IRISH ETHNIC CONSCIOUSNESS:
AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL VIEW OF ITS AWAKENING,
ITS MAINTENANCE, AND ITS PERPETUATION
IN NORTHERN IRELAND

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Ethnonational movements have proliferated throughout the world since the American and French Revolutions first gave birth to the consciousness that every nation has a right to self-determination. Whether these ethnic-based nationalist movements are a new phenomenon which is rooted in the Industrial Era of Europe, or are just a recent stage in an ethnic struggle that began during the initial cultural contact between two ethnically different groups and has persisted ever since, determines the point at which an analyst will choose to begin his or her investigation. Ultimately, the selection of this starting point determines the conclusions drawn about the cause and nature of ethnonational movements.

In this thesis, the exploration of Irish ethnonationalism begins in the twelfth century when the Anglo-Normans invaded Ireland. The formation and development of the Irish ethnic group is analyzed, and self-identification found to be the key criterion for determining group membership. As social cleavages between the "Irish" and "colonizer" hardened, institutions and structures emerged to maintain and reinforce the ethnic boundary between these two groups. The thesis concludes with a detailed analysis of the operation of one
mechanism of self-segregation--separate education--using ethnographic data and autobiographical accounts of the childhood experiences of people who were born and raised in Northern Ireland.

In this thesis, it is argued that Irish ethnic consciousness was brought into awareness when the invading Anglo-Normans threatened to dissolve into chaos the existing Gaelic social order. It is contended that the ethnic struggle in Ireland which began in the twelfth century and still persists today in Northern Ireland, has no single cause, but was and still is fundamentally a cultural conflict which continues to be fuelled by a long history of "remembered" grievances--cultural, political, and economic--most of which predate industrialization and the American and French Revolutions. This past is kept alive by the institutions, structures, and practices which maintain and reinforce the ethnic boundary between Catholics and Protestants in contemporary Northern Ireland, thus ensuring that the Irish nationalist movement will continue to have at its disposal a sharply defined ethnic group which it can mobilize when necessary, and from which it can recruit new members.
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Chapter 1

Introduction to the Issue: Approaches & Perspectives

I The Debate

Revolutionary movements are not a new phenomenon, however early in the nineteenth century their nature changed significantly. Lord Acton designated, "1831 as a 'watershed' year for classifying revolutions. He considered revolutionary movements prior to that date to be based upon either rival empirical claims or the refusal of people to be misgoverned by strangers" (Connor, 1973: 9). Change in the nature of revolutionary movements was initiated by the American and French Revolutions which gave birth to the consciousness that, "the source of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation" (Connor, 1973: 6), and that governments must be,
"sanctioned by the will of the people instead of the will of God" (Wolf, 1986: 102). This change in ideology was of such magnitude in the eyes of one historian of nationalism, Kohn (1944: 523), that he proclaimed "before the French Revolution there had been states and governments, after it there emerged nations and peoples." Therefore after 1831, nationalism was linked to political legitimacy and ethnicity.

The nature of nineteenth and twentieth-century nationalist movements appears to be so significantly different from revolutionary movements prior to this time that the question of whether the former are children of the industrial era or just a recent stage of pre-industrial conflict, has become the topic for much scholarly debate. Historical texts, which are themselves the historians' construction of what they believe occurred in the past (Carr, 1962; Becker, 1932) are the primary sources of validation for both opponents in this debate. Those social and political scientists who argue that ethnic consciousness was sparked by the American and French Revolutions and nurtured by the uneven spread of modernization, search for the cause and an understanding of the nature of these movements in the industrial era. Other social and political scientists who believe ethnonationalist movements to be a recurrent phenomenon, search the entire social history of ethnic group interaction to find clues as to the causes and nature of these movements. The relevance of both of these theoretical
interpretations of historical texts to the conflict in Northern Ireland will be discussed in the following part of this chapter.

A. Ethnonationalism as a Product of Industrialization

1. Economic Explanations: Marxists' Interpretations

The modern state, according to Marx and Engels, was a result of the process in which the feudal mode of production was replaced by the capitalist mode of production. During this process, the "fragmented feudal society" was slowly united, destroying all "local particularities" and producing a "standardized" population (Nimni, 1985: 103). This standardized population was a necessary condition, according to Marx, for the creation of capitalist markets. The population was divided into two social classes, each grouped according to its differential access to strategic resources. Marx, in The German Ideology, wrote:

...In each country the bourgeoisie has its own particular interests and cannot transcend nationality....But in every country the proletariat has a sole and common interest, a sole and common enemy, a sole and common struggle. Only the
proletariat can abolish nationality, only
the vigilant proletariat can make the
brotherhood of nations (quoted in Löwy, 1976: 82).

