaghan’s involvement in their state affairs. For them, he was taking the nationalists’ side. When he visited the Bogside, the Catholics, who felt that his presence signified an end to the unionist government, welcomed him warmly.

The violence of August 1969 made the southern state involve in the northern political situation. The Taoiseach in the Irish Republic, Jack Lynch,

¹⁷⁴Quoted in Colim Campbell and Ita Connolly, *ibid.*, p. 353.

¹⁷⁵Quoted in McKittrick & McVea, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

¹⁷⁶McKittrick & McVea, *ibid.*, p. 153.

declared in a broadcast: *“it is clear that the Irish government can no longer stand by and see innocent people injured and perhaps worse.”*¹⁷⁷ Lynch ordered the setting up of field hospitals close to the border to treat the injured people.

2.4 The Most Violent Years

2.4.1 The failure of Chichester- Clark

During the 1970, violence progressed in Northern Ireland. Callaghan insisted on the Prime Minister, Chichester- Clark, to proceed in the reform programme. Meanwhile, Chichester- Clark was facing many complaints from the Unionists who were opposing the reforms and the British intervention in Northern Ireland home affairs. In the streets, Republicans and loyalists exchanged shots. The British army was in confrontation with the Republicans and a large group of middle class Catholics, particularly in Belfast.

The relationship between the Catholics and the British troops was totally destroyed during ‘the Falls Road curfew’; following a confrontation between the army and the local inhabitants of the Lower Falls districts, a curfew was imposed on a large area of the district in July. During many days, 20,000 people were obliged not to leave their homes. Soldiers were sent in the district to do houses-to- houses searches; more than one hundred weapons were found, but in the process much damage was done to hundreds of households. In addition to such personal humiliation, the army killed four people who had no connection with the IRA or other extremist’s groups. In the same month, the army killed a Catholic teenager during a riot in North Belfast. A Local councillor reported about the effect of ‘the Falls Road curfew’ on the relationship between the Catholic community and the military forces, he wrote:

¹⁷⁷ Quoted in Stewart, A. T. Q, op. cit., p. 144.

*It's hard to remember any other incident that so clearly began the pollicisation and alienation of a community... Overnight the population turned from neutral or even sympathetic support for the military to outright hatred of everything related to the security forces. I witnessed voters and workers turn against us to join the Provisionals. Even some of our most dedicated workers and supporters turned against us.*¹⁷⁸

At that time, there was a change of government at Westminster; the labour party lost the General Election. Wilson and Callaghan were replaced by the conservatives: Edward Heath as Prime Minister and Reginald Maudling as Home Secretary. Maudling was quite different from Callaghan; he was less forceful and less interested by the conflict than Callaghan had been. A local civil servant wrote about him, he said: "*what you got from Maudling was the impression of a massive intelligence, only partly in gear, which moved side way of the problem, like a crab, and then scuttled back into its hole without actually coming to grips with it*".¹⁷⁹

With a less direction coming from the new government at Westminster, the army was given free hand to take some initiatives. It used more aggressive tactics such as the curfew. But this later did nothing to stop the progress of the general violence, and in August 1970, the first two RUC officers were killed by the IRA in South Armagh. Chichester- Clark was facing the same difficult situation as his predecessor O'Neil. On the one hand, London continued to press for more political change, on the other Unionism, with Paisley's electoral success¹⁸⁰, was becoming more hard-line.

¹⁷⁸ Quoted in Kavanagh, Dennis, op. cit., p. 97.

¹⁷⁹ Kavanagh, Dennis, Ibid., p. 98.

¹⁸⁰ "During the elections of 1970, votes changed from the main Unionist Party to support Paisley who succeeded to be elected to Stormont and Westminster." Sabine, Wichert, op. cit., p. 158.

Chichester-Clark's reforms program included the introduction of universal suffrage and important changes in housing. But the Unionist opposition were against his plan; they believed that they had to stop the violence and impose order by force: to do many military actions in the republican areas and to apply internment without trial. Chichester- Clark tried unsuccessfully to convince the opposition, as did O'Neil before him, that the army should be subject to political restriction coming from Westminster and that the final authority was no more in the hands of Stormont.

In the second half of 1970, the new grouping: the non-violent Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) replaced the civil rights movements. SDLP, which became the most important voice of Nationalism in the North, was led by Fitt and Hume as its chief strategist. Violence and tension grew enormously specially in Belfast in 1971. In February, the IRA placed a bomb on a mountain in County Tyrone and killed five persons who were on their way to service a BBC transmitter. Two policemen were shot dead in North Belfast in the same month. In March, three Scottish soldiers were killed by the IRA. In the day of their funerals, about 30,000 people went out to protest their killing in Belfast and other places. A few days later, Chichester- Clark went to London to ask Heath to send more troops. Heath offered only 1,300 soldiers and Chichester-Clark returned to Belfast and resigned in 20 March 1971.

