

Paisleyism and Civil Rights

Paisleyism and Civil Rights:

An Ambassador Unchained

By

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INTRODUCTION

On the 4th of April 1968, James Earl Ray changed the course of history. Perched in a rooming house in Memphis, Tennessee, he faced the Lorraine Motel, aimed his rifle and fired a single shot. Killing the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., Ray incited numerous riots and marked a turning point in civil rights activism. Non-violence became less prevalent.¹ A career criminal and escaped convict, Ray made his way to London's Heathrow airport, where authorities arrested him. The international path was ironic, as the blow for white supremacy affected the transatlantic discourse on Christian virtue, inequality and politics. The evening of King's death, a fellowship of militant and Calvinist fundamentalists reconvened the annual Bob Jones Bible Conference, held on campus in Greenville, South Carolina. 'Ambassadors in chains' to God's Will, the gathering undertook its fifth day of deliberations.² Although a majority came from the United States, non-Americans attended. The most notable was the Reverend Ian Paisley of Northern Ireland, the moderator of the Free Presbyterian Church of Ulster and a crusading preacher. Marking his third visit to the United States, the Deep South setting proved significant: Paisley's conservative morality and Reformed theology detested the agitation and disorder he witnessed. The assassination emphasized how federal government policy could integrate America's South, but not prevent communal disorder. Although Ulster saw an expanding political and social battle, Paisley had not physically confronted street activism. When civil rights marches took place, he felt an urgency to act.³

Black Americans and Ulster Catholics demanded the rights that citizenship granted, using protest and rhetoric to establish similar movements. In North America, civil rights meant more than economic, educational and political equality, the ability to vote and ending public separation. Many advocates asserted a Social Gospel to address discrimination. Those who adhered to a Christian devotion did so with an Arminian devotion: their justification exceeded financial and racial parity and inserted their support for an ecumenical and liberal Church.⁴ In Northern Ireland, Irish Nationalism championed better jobs, fair housing allocation and the local franchise. While many activists based their agenda on Republican and Socialist tenets, not all wanted an integrated society or a non-sectarian school system. They fought alongside a segment guided by

Catholic social teachings.⁵

Most whites in the American South supported regional mores and professed a traditional Christian religiosity. They expected local, state and federal government to perpetuate a magistrate based on conservative tenets. A vital cornerstone was segregation, which purportedly maintained social peace, economic opportunities for Caucasians and separated worship. Utilizing Christian principles was paramount, as their interpretation of scripture strengthened a provincial view on constitutional rights and apartheid. This included a challenge to the moderate racial policies that denominational leadership pursued. Militant fundamentalists, a small but powerful segment of conservative Protestantism, operated ministries to defend segregation and promote Calvinist thought within both government and society. Although the Elect were a minority, all citizens had to obey their concept of social law. The most influential were the administration and faculty of Bob Jones University; Billy James Hargis and the Christian Crusade against Communism; and the Reverend Carl McIntire of the Bible Presbyterian Church and the Twentieth Century Reformation.⁶

Militants favored premillennialist eschatology, Calvinist Soteriology and an orthodox reading of the Bible. They desired a legal and social system centered on the Ten Commandments. Of all the threats to the Protestant Commonwealth, the implementation of a civil rights program became the most important, overriding liberal Protestantism and a more powerful Rome. A unified church, even under Vatican authority, could be defied through theological separation. Civil rights looked like ecumenism inserted into communal relationships and a deceptive crusade to weaken free enterprise and morality. Militants wanted the protection of private property, economic policies that balanced capitalism with benevolence to the poor, the right to associate with whom they chose (cultural, racial and theological segregation) and traditional social values. They employed Reformed doctrine to contest the administrative and legislative moves that Washington made towards equality and the Great Society. A nation that turned its back on a virtuous Commonwealth threatened divine wrath. But militants also wanted the separation of church and state. Thus, they shunned a direct role in government and concentrated on declamation and public demonstration. Secular administration and faith should be mutually supportive: the State protects its citizens, who repay with loyalty, while Calvinist tradition determines civil liberties, law and order and public behavior. Employing such ideals, militants sought to defend those they considered prechosen for Salvation, whether a white Protestant or an acquiescing black cleric. Therefore, their political activity focused on

evangelizing to the Elect, not winning political campaigns. Clerics should not hold office, although the predestined were required to vote for candidates with platforms and ethics compatible to the Bible, while the magistrate could defy an ungodly ruler.⁷

Across America, both militant and moderate Christians and the secular opponents to civil rights listened to the radio broadcasts, attended the rallies, and subscribed to the printed media that Hargis, the Joneses and McIntire produced. Although North America contained dozens of militant fundamentalists whose ministries exceeded the conventional one pulpit and local evangelism template, the triumvirate was the movement's leadership within Canada and the United States. The argument does not derive solely from the news media, pamphlets and weekly mailings that the Bible Presbyterian Church and the Christian Crusade against Communism produced. The defining evidence is the radio networks that the two created. By 1964, Hargis could be seen on approximately 250 television and heard on five hundred radio stations, while McIntire used 577 radio outlets to disseminate his theological views. While air time for these transmissions had to be purchased, they generated appropriate contributions. McIntire did not use extraordinary tactics, as did Hargis when his Christian Crusade employed a public relations advisor to instigate direct mailings with an innovative approach: personalized names printed on solicitations.⁸

Bob Jones University did not attempt a nationwide media system but added a vital dimension. Through education, its alumni became businessmen and teachers, ministers and missionaries. This helped to spread the militant message worldwide, viewing such efforts a divine commandment.⁹ The New Testament mandated a Great Commission to promulgate the gospel throughout the Earth, which led to transcontinental relationships. In northern Europe, the alliance concentrated on exposing Protestant liberalism and ecumenism, and the political and theological motives of the Roman Catholic Church. In the mid-1960s, they supported the struggle against civil rights. Paisley accepted social benefits for all, but opposed any employment or doctrinal concession that seemingly promoted a unified Ireland. Accordingly, he pursued a strategy similar to that of North American militants, seeking to culturally segregate protestants from their catholic neighbors, maintain theological separation and to thwart a catholic ascendancy. This required controlling local government, upholding the Union between Great Britain and Northern Ireland and preserving the British Constitution as Protestant. When civil rights advocacy threatened the Ulster parliament, Paisley took to counter-demonstration.¹⁰