Löwy (1976: 82) analyzes this passage and claims that Marx meant "all the proletariat of all nations have the same interests...[and] for the proletariat, the nation is merely the immediate political framework for the seizure of power." Thus for traditional Marxists, social conflicts which claim to be between ethnic groups are a "diversionary myth" which camouflage the "real" conflict, which is a class conflict where the oppressed proletariat is fighting to gain control of the basic productive means of modern economic systems.

DePaor (1971), Devlin (1969) and others, have reflected this traditional Marxist viewpoint in their writings on the conflict in Northern Ireland. Whyte (1978: 258) has summarized their argument as claiming the:

...capitalist class, both British and local, has artificially fomented the conflict in Northern Ireland. The natural division in Northern Ireland, as in other capitalist societies, is between proletariat and bourgeoisie. But the bourgeoisie has craftily obscured this division, and instead has split the workers on sectarian lines. Protestant workers allied with their bosses against Catholic
workers, instead of allying with their Catholic fellow-workers against the bosses.

As Whyte points out, a major problem with this argument is that the Protestants really do have some objective basis for their fears. They know that the Nationalists do want a united Ireland where the Protestants would be a minority and made subject to a government in which the Catholic Church has a powerful political voice. They also know that if the Nationalists get their way, the Protestant bourgeoisie could leave. However for the Protestant worker, this would be an unrealistic solution. Therefore, the Protestant workers have vigorously resisted any attempts by various groups such as the People's Democracy, to unite Protestant and Catholic workers against the British and local bourgeoisie.

Some Marxists have tried to overcome this weakness in the traditional Marxist argument. Farrell (1980) has proposed that the conflict in Northern Ireland is a result of differential discrimination which corresponds to sectarian lines. He argues that both the Protestant and Catholic workers are oppressed, however as the former is less oppressed than the latter, the two groups are kept from uniting against their real enemy—the bourgeoisie.

The implication in Farrell's work is that if differential discrimination did not exist in Northern Ireland, Protestants would have no objection to becoming part of the Free State
(Whyte, 1978). Farrell's argument fails to consider the cultural reasons for the attitudes of the Protestants, such as their religious fears and their strong identification with Britain (Whyte, 1978).

Like the traditional Marxists, Farrell dismisses the ethnic factors of the conflict in Northern Ireland as "mere manifestations of a 'false consciousness'" (Richmond, 1987: 9). As a result, neither argument adequately explains why members from all classes in Northern Catholic Irish society and not just the Catholic proletariat, are active members in the Nationalist movement. Nor do these arguments account for the united action of Protestants from all walks of life against any legislation from Westminster which would threaten the power structure in Northern Ireland. A recent example of this is the strong rejection by Protestants of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, which was signed in 1986 by England and the Republic of Ireland, giving Dublin a limited say in Northern Ireland's future. Hechter (1975), a neo-Marxist sociologist, has tried to overcome these problems experienced in the traditional Marxist arguments, by explaining the ethnic nature of modern nationalist movements, in particular Celtic nationalist movements in Britain, using a model of internal colonialism.

Hechter (1975: 10) argues that the results of the
"uneven spread of modernization" over the state at the beginning of the industrialization period produced "advanced" and "less advanced" groups. By institutionalizing this new stratification system, the superordinate group hoped to maintain the advantage gained by having an uneven distribution of resources and power within the state. The allocation of all social roles was regulated by the superordinate group. Subordinate groups, denied access to positions of power, became dependent on the "advanced" group. As a result of this new system of stratification, termed the "cultural division of labour" by Hechter, groups with "distinctive ethnic identification" emerged.