2.4.2 Brian Faulkner as Prime Minister

Brian Faulkner succeeded Chichester- Clark at Stormont three days after his resignation. Faulkner was seen as the most talented Unionist politician; he won the elections by defeating William Craig by twenty- six votes to four. He was considered to be the Unionism's last chance to save the Stormont system. He looked as a professional politician as he succeeded to crush the IRA 1950's campaign. And in the 1960's, he was successful at attracting new industry from abroad.

The new Prime- Minister tried from the start to make a balance to satisfy both the Unionists opposition and the British government. First he constructed a government that included both wings of the Unionist party: the liberals and the hard-line. In June 1971, he established three new committees to review policy and advice on legislation. Members of the opposition would lead two of them. The SDLP welcomed the proposals. But in few weeks, violence broke out again in the streets. Faulkner successfully could press London to give the army orders to act firmly, and he declared in Stormont on 25 May 1971: *“Any soldier seeing any person with a weapon or acting suspiciously may, depending on the circumstances, fire to warm or with effect without waiting for orders”*.¹⁸¹

Following Faulkner’s restrictions, the soldiers killed two Catholics, a man and a teenager during disturbances in Londonderry on 8 July 1971. The authorities said the man had a gun and the teenager had a bomb, while local inhabitants insisted that both persons were unarmed. As a result of the incident, Hume and other SDLP MPs refused to go on the political talks and threatened to withdraw from Stormont unless an independent inquiry was established to investigate the deaths. When no inquiry was established, they walked out of Stormont on 12 July 1971, and Faulkner’s committee offer failed.

As the committee offer failed, Faulkner introduced internment without trial in order to stop the violence and create a more peaceful atmosphere in which political talks would progress easily. This radical security initiative was condemned by both the Nationalists and the human rights groups and the world. Mckittrick and McVea give the following definition to internment, they say: *“Internment meant stepping outside of the law and abandoning legal procedures in favour of simply rounding up suspects and putting them behind bars without*

¹⁸¹ Quoted in Fitzimmons, op. cit., p. 217.

benefit of trial".¹⁸²

In the summer of 1971, the Provisional IRA¹⁸³ committed much murdering; by July, 55 people died violently and in the seven first months of 1971 there were 300 explosions and 320 shooting incidents in which over 600 people were injured. At that time, Northern Ireland had only one and a half million people. Faulkner wrote in his memoirs about the 1971, "*in 1971 people were not hardened to violence, or resigned to accepting it as a background to daily life; they were demanding that the government do something to stop it quickly*".¹⁸⁴ Faulkner found that internment without trial was the only and last means to solve the situation.

Effectively, a large number of arrest operations began on 9 August 1971; thousands of troops and police arrested members of the IRA. The RUC got old dated and imprecise information about the Provisional IRA members. The IRA men had already gone away as they heard of the arrest. The troops who were sent always found themselves at the wrong house, or they did not find the IRA suspect but his father or brother. Many of these persons were accused of hiding suspects and they were arrested. In this respect, Hennessey states: "*the first raid resulted in around 452 men, although only 342, mainly from the Official IRA*".¹⁸⁵

The use of internment continued for four years, though it was not successful as the RUC could not defeat the IRA. The brutality used by the soldiers often on

¹⁸² Mckittrick, David and McVea, David op. cit., p. 141.

¹⁸³ In December 1969, the IRA split into the Official Irish Republican Army (OIRA) and Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) over the decision of the IRA council to grant recognition to the three parliaments at Stormont, Dublin and Westminster... PIRA draws its title from the proclamation of the provisional government at the start of the Easter rising in 1916, and affirms that any government in Ireland will be "provisional" until the final establishment of a thirty- two county republic". Paul Bew, Peter Gibbon, Henry Paterson, op. cit., p.133.

¹⁸⁴ Quoted in Hennessey, Thomas, op. cit., p. 163.