This manuscript is not a comprehensive history of the North American and Northern Irish civil rights movements, but examines the correlation between American and Irish militancy, civil rights and government policies. In the United States, the Executive Branch and Congress worked in unison to change racial and social relations and to implement a fairer society. Across the Atlantic, the efforts of the British and Northern Irish governments addressed civil rights demands while professing to defend Unionism. But the resulting legislation could not prevent communal relationships from deteriorating. Westminster and Stormont, the Belfast parliament, unwittingly aided militant intentions, facilitated the drift towards sectarian strife and set the stage for Paisley's entrance into the political arena. This work utilizes the relevant primary sources, as well as important secondary surveys of militant fundamentalism and the civil rights movements.¹¹

During the two decades preceding the 'Troubles,' Paisleyism transformed. Beginning as a passionate preacher and preparing the Elect for the Second Coming of Jesus Christ (premillennialism), he established political groups to demand a Calvinist (or godly, civic) magistrate, demonstrated alongside the less pious and evolved into a Member of both the Northern Irish and British Parliaments.¹² Paisley reshaped his militant ideology, and did so during the one hundred and three months that witnessed the emergence of Terence O'Neill and a moderation of Unionist policies, the resurgence of violent Republicanism and the formation of Democratic Unionism. Paisley was increasingly concerned with the politics of the here-and-now and a secular social gospel for Irish protestants. From April 1968 forward, obstructing civil rights for the nationalist community accelerated this process. He sought an active role in government, a posture that some North American allies welcomed (most notably the Jones family).¹³

During this metamorphosis, Paisley's activism embraced elements of profane guidance: civic participation, and economic and social populism. The confluence between government policy in the British Isles and Paisley's opposition to civil rights made him 'An ambassador unchained' and a participant within Ulster's political landscape. Paisley transcended Calvinist theology when maintaining his clerical status and accepting elected office, and as he pursued a Democratic Unionist and more temporal agenda. Although he rarely addressed eschatology within his sermons, Paisley's denomination began accepting amillennials. They were important and more inclined to support secular laws.¹⁴ The Free Presbyterian Church of Ulster and its Articles of Faith affirm "The visible and personal return of Our Lord Jesus Christ." Ambiguous to amillennial or

premillennialism, Paisley could take a more secular stance towards magisterial and social issues as his political activism grew, without violating denominational principles. Interviews with Northern Irish fundamentalists, and an examination of Paisley's articles, books and pamphlets, support this argument. His electoral and parliamentary speeches clearly indicate that Paisley wanted an earthly infusion into the traditional Calvinist magistrate: a fundamentalist defense of the Protestant community that partnered with areligious politics.¹⁵

The Reverend Ian Paisley's expectation of a Reformed administration has been researched, most notably by Steve Bruce and Martha Abele MacIver. Both outlined a conviction that a Christian nation is expected to uphold God's law and acknowledge divine license. Nonetheless, they articulated Paisley's belief that the British Constitution, the Northern Ireland statelet and its protestant community were facing abnormal circumstances, which led to his entrance into the secular arena.¹⁶ More recently, Markku Ruotsila interjected a corresponding position into his work on Carl McIntire. *An ambassador unchained* expands the collective argument and shows how civil rights activism not only influenced militant fundamentalism in North America, but turned Paisley into a participant in the political process. The approach to Paisleyism is chronological, but with an equifinality of three thematic streams, all which converge on August 1969: North America; the Northern Ireland civil rights movement; and British government policy and the Campaign for Democracy in Ulster (a group of Westminster MPs discussed on pages 174-80). This will show how Nouveau Paisleyism contradicted many traditional and Reformed notions and created a unique, and Northern Irish, form of political fundamentalism.¹⁷

Fundamentalists are Protestants who interpret the Bible as a literal testament, immune to human criticism. Many profess the Five Points of Calvinism and accept mankind's state of depravation. A minority are also militant: separatists who refuse fellowship with Christians holding liberal or modernist views and with any conservative who associate with them. Militant fundamentalists believe that God requires their opposition to any governmental or social effort that weakens human morality or Calvinist devotion, and to be "Political preachers . . . (with) a responsibility to denounce sin and iniquity in high places because righteousness will exalt a Nation."¹⁸ Paisley and his North American confederates used militant tenets to contest civil rights and the theology of liberal clerics. To

understand why they took these positions it is necessary to look at the origins of Reformed theology, the economic, political and social doctrines of Calvinism, and how the Scottish conception of the socially-active Kirk found its way into Ulster and North America.¹⁹

In October 1517, Archbishop Albert of Magdeburg received the *Disputation of Martin Luther on the power and efficacy of Indulgences*, beginning a Protestant Reformation. Although Europe divided into areas that either 'protested' or adhered to the Church of Rome, Luther's doctrines did not address all dissension with Catholic doctrine and practice. A more radical belief emerged in France and the Swiss Cantons, which argued for an ecclesiastical polity and predestination, and denied God's physical presence within the Eucharist. To the Reformed, God predetermined who would be saved (the 'Elect') and who would be damned, and established a limited Atonement: Jesus died on the Cross only for the predestined. Salvation came through God's grace, which could not be refused. These ideals are paramount to militant fundamentalists who see themselves as modern-day Israelites, required to maintain Protestant purity.²⁰

John Calvin systemized church government, liturgy and theology. His *Institutes of the Christian religion* lectured on Christian freedom and liberty, and how human rights began with religious duties. This meant maintaining a Christian society where God's Elect were 'free' to worship in a 'pure' setting and to participate in civil rule: communicant members elected a leadership that held doctrinal, jurisdictional and legislative power. Deacons controlled finances and cared for the poor, Elders maintained discipline and adjudicated disputes, while Ministers preached the Word and administered sacraments. Such custom - marriage, liturgy and prayer - were left to the membership and clerical leadership.²¹ The church does not punish crime, collect taxes or meddle in the affairs of secular government. For its part, government should act according to divine order and enforce moral laws. These magistrates, the vice-regents of God, must rule using the Ten Commandments and could not evangelize, determine who should receive sacraments, interfere with church assets, collect tithes or appoint and remove clerics. Thus, society had to be a Christian commonwealth, but with separation of church and state. The clergy could not become politicians or the Church align with a legislative party, while citizens who participated in politics must adhere to the Word of God.²²

From the western Alps, Calvinism spread through northern and Eastern Europe and into the British Isles. John Knox, a priest and graduate of Glasgow University, converted to and preached the Lutheran faith until the

French arrested him. Sentenced to the galleys, Knox managed to escape and underwent a five-year exile in Frankfurt and Geneva.²³ Returning to Scotland (1559), he brought a Reformed theology and a presbyterian politic. Knox wanted the magistrate and the ministry to maintain a more rigid form of civil discipline than Calvin had decreed and a stronger sense of anti-Catholicism. Sabbatarian laws were enacted and the first *Book of Discipline* introduced to create a system of church order. The work reiterated that ministers must proclaim the gospel and teach the congregation, but allowed them to use the pulpit to evaluate government. The Scottish church would maintain a trained clergy and discipline, punishing immorality through excommunication: from communion, worship and commercial dealings with the Christian community. The Scottish Kirk accepted Knox's ideas and in July 1560, the Scottish Parliament approved a Calvinist Confession of Faith and a Presbyterian system.²⁴