While theoretically, peripheral groups should assimilate into the core, Hechter (1975: 43) points out that "when objective cultural differences [in particular language/accent; distinctive religious practices; and lifestyle] are superimposed upon economic inequalities, forming a cultural division of labour, and when adequate communication [through language societies, cultural festivals and similar institutions] exists as a facilitating factor, the chances for successful political integration of the peripheral collectivity into the national society are minimized." Therefore, just as "the existence of significant material inequalities between culturally similar groups in industrial society--such as between the English bourgeoisie and proletariat--will encourage
the subordinate group to become class conscious in its attempt to affect change in the distribution of resources" (Hechter, 1974: 1166). So, too, Hechter argues, will the uneven development of economic resources between culturally dissimilar groups stimulate reactive collective action by the disadvantaged peripheral group. This reactive collective action, Hechter concludes, often takes the form of an ethno-regional movement which seeks to change the allocation of societal resources.

Hechter's contribution to the debate on ethnonationalism has been welcomed by many theorists. Scott (1976: 187) suggests that Hechter appears to have brought together in one model the economic, political, and cultural factors which account for the emergence and persistence of ethnic affiliation and conflict in modern European states. Kahn (1981: 49) commends Hechter for "demonstrating that ethnic movements are not just cultural movements, but have other bases as well...[and for being able] to argue that movements that are apparently concerned only to assert cultural distinctiveness, are also concerned with a group's social and economic as well as cultural integrity." Hechter does this, Kahn (1981: 49) continues, by linking "ethnic conflict and the nature of colonial forms of domination...[in] internal colonies."
Smith (1981: 32) applauds Hechter's model for:

...clearly [grasping] the plural nature of most modern states and their origin in conquest of neighbouring areas [as well as] graphically [portraying] the neglects and often outright exploitation of several of these outlying areas for the benefit of central elites...[and for illuminating] the many ways political domination has utilized economic policy to perpetuate the subordination and sometimes impoverishment of peripheral populations.

While economic deprivation, economic discrimination and economic exploitation are "all grist to the nationalist mill" (Smith, 1981: 44), recent studies by Rose (1971: 200-208, 280-289, 389); Rose (1976: 11); Lijphart (1975: 91-93); and Whyte (1983)¹ have cast doubt on the severity of social and economic discrimination actually being experienced by Catholics in contemporary Northern Ireland, and consequently on Hechter's assumption that "the stronger the cultural division of labour [i.e., the greater the economic disadvantage of the peripheral ethnic group], the stronger the ethnic conflict" (Allardt, 1979: 37-39). Thus the recent narrowing

of economic gaps and decrease in economic inequalities in Northern Ireland which should, according to Hechter's model lead to a reduction in the awareness of ethnic group affiliation and a lessening of ethnic tensions has not done so. Instead there continues to be strong ethnic group identification by both Catholics and Protestants, and since the 1960s there has been an escalation in ethnic conflict in the area.

This escalation of ethnic conflict in a time of decreasing economic discrimination indicates that economic factors alone can not explain the intensity of national or ethnic sentiments in Northern Ireland (Smith, 1981: 44; Whyte, 1978: 266; See, 1986: 15-16). Therefore, if the ethnic nature of the Irish nationalist movement can not be accounted for in largely economic terms, then Hechter's internal colonialism model provides at best, only a partial explanation of this phenomenon, indicating that there are other more relevant factors which must also be considered.

One Marxist writer, Anderson (1983) has tried to transcend the difficulties of both the traditional and neo-Marxist explanations of the origins of ethnic-based nationalist movements, by including in his study of this phenomenon what he considers are the cultural roots of nationalism. Anderson (1983: 14,46) argues that "nationalities" are "cultural artefacts of a particular kind" which were created towards
the end of the eighteenth century when "a half-fortuitous, but explosive interaction between a system of production and productive relations (capitalism), a technology of communications (print), and the fatality of human linguistic diversity...made new communities imaginable."

By "fatality", Anderson (1983: 46) does not mean "primordial fatality of particular languages and their association with particular territories", rather he means the fatalities of the many varieties of spoken vernaculars which existed prior to the eighteenth century and were either eliminated or marginalized in order to create large "monoglot mass reading publics." Anderson (1983: 47) explains:

[Print languages] created unified fields of exchange and communications below Latin and above the spoken vernaculars. Speakers of the huge varieties of Frenches, Englishes, or Spanishes, who might find it difficult or even impossible to understand one another in conversation became capable of comprehending one another via print and paper. In the process, they gradually became aware of the hundreds of thousands, even millions, of people in their particular language-field, and at the same time that only those hundreds of thousands, or millions, so belonged. These fellow-readers, to whom they were connected through print, formed, in their secular, particular, visible invisibility, the embryo of the nationally-imagined community.
While according to Anderson, print capitalism gave life to national consciousness, it also created power inequalities between the language groups which made up any particular "monoglot mass reading public." Those dialects which "were closer to each print-language...dominated their final form" (Anderson, 1983: 48). Peripheral vernacular languages were either marginalized or eliminated. While a wedge was driven between the vernacular language-of-state and the marginalized vernacular languages within these states, it was not until the French Revolution provided the model via print capitalism that these peripheral vernacular language-groups were able to imagine themselves as nations separate from the state. Anderson (1983: 77-78) describes this process, saying:

Like a vast shapeless rock worn to a rounded boulder by countless drops of water, the experience [the French Revolution] was shaped by millions of printed words into a 'concept' on the printed page, and, in due course, into a model [which became the blueprint for modern nationalist movements].

Therefore, Anderson (1983: 128) concludes, through the "explosive interaction" of print capitalism and human language diversity, "the nation came to be imagined, and once imagined, modelled, adapted, and transformed."
Anderson bases his argument mainly on the premise that before print capitalism and the American and especially the French Revolutions, there was in Western Europe only one "great religiously-imagined community" and a few divinely sanctioned dynastic realms. Latin, he claims, unified the many different ethnic and linguistic groups that made up pre-modern Europe, into a single "unselfconscious" coherent sacred Christian community. According to Anderson, access to this "sacred language and written script" was strictly controlled by the Church. Latin, Anderson asserts, was the only language of instruction throughout the entire region. It structured the imagination of the literate elite through the written word, and the illiterate masses by "visual and aural creations", thereby giving all members of the Christian Community a common past and a common identity. Anderson (1983: 40, 46) argues that it was not until the sixteenth century when the "vernacularizing thrust of capitalism", in particular print capitalism, began the "dethronement of Latin [and thus] the erosion of the sacred community of Christendom", that the "possibility of imagining a nation arose" in Europe. Ethnic consciousness then, according to Anderson, was not created until in the eighteenth century, print capitalism had reduced Latin to the same banal status as other vernaculars, thus breaking the Church's "axiomatic grip on the minds of men", and enabling them to imagine linguistically unified
(at least in terms of a written language) secular nations. However, the Irish evidence casts doubts on these basic premises in Anderson's argument.

Irish is acclaimed as the world's oldest vernacular literature, and was being recorded using an alphabet called Ogham, prior to the arrival of Christianity in Ireland (Ellis, 1985: 81). While Christianity did introduce Latin to Ireland, many poets and scholars continued to write in Irish. Some priests, who were later elevated to sainthood, also wrote in Irish as well as Latin (Hoagland, 1953: 776). Even when written in Latin, much of the prose and poetry produced in Ireland during the pre-modern European era had a clearly identifiable "pagan echo" (Scherman, 1981: 267). Douglas Hyde (A Literary History of Ireland, 1899) says:

...representatives of the old pagan learning were allowed to continue to propagate their stories, tales, poems, and genealogies, at the price of incorporating with them a small share of Christian alloy....But so badly has the dovetailing of the Christian and pagan parts been managed in most of the older romances, that the pieces come away quite separate in the hands of even the least skilled analyser, and the pagan substratum stands forth entirely distinct from the Christian accretion (quoted in Ellis, 1985: 82).
Therefore, it is not unreasonable to assume that the Gaelic reader of these works would readily be able to identify in them those cultural concepts that were part of the Christian identity and those which belonged to his own ethnic heritage.

Beside secular poets and scholars, there were a number of secular schools in pre-modern Ireland. "The Synod of Drumceatt in A.D. 590 agreed to regular lands being set apart for the endowment of bardic schools" (Ellis, 1985: 82). In these schools Irish, not Latin was the language of instruction. Rather than "unselfconsciously" accepting the common history of Christendom as their own, the Gaels were not only aware of their own unique past, they were actively interested in it. Scherman (1981: 253-4) writes:

At the beginning of the seventh century, students at the monastic schools...began to take an active interest in their country's ancient literature and history and by the middle of that century the best of them were engaged in transcribing the old lore into the vernacular.

As will be discussed in Chapter 3, the early Christian Church in Ireland developed an ethnically distinctive character. This national character was so different from that of the Roman Church that by the twelfth century, the Pope was prompted to issue a Bull which gave Henry II Church
sanction to invade Ireland and bring the recalcitrant Irish Church back into the papal fold.