¹⁸⁵ Hennessey, Thomas, *ibid.*, p. 164.

people who were not members of the IRA was condemned by Britain, and Faulkner was much criticised for the fact that no single loyalist had been jailed. The British ambassador to Dublin at that time, Sir John Peck, wrote: "*Internment attacked the Catholic community as a whole. What was worse, it was directed solely against the Catholics, although there were many Protestants who provided just as strong grounds for internment*".¹⁸⁶

According to a census made in the late 1971, before 9 August 1971, 31 people were killed, and in the days following the arrest 35 died. The dead included members of the IRA and many civilians. By 12 August, 7,000 Catholics were left homeless as their houses were burned. In the year before the internment 34 people had been killed, in 1971, 2,600 persons were injured and 17,000 homes were searched.¹⁸⁷

The government considered internment to be a response to the IRA violence while the Catholics, in areas such as west Belfast saw the IRA activity to be an answer to the violence from the authorities. The IRA organisation got support among the working- class Catholics from whom it could get recruits and other supports to intensify its violence at the time of internment. A great number of Catholics were killed by the British troops; in the second half of 1971, 75 catholic civilians died. And in some cases, the army said that it was a fault and they apologised for causing deaths; in other cases the army denied its responsibility for the killing. In many other cases, they said that the men and youths they had shot had been armed.

¹⁸⁶ Cited in Michael Connolly, op, cit., p. 99.

¹⁸⁷ Anna-Kaissa Kuusisto- Arponen, "the End of Violence and Introduction of 'Real' Politics: Tensions in Peaceful Northern Ireland", *Geographiska Annalar Series B, Human Geography*, Vol .83, No.3, (2001), Blackwell Publishing on behalf of the Swedish Society for Anthropology and Geography, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/491073>, pp. 121- 130.

A great number of Catholics were put in jail, and the SDLP declared that it would not return to Stormont until internment was ended. Many Catholics withdraw from public life and about 200 Catholics members left the Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR), the force which had replaced the B- Specials in 1970. December 1971 witnessed an attack with the highest civilian death tolls in the Troubles. A small Catholic bar in North Belfast was bombed by the UVF and the Ulster Defence Association (UDA). The attack resulted in fifteen deaths.

2.4.3 The end of the Unionist Government

1972 was the most violent year of the Trouble where five hundred people were killed (see table 2 p. 107). Fourteen of those deaths took place in Derry/Londonderry on 30 January. On this day, 'The Bloody Sunday', Soldiers of the Parachute regiment and other units opened fire on a large civil right march killing fourteen people and injuring thirteen. After this event more men and youths joined the IRA and other paramilitary groups. In this respect Anna-Kaissa Kuusisto states: "following the 'Bloody Sunday', money, guns and recruits flooded in to the IRA".¹⁸⁸

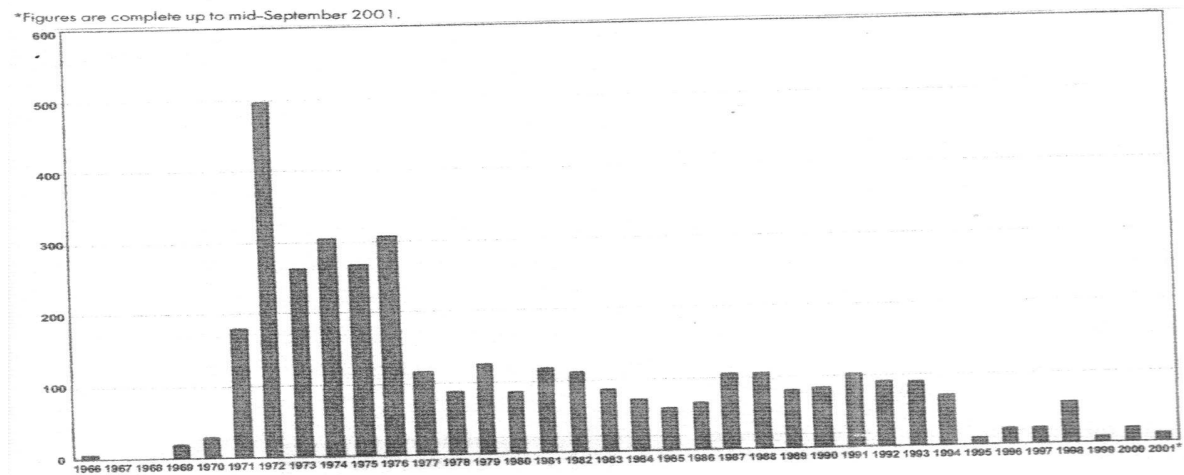
The events of 'Bloody Sunday' increased the anger of the Catholic community. Most of the Catholics who had not yet left public life did it now. Three weeks later, the Official IRA made a revenge attack on the Parachute regiment's headquarters in Aldershot More. But they failed to kill paratroopers instead; they killed a Catholic chaplain, a gardener and five women of the domestic staff. And in a Saturday afternoon of the first week of March, two young women were killed and seventy others were injured when the IRA bombed a popular Belfast city centre bar. Two weeks later, a car bomb, left by the IRA, killed seven people near Belfast city centre.