Although Knox accepted the tenet that monarchs ruled under divine sanction, *The first blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regiment of women* showed an altered opinion. Directed at both Queen Mary of England and Mary of Guise, the Scottish monarch, Knox proposed for citizens to obey their Christian conscience and resist tyrannical laws that contravened scripture. Moreover, ministers could involve themselves in parliament after the establishment of a Christian state.²⁵ After the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre, Knox understood Christian and political government to be a three-way covenant between God, the ruling class and the people. God blessed the ascendancy, while the nation that acknowledged secular power and the Ten Commandments is shown favor. Sovereigns honor higher laws and protect essential rights, while citizens obey with the right to petition their rulers. The magistrate was required to defend preachers who professed the true gospel, but also punish citizens who violated the divine contract.²⁶

If a ruler disobeyed divine law, Scottish Calvinists could discontinue the agreement. Such a rebellious possibility arose in March 1603, when James VI of Scotland took the thrones of England and Ireland, and started to restore the Anglican Church. After the ascension of Charles I in March 1625, and the introduction of Arminianism, Laudism and the English *Book of Common Prayer*, many Scottish ministers objected. They were deposed for nonconformity and opposing their king. In response, these clerics turned against Stuart absolutism and looked to itinerant preaching. Many Scots accepted this prophetic convention and combined it with the local custom of banding. An ancient tradition, various families and clans cooperated to defend lives and community. These tenets contributed to a

unique form of revivalism that was intended to guide the Elect, not as a general call for salvation. Evangelists went underground, took up field preaching and gave Sacraments. Known as conventiclers, they created a new breed of radical and emotional preacher.²⁷

Revivalism set an atmosphere conducive to Covenanter military expeditions and the National Covenant of 1638, as the pledge between church and state became a fixture within Scottish Calvinism. When forty thousand Covenanters were transplanted into the north of Ireland, Knoxian Presbyterianism and revivals moved westward. Living amidst a hostile catholic population and a condescending Anglican community, Ulster Presbyterians considered themselves God's Chosen People and the defenders of Bible Protestantism. This strengthened their denunciation of Rome and desire to culturally segregate from the indigenous catholic. Itinerant conventiclers appeared who employed the rituals and emotional meetings derived in Scotland in the 1620s. As legal restrictions were imposed on Irish Presbyterians, these communal gatherings constituted public confrontations to the magistrate's power.²⁸ From the British Isles, Calvinists went to the American colonies, seeking a haven for the Elect. Mixing the English and Scottish praxis, the American colonies accepted a revised Confession of Faith, or the Boston Synod of 1680. The Elect had to become 'visible saints,' and more active in securing their salvation than traditional Calvinism allowed. New England Calvinists argued for preparation: the spirit of grace would not come until a person prepared. The revivalists of the 1730s and 1740s insisted that justification by faith and regeneration occurred in stages; this came through Christ's righteousness, instead of reliance on human virtue. Experimental predestination helped to shape American fundamentalism.²⁹

Calvin and Knox did not intend for their theology to be the basis for a civil rights movement in a modern and secular sense. Nevertheless, their ideal of presbyterian government demanded the social and theological liberty that the Roman church denied, and placed their religiosity into a more secular realm. In an era when Christian devotion minimized the profane, and where the church and government were mutually supportive, protesting against the Roman church can be seen as a demand for civil entitlements. Within *The Reformation of rights: law, religion, and human rights in early modern Calvinism*, John Witte asserts that many Calvinists saw religious rights as a 'mother' to human droit. This meant the freedom of worship and ability to govern oneself as an ecclesiastical polity, the liberty of association and of the press, organized charity and parochial education, and ownership of private property. Human rights had little meaning without constitutional protection and the right to sue in court.³⁰

Calvinism helped to spur the development of democracy and humanism, as an outlet to oppose rulers considered ungodly. Such resistance should come from an elected assembly and only if the safety of the people and their individual liberties were threatened. Reformed communities believed in universal education (allowing citizens to read the Bible and better understand their minister) and help for the poor (as long as they worked, were sober, went to church and accepted religious instruction). The congregation was the center for relief. Christian creditors must employ benevolence, as debtors could not be forced to sell household belongings to satisfy claims. In addition, wealth had to be used piously: prices could not be excessive, all employees deserved a minimum wage and interest was immoral unless it came from shared profits. Reformed theology expected the magistrate to enforce personal rights and to protect the creation of profits, if they were not excessive. In this context, the Elect sought evidence of their predestination, and saw developing Capitalist economies a prudent course.³¹

Calvinists produced legal documents to establish their rights. These included the *Edict of Nantes* (1598), the *Petition of Right* (1628), the *Solemn League and Covenant* (1643), the *Bill of Rights* (1689) and the *Toleration Act* (1689). Combined, they bolstered the Enlightenment's conception of human and political rights. This included popular sovereignty, separation of powers and national government with a system of checks and balances. Reformed concepts not only influenced the manner that Scottish Presbyterians interacted with English Anglicans and Irish Catholics in Ulster and the way Puritans related to New England's other inhabitants. They helped to develop the American Constitution and the fashion that twentieth-century militant fundamentalists confronted the Social Gospel and the civil rights movement.³² Of all the post-Reformation influences to Paisleyism, John Knox's theology is the most important. To Paisley, all Protestant nations held a covenant to uphold God's laws and acknowledge divine authority. If government cannot protect its people, the citizenry should do so themselves. Accordingly, Paisley asserted God's Providence, but with a human responsibility to participate in government.³³

CHAPTER ONE

A PROTESTANT STATE . . .