Finally, until the sixteenth century, the Irish refused to adopt Canon Law, which was the law of the Roman Church. Instead they continued to organize their society according to secular Brehon Law. It was only through the force of their colonizers that Brehon Law was finally replaced, and then it was not with Canon Law but with English Common Law. More will be said about these conflicting legal systems in Chapters 3 and 4.

It would seem from this evidence therefore, that the Irish did not have to wait until the eighteenth century or print capitalism before they could "imagine" themselves as a nation. Contrary to Anderson's argument then, Irish ethnic consciousness does not appear to be a dependent variable of a particular infrastructure.

2. Sociological Explanations: Non-Marxist Interpretations

While still designating the Industrial Era as the birthplace of ethnonationalism and acknowledging economic inequality as important in the shaping of any particular ethnonational movement, many non-Marxist social and political scientists offer social explanations for the cause and nature
of this phenomenon. Some of these theorists, for example Gellner (1980, 1981) argue that a tangible social characteristic such as language, custom, religion or some other ethnophysical phenomenon lies at the root of ethnic conflict. Others such as Heiberg (1975) see ethnic conflict as the result of an inability of a traditional cultural group to adjust to rapid social and cultural change brought about by modernization. Both of these theoretical viewpoints will be discussed in detail in this section.

Gellner (1980, 1981) emphasizes the three key factors for any understanding of modern nationalist movements are the uneven spread of industrialization; the increased importance of literacy in modern society; and the role of common culture as a means of communication when traditionally determined role relationships have been disrupted. To Gellner, culture is communication broadly defined with language as its most important component.

In agrarian societies, according to Gellner (1980: 243-4), technology was stable, as were the expectations of the population. A son, trained by his father, was expected to carry on his father's trade. His social role within the

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2 In Gaelic society, monasteries assumed the role of educating each new generation. This institution will be discussed in detail in the remaining chapters of this thesis.
community was allocated by heredity. The community provided him with any additional educational skills he might need to participate fully in village life. In industrial society, Gellner contends, the situation is vastly different.

Modern societies are economically specialized to a high degree. As well, industrial societies are occupationally mobile throughout an individual's career and over generations. Thus the community's education system, adequate for the needs of members in agrarian societies could, in Gellner's opinion, no longer provide the literacy skills required by a modern industrial society. To meet the needs of the continually emerging "specialisms" as well as to enable the population to be occupationally mobile, Gellner argues, the modern school system has to provide a broad-based unspecialized education at the lower levels and specialized training at the upper levels. Thus for members to fully participate in modern society, an extensive, formal, centrally-controlled (and Gellner emphasizes) linguistically uniform, state-wide education system is necessary. Gellner (1980: 244) adds that nowadays, "it is the language of the école maternelle and not the mother tongue, that matters."

When the school system fails to "homogenize" the population, Gellner concludes, nationalist movements will emerge.

The separate school system in contemporary Northern Ireland has prevented a "homogenizing" of the Northern Irish population and, as will be discussed in Chapter 5 of this thesis, it does
serve to maintain and reinforce the ethnic boundary between Catholics and Protestants. However, Gellner's basic premises that a linguistically homogeneous culture and an equal access to higher learning are sufficient to eliminate ethnic conflict, can not be substantiated by the Northern Ireland case.

English is the language of instruction in both Protestant and Catholic schools, with Irish being offered as a second language in the latter school system. As well, English is the language of everyday conversation for members of both Northern Irish groups. Thus the evidence from Northern Ireland does not appear to support Gellner's claim that a linguistically homogeneous culture will act as an integrative factor and will alleviate ethnic tensions.

Darby (1976: 132) writes that there is no evidence that Catholic schools are "academically less successful than the state (Protestant) schools." After grammar school, students from both school systems are given the same standard examination, which if they pass, will give them a scholarship to the institution of higher learning of their choice (Devlin, 1969; Holland, 1981; McCafferty, 1986). Thus both ethnic groups have an equal opportunity to learn the "specialisms" which may allow future social mobility. It is not the failure of the school system then, which inhibits the advancement of Northern Irish Catholics, suggesting that other factors must also be considered in order to understand
the rise of Irish ethnonationalism.