¹⁸⁸ Anna-Kaissa Kuusisto- Arponen, *ibid.*, p. 128.

TABLE TWO: DEATHS BY YEAR AND STATUS

	All Civilians	Protestant Civilians	Catholic Civilians	RUC	RUCR	UDR/RIR	ARMY	Paramilitaries Republican	Paramilitaries Loyalist	OTHER	TOTAL
1966	3	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
1967	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1968	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1969	15	6	9	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	19
1970	19	8	10	2	0	0	0	7	0	2	29
1971	94	27	65	11	0	5	44	23	3	2	180
1972	259	77	174	15	2	26	106	74	11	10	497
1973	132	48	80	9	4	8	59	38	13	4	263
1974	206	51	123	12	3	7	45	24	6	33	304
1975	173	62	100	7	4	7	15	31	28	13	267
1976	220	90	125	13	11	16	13	17	13	9	307
1977	55	21	32	8	4	6	14	8	7	5	116
1978	46	25	21	4	6	7	16	7	0	2	88
1979	44	15	22	9	5	10	37	9	2	16	125
1980	45	18	23	3	6	9	11	5	3	2	86
1981	54	18	34	13	8	13	11	16	3	2	118
1982	47	21	25	8	4	7	32	7	5	3	112
1983	28	17	18	9	2	10	9	8	1	7	87
1984	38	7	16	7	9	10	9	12	1	3	71
1985	23	6	16	14	9	4	2	5	0	0	59
1986	34	13	21	10	9	8	3	26	6	2	66
1987	45	29	16	9	7	8	4	6	2	0	106
1988	40	14	26	4	2	12	22	16	4	5	105
1989	38	14	22	4	2	2	24	3	3	1	91
1990	47	18	26	7	5	8	10	6	7	3	84
1991	63	19	42	5	1	8	5	14	2	5	102
1992	64	17	43	3	3	2	6	4	3	4	90
1993	66	20	45	3	3	2	4	13	3	1	91
1994	52	12	40	3	0	2	1	3	8	0	69
1995	8	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	7	3	22
1996	10	1	7	0	0	0	0	1	3	1	22
1997	13	4	8	3	1	0	1	1	3	2	27
1998	52	18	32	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	71
1999	7	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	19
2000	7	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	12
2001*	9	4	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18
TOTAL	2058	707	1243	200	103	206	503	394	158	159	3673

*Figures are complete up to mid-September 2001.



Source: McKittrik, David and McVea, David, *Making sense of the Troubles, Belfast*, the Blackstaff press 2000, p. 325.

The increased violence and the dramatic situation led the British government to think about some solutions. One solution was a partition: to divide Northern Ireland into a Protestant and a Catholic region that would be allowed to join the Republic. The other idea was to have Northern Ireland governed in cooperation by Britain and the Republic, and its citizens would have dual citizenship.

Faulkner stood against most of the British ideas and he went on with his policy of internment. He resisted strongly the idea of giving Catholics a place in government. Besides, he refused that Westminster took over the security powers in Northern Ireland. The British Prime Minister, Heath, and his Cabinet lost confidence in Faulkner and the Stormont regime. They viewed them to be incapable of restoring order. Faulkner went to London on 22 March for a meeting with Heath and Maudling. When he returned to Belfast, he discussed the British proposals with his Cabinet who collectively voted to resign. 1972 witnessed the end of the existence of half a century of Unionist government.

Conclusion

During the 1960s, the government in Northern Ireland started admitting the Catholic minority; the Prime Minister, Teren O'Neill, felt that modernization could be established in Northern Ireland. He envisaged a Northern Ireland with a less communal division, but in the end, he was incapable of applying his policy and managing the situation. He could not make a balance between the civil rights agitation and the pressure of the British Prime Minister, Wilson, and the Unionists opposition.

Between the summer of 1969, where the troubles broke out, and the resignation of the Northern Ireland government, with Faulkner as Prime Minister, in March 1972, London took control over security policy. And it was the security matters that caused the collapse of the Stormont System; during 1972, the

Troubles increased intensively; about 500 people were killed. There were 2,000 explosions and more than 10,000 shooting incidents. As a result, the British Cabinet decided that Faulkner could not succeed to restore order and there was no hope of political change, and it was time to end the Unionists rule and to impose the Westminster direct rule.