Throughout the 1800s, conservative Protestantism employed political action to bolster traditional, Christian tenets. Within the British Isles, this meant opposing church disestablishment, constraining Catholic Emancipation and maintaining justice for dissenters. To the Irish, the defense of the Union was a counterforce to Gaelic nationalism and a resurging Catholic Church. As Irish Anglican, Dissenter and Presbyterian formed a political alliance, Calvinist clerics, such as Henry Cooke and Charles Haddon Spurgeon, developed Protestant civil rights. Both argued that Protestants should support the state and believed that orthodoxy articulated protestant liberty. A Presbyterian minister and moderator of the General Synod of Ulster and the Irish General Assembly, Cooke opposed the National Education System and the temporal and theological agenda of the Catholic Church.³⁴

Cooke is important to the rise of Ulster's political preacher and to the defense of the Calvinist magistrate. He thought that Protestants should practice their faith and be schooled without hindrance from apostates, or from the Catholic Church and Irish Nationalism. While Cooke aligned with the Protestant Ascendancy and opposed radical politics, he owned a populist concern for social issues. For instance, Cooke supported the workhouses that appeared during the famine. He wanted to improve the water supply in Belfast, and served on Belfast's board of health to combat cholera and the Anti-Slavery Society Committee. Cooke also believed in universal education, tenant rights and evangelizing to the Elect. This required government based on scripture and for ministers to place themselves into the political arena. Cooke cited Ezekiel 3:17, while viewing Nehemiah as a patriotic statesman and reformer. As a "watchman unto the house of Israel," education should be free for all of schools allowed Protestant Bible instruction, and workers and employers should work in harmony. Cooke backed tenant's rights, but not attacks on individual landowners (a communist tactic). Redemption for the wealthy came through the Holy Ghost. By itself, violent action or the magistrate could not enforce equality; sermons, prayer and evangelism would protect

civil rights.³⁵

Spurgeon argued for an evangelical Calvinism that addressed social issues. A Particular Baptist, he opposed slavery and promoted charitable work, and denounced the Roman Catholicism as un-Christian and any ecumenical conception as apostate. Spurgeon discounted Hyper-Calvinism, where God chose the Elect, the Holy Ghost produced evidence of election and evangelical invitations were unnecessary. Such ideas proved popular, as he built and pastored the large Metropolitan Tabernacle at Elephant and Castle in London. When Spurgeon asked the Baptist Union to produce a doctrinal statement against Darwinism, Higher Criticism and Unitarianism, however, both the ultra-conservative Calvinist and the un-orthodox denigrated his positions. Furthermore, English Baptists did not like Spurgeon's attack on their denomination and his public pillorizing of their theological outlook. Censured, Spurgeon withdrew his church into a self-sustaining independency. Yet, he set a separatist example to influence Northern Irish Baptists. In the 1920s, militant pastors adopted his arguments, such as the Baptist James Kyle Paisley from Ballymena. For the next two generations, the Paisley family believed that Spurgeon prophesized a continuing Baptist 'downgrade,' as a threat to the magistrate that upheld God's Word. The theological conflict created an atmosphere conducive to fundamentalism and the assertion of protestant civil rights.³⁶

The British government saw the *Act of Union* as the solution to rising catholic expectations and as a means to secure their loyalty. As catholic rights and the Union dominated Irish politics, Daniel O'Connell and the Catholic Association became the favored choice for Irish nationalists. His Loyal National Repeal Association held 'monster' meetings that combined religiosity and politics, attracting up to 500,000 attendees. They were early examples of public protest in Ireland. The demands asserted at the large gatherings - Catholic Emancipation, Repeal of the Union and the elimination of tithes to the Anglican Church - were popular and united the various political groups professing Nationalism. O'Connell did support constitutionalism and the British monarchy, and preferred a separate Irish legislature subservient to Westminster: he saw Irish membership in the Empire to be beneficial. When Emancipation passed in 1829 with a limited franchise, Repeal remained the biggest demand.³⁷

Prior to the 1830s, Ireland witnessed a three-way battle between the Catholic Church, the Church of Ireland and Dissenters. Dissenters had

freedom of worship, although the Corporation and Test Acts excluded them from public life. Only the baptisms, marriages and funerals that Anglican ministers performed were officially recognized. Although dissenters gave the Church of Ireland financial support, they could not take university degrees in Ireland. Due to these restrictions and sympathetic to the elimination of tithes, some protestants backed civil rights for catholics. Many presbyterians also saw catholic political gains coming at the expense of Irish Protestantism. Opposition to the Maynooth Grant (1793), Catholic Emancipation (1829), the *Irish Education Act* (1831) and the *Tithe Commutation Act of 1838* formed a bond between Anglicans and Presbyterians. So did hostility to the Synod of Thurles and the efforts of Cardinal Paul Cullen, the Archbishop of Dublin and Primate of Ireland. He moved the Irish Catholic Church from independent and Gaelic, and closer to the authority and practices of Rome. Henry Cooke's political Protestantism gained momentum after the *Irish Church Act of 1869* created the Church of Ireland. Presbyterians saw it prudent to form a political partnership with their Anglican neighbors. Support for protestant privileges and the Union, and a new presbyterian acceptance for the Orange Order forged Anglicans and Presbyterians into an alliance. After the Loyal Orange Institution became an outlawed group, they gained a new validity. Following Disestablishment, better relations allowed the formation of a political and theological Protestantism that included Ulster's landed aristocracy, middle-class merchants and the working class. They worked together to thwart an assertion of Catholicism, Nationalism and Home Rule.³⁸

With this background, the power of the Irish elite began to diminish. Accordingly, Northern Ireland's protestant ascendancy feared land reform and united with the lower and middle classes. The unionist leadership used demagogic and charismatic leadership and asserted populist political and economic ideas to minimize radicalism within urban workers. The aristocracy took a higher interest in the Orange Order and made an alliance with presbyterian industrialists. Through political developments and a shared religious devotion, protestant businessmen developed overlapping economic and social interests.³⁹ The Catholic Church, moderate shop owners and conservative farmers created an alliance with radicals within both the Land League and the Irish Parliamentary Party. Alongside the activities of the new Irish Republican Brotherhood and the threat of violence, the diverse ideologies coalesced to drive the Land War (1879-1881). Unrest led to the Irish Land Acts, ingraining dual ownership (landlord and tenant) and extending the Ulster Custom into the three southern provinces. Improvements were compensated, the Irish Land

Commission and a Land Court established. The *Land Purchase Act* passed in 1886, allowing the British government to buy property to resell to tenants. Some protestants helped to form the United Irish League, agitating for national self-government, the abolition of landlords and for land redistribution. In spite of these efforts, the British government failed to satisfy Nationalist aspirations or protestant radicalism.⁴⁰