Heiberg (1975), like Gellner, places the beginning of ethnonationalism in the Industrial Era. She too argues that ethnonational movements are not primarily the result of economic conflicts. However, unlike Gellner, she does not see the "nationalism [of the peripheral ethnic group] and its stress on the sovereignty of culture" as a result of a failed state school system, but as "an attempt to create conditions by which the forces of modernization can be regulated and shaped to fit the pre-existing social and cognitive orientations and attitudes of its cultural base" (Heiberg, 1975: 189-190).

Industrialization, according to Heiberg (1975: 190) has:

...a specific culture of its own...[that contains] a set of values like individualism, work, literacy, impersonalization, general standards, etc....[as well] it also entails special concepts of time and space, specific organizational norms based on bureaucracy, and a new pattern of social stratification founded theoretically on achievement.

Cultural contact between this industrial culture and the traditional culture initiated a period of rapid social and cultural change in the peripheral ethnic groups of the state. In those cases where the peripheral ethnic groups were unable
to adjust to this sudden change, ethnonational movements emerged.

Heiberg's argument that during the time of contact between two cultures with different values and attitudes, the seeds of future ethnic conflict may be sown, is basically sound. However, in the Irish case it was not contact between the traditional Irish culture and the culture of industrialization which initiated ethnic conflict, although industrialization undoubtedly played an important role in exacerbating an already volatile situation. One reason for this was that except for small industrial enclaves located mostly in what is now Northern Ireland (Macneice, 1981), Ireland was and has remained mainly an agrarian state (Brody, 1973; Simpson, 1983).

B. Ethnonationalism as a Recent Stage of a Recurrent Ethnic Struggle

The theorists discussed in the previous section maintain that the birth of ethnonationalism and the uneven development of industrialization are connected. Traditional and neo-Marxists posit that the economic inequalities inherent in the capitalist system have produced nationalist movements among disadvantaged periphery groups. Anderson has added a new twist to the Marxist argument by claiming that print
capitalism created national consciousness. Gellner argues that "nationalisms emerged in the modern world mainly because the traditional social structure, with its system of ascriptive relationships, had been eroded by the forces of modernization" (Allardt, 1979: 36). Heiberg (1975: 189) contends that the inability of periphery groups to cope with the rapid replacement of their "multitude of different culturally relevant ways of thinking and doing things...[by] one way of thinking and doing things", (i.e., industrialization) is responsible for the emergence of ethnonational movements. But while "the uneven development of industrialization which roughly coincided with the development of [modern] nationalism has undoubtedly sharpened ethnic tensions and contributed to a new store of national grievances, [Smith (1981: 44) argues] the cleavages and antagonisms, so accentuated, together with the aspirations and ideas based on them, have their roots and inspirations elsewhere."

Social scientists who adhere to Smith's view, maintain that ethnically based nationalist movements are not a new phenomenon, "for the good social and historical reason, [they were] always there in some form" (Pi-Sunyer, 1985: 267). John Armstrong (1982: 4) explains:

Because the epoch of Absolutism that immediately preceded European nationalism involved, at least for elites, an
exceptionally strong rejection of ethnic differences, nationalism is often seen as utterly unprecedented. A longer look suggests that widespread intense ethnic identification although expressed in other forms, is recurrent.

Armstrong defines "intense ethnic identification" as having the modern meaning of a "nation". A central issue then becomes: when does an ethnic group form a nation? In a series of articles, Walker Connor (1972, 1973, 1978) suggests two conditions that must be met before an ethnic group can become a nation. First, the members of the ethnic group must become self-aware of the group's uniqueness. Thus, "while an ethnic group may, therefore, be other-defined, the nation must be self-defined" (Connor, 1978: 388). Secondly, the group's members must be aware that the customs, beliefs, and attitudes they share, are different from those shared by other groups. In other words, the group's members must be conscious that they form a "collective we", while members of other groups belong to a "collective them". Thus, ethnic identity is as much who you are not, as who you are (Barth, 1969: 15).

Once a group becomes aware of its uniqueness and recognizes that those groups with which it is interacting are culturally different, the potential for ethnic activism exists. The emergence and shape of ethnic-based movements which may subsequently arise depend on the historical patterning
of relations between the ethnic groups involved (See, 1980:107) and the presence of institutions and structures which strengthen ethnic group identity and aid mobilization (Pi-Sunyer, 1985: 289).