General Conclusion

This dissertation has tried to analyse the causes of the outbreak of the Troubles in Northern Ireland in the late 1960s. Our conclusion is that the partition of Ireland in the 1920s is the cause of the Troubles. The partition gave the Protestants the opportunity to control the whole island of Northern Ireland for fifty years. The partition also gave the Protestants the power which they used to discriminate against the Catholics, and as a result of this discrimination, the Troubles broke out in the late 1960s.

During the period when the unionists governed Northern Ireland (1922-1972), the Catholics were complaining about their bad social- economic conditions. They claimed to be discriminated against in three main areas: the electoral system, the allocation of houses, and employment. The Unionists party's leaders wanted the power to be totally in loyal Protestant hands so that the new state could continue to exist. As a result, one of the new government's earliest acts was about changing the voting system and local council boundaries to enable the unionists to control the western councils which were in the hands of the Nationalists who voted to break away from Northern Ireland and join the south. Consequently, the electoral Proportional Representative system (PR) was eliminated and replaced by the 'first-past-the post' system. The consequence of ending the ((PR) was that the Nationalists lost their majorities in thirteen of twenty-four councils they had previously controlled.

The Catholics and The Nationalists were considered as second class-citizens who were dangerous to the state. Thus, they did not deserve the same rights as their Protestant neighbours. Housing, which was in the hands of local councils, was the main area that caused much Catholic grievance. One house meant two votes, and according to the voting restrictions only ratepayers could vote; subtenants, lodgers and anyone living at home with his parents was not allowed to vote. These restrictions affected the poorest section of the population

(the Catholics) who would later lead the civil rights movement in the 1960s with its demand for “one man – one vote”.

With regard to employment, Protestants dominated the private sector; many large firms had workforces that were more than 90 per cent Protestants while Catholics occupied the lower- status jobs. Recruitment of employers on the recommendation of a friend or a relative, which was of great benefit to the Protestant community since most employers in big companies were Protestant, contributed to increase the number of the unemployed Catholics. The ‘periodic clean-outs’, during which some companies usually expelled Catholic workers from the workforce when there was a big tension between Catholics and Protestants, was another picture of discrimination against the Catholic minority. These practices made the number of the unemployed Catholics more than double Protestant unemployment. Catholics were always feeling that they were exploited and discriminated in the most vital areas of life. As a result of this discrimination, troubles broke out in the late 1960s.

Changes in the economic structure of Northern Ireland and the introduction of the welfare state in the 1950s affected the Catholic section of the population who fought for more equal civil rights in the 1960s. The improvement of secondary and higher education with the Education Act of 1947, which gave equal education opportunities to Catholic children, as well as the increased demand of the new industries for better trained and professionally educated managers encouraged the Catholic middle class to grow stronger. The number of Catholics in professional and managerial jobs began to rise after 1945. Catholics began to participate more actively in politics; they won the elections of that year and they took their seats at both Stormont and Westminster.

In the mid-sixties, the professional Catholic middle-class encouraged by the promises of the Prime Minister O’Neil to improve their community conditions, grow much stronger. As the O’Neil’s reforms were very slow, these middle-class

Catholics organised themselves in pressure groups. The first of these groups was the Campaign for Social Justice (CSJ) who tried to collect and show incidents of discrimination against the Catholic minority in housing and the gerrymandering of elections. The 1960s were characterized by civil rights marches, confrontations between Nationalists and Unionists and as violence increased this era was named the 'Troubles'.

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Résumé en français

Le sujet de cette étude est sur the Troubles In Northern Ireland in the late 1960 s. Durant la période du gouvernement protestant (unionistes) (1922-1972), les catholiques on souffert des mauvais conditions sociale et économique. Ils réclamaient d'être discriminer dans les différents domaines tel que le system électorale, logement et le travail. Par conséquence de cette discrimination, cette section de la population qui étaient très pauvre se sont organisé en différent mouvement catholique qui sortaient dans les rue à la fin des années 60 demandons d'avoir les même droits que les protestants. Durant ce période, il y a eu beaucoup de manifestation en Irlande du Nord durant la quelle il y a eu un clash entre les deux communautés (catholique - protestant) et la police. La violence qui s'est déclenché pendant la période (1969-1972) a fait un résultat de 3600 morts et plus de blessés.

Cette recherche va démontre que la déteste et la division entre les catholique et les protestants qui existé pendant une longue durée sont à l' origine de ses émeutes ou « Trouble » et la répartition de l'Irlande en 1921 à augmenté cette division car elle a donné le pouvoir au protestants qu'ils l'ont utilisé pour discriminer la minorité catholiques.

Les mots clés :

- « Pacata Hibernia ».
- Irlande du Nord.
- Protestants catholiques.
- Discrimination.
- Souffrance.
- Émeutes.
- Violence.
- Crime.
- Morts.