Charles Stewart Parnell linked the land question to Home Rule. This allowed Irish nationalism to win the support of the Catholic clergy, peasantry and urban bourgeoisie, as well as the more enlightened protestant landlord. When the Irish Parliamentary Party took eighty percent of Ireland's seats in 1885, their MPs held the balance of power within Westminster. On 8 April 1886, Liberals introduced the first Home Rule Bill. Offering Ireland a Dublin parliament and limited self-rule over local issues, and the retention of eighty seats in London to maintain a vote on national issues, many British protestants viewed Home Rule as the first step towards Rome rule and the end of the Union. In response, Joseph Chamberlain and the Ulster Liberal Association joined with Conservatives to thwart the Nationalist agenda. Ulster Liberals helped to defeat the act, as Lord Randolph Churchill decided to "use the Orange card." Because "Ulster would fight and Ulster would be right," rule from Westminster continued unaltered.⁴¹ When in power, Conservatives passed a series of laws to "kill Home Rule with kindness" and to thwart radical nationalism. This led to the *Irish Land and the Local Government (Boundaries) Acts* (both in 1887) and the *Wyndham Land (Purchase) Act of 1903*. In June 1892, Unionists enacted the Ulster Convention to unite all political and theological aspects of Ulster Protestantism, helping the Lords to overturn a second attempt at Home Rule.⁴²

In March 1905, the Ulster Unionist Council created a protestant political front, as Home Rule once again became an important issue. The *Parliament Act of 1911* ended the Lords' veto, enabling the Liberals to form a government with the votes of the Irish Parliamentary Party. A third home rule bill passed in April 1912, dividing the British military and inciting Ulster protestants to sign a new Solemn League and Covenant en masse. An Ulster Volunteer Force, with a populist and urban core, was formed in January 1913, German arms were imported and a provisional government planned. The Covenant reinforced Ulster Protestantism's connection with their Election. Its presbyterian author, the wealthy layman and merchant Thomas Sinclair stated: "In sure confidence that God will defend (our) right," to strengthen the Protestant convictions of the Ulster Volunteers. So did paramilitary parades held on Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian church grounds. Northern Ireland's protestants sensed an

intimate connection between political developments and the defense of Protestant religiosity, as its denominations formally voted to denounce Home Rule. While the outbreak of world war pushed the issue to the sidelines, the creation of the Irish Volunteers, the Easter Rising in 1916 and the execution of its leaders, and the popularity of Sinn Fein moved Ireland towards self-rule. These factors led to the *Government of Ireland Act* (1920) and defacto partition on 3 May 1921.⁴³

The political atmosphere allowed the Catholic Church to assert Catholic ideals through confrontational mandates, and a university bill. In 1908 its Sacred Congregation of the Council issued the *Ne Temere* decree. To the Vatican, only a marriage conducted in the presence of Roman clergy would be valid. In Ireland, no priest would officiate unless he was assured that all children would be raised Catholic. Outside of Ulster, Irish protestants were faced with a limited pool of spouses, and to Protestantism the edict looked like a plot for their eradication. Generally ignored until a Unionist MP addressed the issue in the House of Commons, *Ne Temere* became a national cause. In response in 1911, the Anglican Bishop of Armagh gave an inflammatory speech against the edict, inciting Protestant churches to unite and hold public meetings and protests in Belfast and Dublin. Graham Walker argues that *Ne Temere* crystallized Ulster protestant efforts against Home Rule. For example, in 1914 the Presbyterian General Assembly voted 921 to forty-three against an Irish parliament, reversing the position the church held for twenty years. When the British government called an Irish Convention to negotiate an Irish constitution (1917), Ulster unionists cited *Ne Temere* to reinforce their refusal.⁴⁴

Civil Rights and the Union

The Anglo-Irish Treaty established the Irish Free State as a dominion of the British Empire. Separate assemblies were created in Belfast and Dublin, making Northern Ireland a province within the United Kingdom. Although the northern administration was responsible for local elections, government and internal security, Section 75 reserved London's right to legislate on any relevant matter. The measure removed the Irish question from British politics, save budgetary matters and the extra-parliamentary efforts of individual members. The arrangement satisfied the political demands of rank-and-file unionists, maintained the security of the new statelet and concurred with the cultural and theological outlook of Ulster Protestants.⁴⁵

The Ulster Unionist Party viewed all opponents as security risks.

Belfast contended with nationalists and republicans who offered little allegiance, and a catholic community who wanted their political and religious rights asserted. The UUP chose to set up an economic, judicial and political system favoring the Protestant Ascendancy and supporters within the unionist middle and working classes. For forty years, the plan limited most threats and catholic leadership was complacent. Ulster's minority was placed into in a subservient position, and due to Unionist policy they favored emigration. The working-classes wanted to restrain the economic and political power of the Ascendancy: catholics looked to nationalists and republicans, while protestants supported the Labor Movement. For their part, churches employed evangelical rhetoric to protect the Protestant-basis of education and to define Northern Ireland's moral statutes. After the Second World War, and with the Butler Education Act, a better educated and more sophisticated catholic leadership developed that wanted the rights given to all British citizens. They read the accounts of the American civil rights movement, reported in Northern Irish newspapers, and saw images of direct-action protests. By the mid-1960s, nationalists and republicans believed that social agitation could work in Ulster.⁴⁶

To understand why a civil rights movement developed in Northern Ireland, it is necessary to look at politics in the south, the Unionist administration, and the reaction from nationalists, republicans and protestant populists. On 3 December 1925, Belfast, Dublin and London accepted the Border Commission Report. With the status quo maintained and territorial integrity determined, Unionists took control of local councils. To defend protestant rights and to keep catholic political aspirations in check, they devised an electoral system that assured unionist control of provincial government and most councils, even those with a catholic majority or a substantial minority. All Northern Ireland cabinet appointees and most provincial administrators were protestant, while unionists held the majority of public positions.⁴⁷

Bills were passed that abolished proportional representation in Northern Ireland's council elections, redrew electoral boundaries in unionist favor, and required all councilors to swear allegiance to the Northern Ireland state. The legislation allowed Belfast to take over any agency or council that did not recognize its sovereignty.⁴⁸ Nationalist votes were ghettoized and local boundaries gerrymandered: for example, Dungannon (fifty-five percent nationalist) was divided into three districts, two with unionist majorities. Londonderry stood as the worst example, a city where catholics made up two-thirds of the population and which unionists re-aligned to give their party sixty percent of city council seats.