Those social scientists who believe ethnic-based movements to be a recurrent phenomenon, argue that the investigation of modern ethnic conflicts should begin with an examination of the historical texts which construct the ethnic groups' first encounters. My investigation of the rise and early development of Irish nationalism will follow this approach. Thus, in this thesis, I will argue that in the case of Ireland, it was the culture contact resulting from the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland in the twelfth century, which awakened Irish ethnic consciousness and initiated a Gaelic revolutionary response aimed at ridding Irish soil of a foreign culture—a culture which in the eyes of the native Irish posed a serious threat to their continued cultural, political and economic integrity. Further, I will argue that the nineteenth-century Irish nationalist movement was a product of its own cultural history. Therefore I will contend that this movement was and still is engaged in a fundamentally cultural conflict that represents the end product of a long history of "remembered" grievances in which cultural affronts have played and continue to play a central role and where economic and political injustices have been significant contributory factors in shaping this movement, and still do
play an important role in triggering ethnic activism in the area. As well, I will maintain that most of these "remembered" grievances which induced the modern Irish Nationalist movement predate both industrialization and the American and French Revolutions.

II An Anthropological Contribution: A View of the Awakening and Development of Irish Ethnic Consciousness

A. Theoretical Premises

An underlying theoretical premise of this thesis is that "it is inherent in the human condition that history, particularly a people's view of their own history, is an active force in determining present behavior" (Greenwood, 1977: 82). Therefore, an understanding of the present ethnic conflict in Northern Ireland requires an examination of how these groups interacted in the past.

In this thesis, I will argue that Irish ethnic consciousness was awakened by culture contact between the Anglo-Normans and Native Irish during the twelfth century, when the Gaelic Princes, and by extension clan members, became aware of the uniqueness of Gaelic culture, and conscious that the customs, beliefs, and attitudes they
(the Gaels) shared were different from those shared by the Anglo-Normans. This is not to say the Gaels were unaware of their ethnic identity prior to this time, when other groups such as the Norse invaded Ireland. However, the Normans were the first group to arrive on Irish shores which refused to be assimilated en masse into Gaelic culture (Stewart, 1977; Cronin, 1981; Pringle, 1985), and as such posed a much greater threat to Gaelic political, economic, and especially cultural integrity. The ethnic struggle initiated by this twelfth-century cultural encounter, I will contend, is still being waged in present day Northern Ireland.

A second theoretical premise underlying this thesis is that "ethnicity is not a physical fact but rather is a product of a consciousness shaped to see it. It exists as a tradition of cultural ideas mapped onto a population" (Whittaker, 1986: 165).

In Ireland there is no physical barrier, that is, there are no visible physical cultural markers which distinguish one ethnic group from another. Therefore members from one group, once assimilated into the other group, could

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3 Until the eighteenth century the most visible cultural marker of the Irish and their colonizers was language. Today English is commonly used by both groups.
not be readily identified by physical features. The barrier between the two groups then, is mental and is maintained and reinforced by the institutions, structures, and practices which have developed during the course of the history of interaction between the Irish and their colonizers. In Chapter 4, I will discuss the emergence and development of many of the institutions, structures, and practices which ensure the boundary between Northern Irish Catholics and Protestants remains intact.

Self-identification and not descent was in the past, and still is the key criterion of group membership in both Northern and Southern Ireland. Thus boundary crossing has, since the twelfth century consisted of the acceptance of the "tradition of cultural ideas mapped onto [the other group]." In Anglo-Norman times, crossing the ethnic boundary appears to have been a frequent occurrence. While there is a great deal

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4 Stereotyping of members of one group by the other does exist in Ireland, and according to the historical texts has been common since the first encounter between these two groups in the twelfth century. Therefore if "Y" fits "X"'s stereotype of "Ethnic Group 2", then "X" will be convinced "Y" is a member of "Ethnic Group 2". The reality of "Y"'s ethnic group membership does not matter to "X". While the issue of stereotyping is beyond the scope of this thesis, I will be addressing the question of how these stereotypes are maintained in Chapter 5, when I discuss how ethnic boundaries in Northern Ireland are kept intact in lieu of any visible cultural markers.
of discussion in the literature of Anglo-Norman males marrying Gaelic women and thus becoming eligible under Brehon Law to become clan chiefs, there are only a few references to Gaels being assimilated into Anglo-Norman culture. Those Gaels who did cross the boundary, lived in the towns and were probably assimilated as family units.