To minimize the votes of the catholic and protestant working classes, only rate payers could participate in elections. In February 1929, the *Method of Voting and Redistribution of Seats Act* passed, and local parliamentary and Westminster contests took to the British winner-take-all system. In spite of these provisions, Armagh City, Enniskillen, Irvinestown Rural, Lurgan Borough and Omagh Rural had non-Unionist governments, as did the Keady Urban Area, Newry Town and the Strabane Union Area. Twenty-two Nationalist-controlled local councils swore allegiance to the Irish Free State, while those in Tyrone County and Fermanagh County refused to recognize the Northern Ireland government. After Cookstown, Downpatrick, Keady, Kilkeel, Lisnaskea, Magherafelt and Newry followed suit, Ulster's constabulary seized their offices and records.⁴⁹

Events in the south increased protestant angst. The Irish Republican Army (IRA) campaign, the murders of protestants and the extensive damage to private assets were viewed as ethnic cleansing. Northern papers carried numerous articles on the assaults, killings and intimidation, and emphasized brutality towards the elderly. In the first six months of the Free State's existence, there were thirty-seven deaths. The protestant siege mentality rose in August 1920, when the Dáil set up the Department of the Boycott. An embargo against Belfast began, with northern-based banks, companies and goods affected. Other towns were included in 1921, most notably Banbridge, Lisburn and Newtownards. Accordingly, Northern Ireland's new government viewed security as the primary issue. The IRA's extensive campaign against the north led to rampant sectarian bloodshed within Belfast and other urban areas.⁵⁰

Irish republican violence and accompanying economic intimidation were seen as attempts to expel unionists from the south. For defense, loyalists formed Cromwell Clubs, the Ulster Protestant Association and the Ulster Brotherhood, a secret society based in Belfast. These groups harmed catholics and raised funds through extortion. The Ulster Imperial Guards and Fermanagh Vigilance were created in rural areas to conduct paramilitary operations, and at times worked with official support. The situation appeared to ease when Westminster and the Irish Republican Army agreed to a truce in July 1921. But, Sinn Fein and the IRA used the ceasefire to regroup and move men into the north. In January 1922, republicans began a new campaign of house burnings and kidnappings in Ulster. Throughout the summer, attacks on the Royal Irish Constabulary took place within the northern counties. The Collins administration supplied the arms and the boycott continued, with merchandise from the north seized and destroyed in the South without government interference.⁵¹

In April, the *Civil Authorities (Special Powers) Act (Northern Ireland)*

passed, giving the Northern Irish legal system a weapon against terrorism and dissent. The Act empowered the Home Affairs Minister to make laws to preserve law and order, prohibited inquests and called for the death penalty, extraordinary prison sentences, whipping and summary courts with no jury. That July, London enacted the *Constabulary (Ireland) Act 1922*, replacing the Royal Irish Constabulary (under Westminster's control) with RUC, under Unionist administration. Eighty percent of the new Royal Ulster Constabulary's manpower came from the unionist community. Northern authorities also formed the almost exclusively protestant Ulster Special Constabulary (USC), to bolster the police and British armed forces. Belfast established three classifications: one full-time and paid ('A'); a part-time group reimbursed for their service ('B'); and an auxiliary ('C').⁵² The following month, Irish republicans captured the border towns of Belleek and Pettigo and were expelled after the British Army deployed artillery. The sectarian disturbances led to new reprisals against catholic workers, especially in the Belfast shipyards, and to murders and house burnings in nationalist neighborhoods. For instance, the Ulster Protestant Association embarked on a new assassination campaign. Civil war existed: five hundred and fifty-five catholic and protestant civilians were killed, approximately two thousand injured and over three million pounds of property damaged. When the republican campaign ended in September and internees released, Belfast used the 'B' Specials to protect against external and internal threats.⁵³

Northern Ireland's traditional Calvinism coalesced with economic populism and politics. The conjunction helped fundamentalists to influence secular events and the conception of protestant civil rights. Protestant-owned firms were encouraged to hire from their community, catholics were largely barred from the civil service, and communist and socialist advances were thwarted. The Ulster Unionist Party held a condescending attitude towards its working class, and concentrated on minimizing threats to protestant cohesion: the educational system, housing, outdoor relief and unemployment. With the exception of security, these four subjects dominated the UUP's parliamentary agenda.⁵⁴ The Unionist temperament helped to develop protestant populism, based on a history of public oratory and radical politics. In the 1850s, Presbyterians, such as Hugh Hanna and the Anglican ministers Thomas Drew, William McIlwaine and Thomas Roe, pioneered the Belfast street preaching phenomena. Their theological and political rhetoric could incite communal

conflict and replaced the Orange parades banned by the *Party Processions Act*. They sought conversion and revivalism, while censuring Catholics for their economic and political aspirations and the perceived repressive nature of their Church. Using a confrontational style – take the battle to the enemy – they hoped to defend Protestant religious liberties and civil rights. Often, rioting and sectarian street fighting occurred. Protestant laymen adopted the same tactic. In the spring of 1868, a small landowner from Ballykilbeg organized illegal Orange parades and suffered imprisonment. William Johnston backed land tenure reform, but created a working relationship between the landed aristocracy and Protestant workers.⁵⁵

Populists took to independent Unionism, including the land agitation of Thomas Russell, the Protestant socialism and anti-Catholicism of Arthur Trew, the labor policies of William Walker and the working class rhetoric of Thomas Sloan. Russell, who became head of the Farmers and Labour Union in 1900, supported temperance and favored land reform through compulsory purchase. Trew took a more radical stance, and in June 1901 led a mob against a Corpus Christi procession. He received twelve months in prison. After his release, Trew and his supporters opposed the public meetings that the labor leader William Walker and his Irish Labour Party held. Between 1904 and 1907, Walker tried to win Catholic votes during two by-elections in Belfast and the British General election of 1906. Three times he lost to the Unionist candidate. The Belfast Protestant Association cornered Walker into positions Catholics could not support: redistributing Irish seats to increase Protestant representation; maintaining the Statutory Declaration the British monarch made against Transubstantiation; inspecting monasteries and convents; opposing Home Rule; barring Catholics from being the Lord Chancellor of England or Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and no funds for Catholic university education. Thomas Sloan, a labor leader, espoused evangelical ideas and left-wing politics when denouncing unionist leadership. A fundamentalist lay preacher, he addressed lunchtime religious meetings and spoke on Belfast's Customs House steps. Sloan combined the demand for legislation to help the working-class with conservative Protestant tenets. He mixed Protestantism with politics. Sloan criticized the unionist leadership for its soft stance on alcohol, and the Church of Ireland's ritualism and its clerics who were attracted to the Roman church.⁵⁶

Independent Unionism represented working-class dissent towards the Ascendancy, a populist call for civil rights and a threat to unionist hegemony. When the Loyal Institution suspended Sloan in June 1903, he helped to form the Independent Loyal Orange Institution, or Independent Orange Order (IOO). Based around county Antrim and the city of Belfast,

the Independent Institution assailed the Ulster Unionist Council and unionist leadership, the Roman Catholic Church and argued for a democracy defined through protestant supremacy. The organization took an evangelical position on social causes, pushed for better unionist government, land reform and houses for rural laborers. Two years later, an IOO resolution backed Trinity College as Ireland's national university, compulsory land purchase, the redistribution of parliamentary seats and tenant's rights. The new organization opposed Catholic Church-controlled schools and the establishment of a denominational university.⁵⁷

The Belfast Protestant Association and the Independent Loyal Institution garnered strength through the growing trade unionist movement. An association of catholic and protestant socialists founded the Belfast Trade Council in 1881 and twelve years later established a branch of the Independent Labour Party. Protestants who supported Labour and who did not want to be associated with the Orange Order and Carsonite Unionism endorsed the socialist ideals of James Connolly. A Republican and Socialist, Connolly promoted syndicalism and the radicalism of the Industrial Workers of the World. Connollyites generally opposed partition and a few helped with the Belfast boycott. In June 1907, the IOO backed the National Union of Dock Laborers, a strike that witnessed protestant-catholic solidarity. James Larkin addressed a mixed rally on Tennent Street (at the foot of the protestant Shankill Road), speaking on the right to work and the need to look past religious differences. Alex Boyd, a protestant, attended a meeting at the catholic Clonard Gardens, while on the 26th of July a two-and-one half mile procession marched from Belfast's city hall to nationalist and unionist ghettos. But cooperation was short-lived and produced few results, as old tensions reemerged after deployment of the British Army. Unionist employers managed to get catholics and 'rotten prods' expelled from the shipyards, allowing working-class labor agitation to give way to sectarian politics. The Belfast Protestant Association and the Independent Orange Order helped to establish a populist, protestant activism directed against the nationalist community and the unionist leadership. The organization created a template for an evangelical and fundamentalist-based opposition to the Protestant Ascendancy's political control and to the liberalization of Protestant tenets.⁵⁸

In 1918, the unionist elite organized the Ulster Unionist Labor Association (UULA) to placate the protestant working class. Although economic turmoil followed the world war, the UULA pushed for moderation, supporting skilled labor, new work opportunities, and housing and fair rents. Protestant living conditions were bad: many homes had

outdoor plumbing, were overcrowded and dilapidated. During the first Northern Irish election, the UULA won five of the forty seats for the provincial parliament. The association forced the UUP to introduce any social welfare legislation implemented in Great Britain. In January 1920, the Belfast Labour Party won ten seats to the Belfast city council. Sectarian intimidation and a perceived threat to the Union reversed Labour's gains, and in May 1921 all their candidates for the provincial election lost their deposits.⁵⁹ During the 1930s, the Unionist administration agreed to control excessive rents, proposed sanitary regulations for new housing and called for slum clearances. The effort provided minimal relief to the working class. More important to Unionist control, joblessness in Northern Ireland averaged twenty-seven percent and unemployment aid was half the rate paid in British cities. The lack of work led to sectarian cooperation and to increased calls for socialism, but the Ulster Unionist Labour Alliance demanded employment for protestants. In 1933, Sir Basil Brooke, a Fermanagh land owner and the Minister of Agriculture, told a Twelfth audience not to hire catholics. He made the statement during a parliamentary election and as a means to fend off a unionist challenger.⁶⁰

Outdoor Relief became a major issue as the Unionist administration relied on a system that Poor Law Guardians governed. Guardians wanted to keep rates low, looked at the poor as 'spongers' on the public good and supported workhouses. Joseph Devlin, the Nationalist politician, saw these Guardians both as middle class and Calvinist in theology. In the 1930s, the Unionist administration wanted to lower unemployment insurance and favored workers that supported them politically. Catholics and protestants who backed Labour faced discrimination and any relief had to be spent in protestant-owned shops. But as Outdoor Relief rates were cut and protesters either struck off the register or forced into the workhouse, protestant workers radicalized. The Belfast Trades Council, Nationalists and the new Northern Ireland Labour Party organized massive protests and marches. In 1932, the UULA passed a resolution demanding a rate increase. An Unemployed Workers' Committee reorganized, with inspiration from the Marxist-influenced Revolutionary Workers' Group.⁶¹

The new committee led protests in Belfast that became riots. The Outdoor Relief Strike witnessed catholic and protestant solidarity, forcing the Unionist administration to raise rates. The Unemployed Workers' Committee organized a mass meeting (September 30th) and three days later approximately sixty thousand catholics and protestants marched to the Custom House steps. Northern Irish Labour politicians and radicals spoke, such as Betty Sinclair of the Communist Party of Northern Ireland. Irish Communists attempted to interest the British public about the

Northern Ireland government, noting Independent Unionist dissatisfaction. That November, catholic and protestant railroad workers went on strike after management cut wages fifteen percent. The following year, government plans to suppress anti-poverty demonstrations drew a sarcastic rebuttal from Jack Beattie: "If Christianity – as the government claims it to be – is to assist one another and help the lame dogs over the stile, I feel disposed to say that the government are laming (sic) the dogs more seriously than previously." On 29 May 1934, Westminster considered an unemployment bill that placed the financial burden onto the Northern Irish treasury. In response, such payments were reduced and protestants not known to be socialist were favored.⁶²

Sectarian conflict did not stop all cooperation, as a protestant contingent attended the annual commemoration at Wolf Tone's grave in Bodenstown in 1934. Some republicans believed they could attract loyalists due to economic distress and Unionist arrogance. But acting in concert did not improve working conditions or stop the violence. During 1935's marching season, joblessness in Belfast created new tensions and after a July Twelfth parade was fired on, riots broke out. Any hope for a working class alliance ended, as the Irish Republican Army made a brief and violent appearance to defend catholic neighborhoods. Although a few left-wing protestants joined with republicans, loyalists besieged catholic homes on Lancaster Street and the British Army were once again deployed. When the fighting abated, unemployment remained an issue. In 1937, Sir Stafford Cripps visited Northern Ireland, hoping to convince the protestant working class to repudiate the Ulster Unionist Party. An English barrister, Labour Party leader and a Marxist, he generated little interest. Only after the *Unemployment Assistance (Emergency Powers) Act 1939* passed and a new European war loomed were the Poor Law Guardians replaced and Northern Ireland prepared for the welfare state.⁶³

Evangelicals and loyalists were unhappy with their government's efforts to protect protestant employment. The rhetoric of the Ulster Protestant League (UPL) helped to erase cross-community cooperation. Modeled on a Scottish organization and made up of evangelicals and the working class, the UPL aimed to ensure that whatever jobs existed were given to protestants. At first, the Ulster Unionist Party supported the League, as Unionist leaders spoke at League functions and the Ulster Protestant League held meetings within the UUP's headquarters on Glengall Street. The UPL organized assaults on Left-wing gatherings, declaring the Outdoor Relief Strike to be a Communist and Republican conspiracy. Alexander Ratcliffe, the Scottish Protestant leader, came to Belfast to address his Ulster counterparts. But the Protestant League

turned on the Unionist administration when it seemed to placate catholic interests and the political and efforts of the Catholic Church. These included: ignoring the Eucharist Congress in Dublin (June 1932) and allowing the Catholic Truth Society festival to be held in Belfast.⁶⁴

Ratcliffe's oratory against the Catholic Church and the unionist elite turned inflammatory. The Ulster Protestant League called the Unionist administration "Rome-fearing and pro-Catholic" and accused them of "appeasement of the catholic community." The League asserted "Protestantism before Party!," asked "Is UPL Orangeism too Protestant for Anglo and Roman Catholic Unionists?" and supported independent candidates for the Belfast city council and the Northern Ireland parliament. William Bradbury, who became the League's chairman in 1937, ran as a Jubilee Protestant Defence Association candidate, winning Duncairn in north Belfast. But when unemployment declined after 1936 and with fascist support, the UPL's electoral threat diminished. After the League put up its final candidate during 1938's Northern Ireland general election, it disappeared from provincial politics.⁶⁵

Independent unionists could look to the Northern Ireland Labour Party (NILP). Formed on a socialist and pro-Union platform and with an electoral strength centered on Belfast, they associated with their British counterpart and affiliated to the Irish Trade Unions Council. Their manifesto included: the right to work; a national minimum wage; an eight-hour day; and pension rights. In the late 1920s, the NILP did well in elections in Belfast, Newry and Newtownards. In alliance with Local Optionists, who campaigned on alcohol issues, they created a credible alternative. Throughout the 1930s, however, Labour was tainted with Irish nationalism and never seriously threatened the Ulster Unionist Party.⁶⁶ Moreover, during the Second World War, Northern Irish Labour opposed conscription and renewed its call for social welfare. In February 1943 the protestant vote split, allowing Jack Beattie to win Westminster's West Belfast seat. As the NILP's candidate, he urged repeal of the Trade Disputes Act, protested against the Special Powers Act, demanded release of political prisoners, exposed unionist gerrymandering, fought for better houses and opposed the Means Test. These were civil rights demands. In response, the Unionist administration appointed Henry Cassidy (Harry) Midgley, as the Minister of Public Security. A popular Labour leader, he had formed the Commonwealth Labour Party, as a platform for international economic planning: the British Commonwealth and the Beveridge Report on Social Welfare Reform (1942) transcended the backwardness of Gaelic Irish Nationalism. British social planning pushed communal ownership and control of industry, central economic planning,

comprehensive housing programs and universal schooling. Midgley also professed Christian socialism and evangelical rhetoric, with slogans such as: "Ulster for the Commonwealth and Christian principles in politics."⁶⁷

As world war ended and unemployment loomed, the status of workers imported from the Irish Free State became a political issue. Although Stormont passed the *Northern Ireland Restriction Order 1942* to withhold residency permits, in July 1945 Northern Ireland still contained twenty thousand southern workers. Trade unionists and the Northern Ireland Labour Party wanted unskilled northern workers laid off before the trained southern ones were made redundant. Because rising joblessness threatened the Ulster Unionist Party, Home Affairs Minister John Edmond Warnock recommended expulsions. Stormont passed the Safeguarding of Employment (Northern Ireland) Act 1947, which limited residence permits for workers from the south.⁶⁸

In the May 1945 provincial election, the UUP ran on an anti-socialist platform, receiving 178,000 votes and thirty-three of 52 seats. The NILP did well with approximately sixty-six thousand votes (a 13% gain); Nationalists another thirty-two thousand (and ten seats); the independent unionists and socialists 24,500; and communists twelve thousand five hundred. The Northern Ireland Labour Party, calling for education, housing and unemployment reform, won Oldpark and Dock, both in Belfast. Nevertheless, the Ulster Unionist Party viewed the victory of British Labour in the general election as a bigger shock. In order to maintain London's financial contribution, Stormont introduced Labour's welfare system. Overall, the Ulster Unionists took six fewer seats than they did in 1938. On 23 February 1950, James Godfrey MacManaway, the Ulster Unionist candidate and Stormont MP for the City of Londonderry, defeated Jack Beattie with a narrow majority. But as a Church of Ireland minister, his victory violated the (*House of Commons*) *Clergy Disqualification Act (1801)* and MacManaway faced disqualification. The Act barred ordained priests or deacons of the Established churches from sitting in Westminster's lower chambers. Although MacManaway had voted five times and contended that the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland qualified him, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council held against him. The subsequent by-election saw Thomas Teevan, a twenty-three year old, hold the seat for the Unionist party. On 25 November 1951 Beattie reclaimed it, besting Teevan by twenty-five votes.⁶⁹

A cross-section of Ulster society accepted the Beveridge Report and Stormont agreed to extend British social welfare programs to Northern Ireland. Most importantly, the housing shortage in Northern Ireland needed addressing. With over fifty thousand houses destroyed during air

raids, twice as many new ones were required and approximately 229,000 needed repairs. In June 1944, the Northern Ireland government established a Ministry of Health and Local Government that included housing and laid plans to conform to the Butler Education Act. They appointed William Grant, a trade unionist and former shipyard worker as minister. He proposed a Northern Ireland Housing Trust, with limited provisions and more emphasis on private enterprise housing and local authorities. The idea passed despite considerable opposition within the UUP; through the 1960s it built approximately one quarter of all new accommodations.⁷⁰

Following the Second World War, the Unionist government did consider the needs of its working classes. The Housing and Local Government (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill – to extend subsidies for housing built by private individuals – passed in 1946; an Education Bill brought the Butler Education into Northern Ireland (1947); and the Housing (Extension of Powers) Bill addressed the renting of housing accommodations (1953). The ability to acquire a better education and better living conditions established new expectations for the catholic community and led to the activism of the 1960s. But protestant dissent, agitation against unemployment, and the belief that the working class were discriminated against in council elections, pushed many protestants towards civil rights.⁷¹

Northern Ireland decreed an educational system with three classes of schools. The first type was transferred to the local authority and which the state paid all costs, while the second had a six-person managerial committee consisting of two local representatives and four clerics. Half of their expenses and discretionary capital expenditure the local authority paid (Four by Two Schools). Under the third and independent group, churches retained control, but with only fifty percent state aid and no capital expenditure. Despite its reconciliatory nature, the 1923 Education Act created problems for the Unionist administration. Although the first Unionist Minister of Education, Lord Londonderry, proposed an integrated and secular educational system, Catholic and Protestant leaders wanted their doctrine taught to their respective believers. The Catholic Church sought funding for its schools, but wanted to maintain its authority, while Protestants looked to a public school system that included their tenets and history within the curricula.⁷²

While the Catholic Church elected to operate their schools with limited government aid, Protestants disliked aspects of the law. Several clauses