Ethnic boundary crossing became progressively more difficult as perceived cultural differences sharpened. Henry VIII's break with the Roman Catholic Church resulted in the mass merging of the Anglo-Norman Catholics with the Native Irish in the seventeenth century. After this time the literature recounts only isolated incidents of border crossings. For example in the eighteenth century, a number of Irish landlords chose to adopt Protestantism rather than bear the harsh economic restrictions of the Penal Laws. Sporadic cases of intermarriage did and still do occur, in which the wife must give up both her ethnic identity and religion before being absorbed into her husband's ethnic group. As a result, relations with the wife's kin become strained and difficult, and are occasionally severed completely (McFarlane, 1979; Donnan & McFarlane, 1983,1986; Harris, 1972; Leyton, 1975).

While it is not addressed directly in the texts, there is no indication given that descendents of assimilated members are singled out because they have a different origin from
other group members. Thus when Irish Nationals define all "true" Irishmen as having a Gaelic heritage, what they are inferring is that a true Irishman identifies with and accepts as his own the Gaelic cultural heritage. This does not necessarily require that the person also be of Gaelic descent in order to be a "true" Irishman.

Theoretically, the argument in this thesis is structured by using the model developed by Geertz in his two articles, "Religion as a Cultural System" (1973a) and "Ideology as a Cultural System" (1973b). I will be proposing that ethnic consciousness can also be thought of as a cultural system.

Geertz (1973a: 89) defines culture as denoting "an historically transmitted pattern of meaning embodied in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life." Cultural patterns, Geertz (1973a: 92) argues, are systems of symbols⁵ which can be thought of as "models for reality" as well as "models of reality." In other words, "cultural patterns have an intrinsic double aspect: they give meaning, that is objective conceptual form, to social and psychological reality

⁵ Geertz (1973b: 208n) explains what he means by "symbol" saying "I use 'symbol' broadly in the sense of any physical, social, or cultural act or object that serves as a vehicle for a conception [meaning]."
both by shaping themselves to it and by shaping it to
themselves" (Geertz 1973a: 93). These ordered systems of
cultural symbols "function to synthesize a people's
ethos--the tone, character, and quality of their life,
its moral and aesthetic style and mood--and their world
view--the picture they have of the way things in sheer
actuality are, their most comprehensive ideas of order"
(Geertz, 1973a: 89).

Geertz (1973b: 220) continues, saying that it is the
attempt of any system of cultural symbols "to render otherwise
incomprehensible social situations meaningful, to so construe
them as to make it possible to act purposefully within them."
According to Geertz (1973a: 99), "man depends upon symbols
and symbol systems with a dependence so great as to be decisive
for his creatural viability and, as a result his sensitivity
to even the remotest indication that they may prove unable
to cope with one or another aspect of experience raises
within him the gravest sort of anxiety." Thus in the face
of chaos, individuals as well as groups require a cultural
system, that is a system of symbols, which will provide them
with "not only...[the] ability to comprehend the world, but
also, [in] comprehending it...[give] a precision to their
feeling, a definition to their emotions which enables them,
morosely or joyfully, grimly or cavalierly, to endure it"
(Geertz, 1973a: 104). Given this model of a cultural system,
I will maintain in this thesis, that ethnic consciousness provided the Irish with the "system of cultural symbols" they needed to cope with and react against a foreign culture which threatened to reduce to chaos, their "social life-world."

My understanding of ethnic consciousness is similar to what Berger, Berger and Kellner (1974) would call the "consciousness of everyday life." These authors define "consciousness of everyday life" as being "the web of meanings that allow the individual to navigate his way through the ordinary events and encounters of his life with others. The totality of these meanings which he shares with others makes up a particular social life-world....[This social life-world, then] is constructed by the meanings of those who 'inhabit' it" (Berger, Berger & Kellner, 1974: 12). Ethnic consciousness can be described as a "specific field of [the] consciousness [of everyday life which is]...constituted by the modes and contents of what is consciously experienced" (Berger, Berger & Kellner, 1974: 14), by members who identify themselves as belonging to a particular ethnic group. Therefore, when I argue that Irish ethnic consciousness was awakened by the Norman invasion, I am not implying that before this time the Irish were unconscious of their ethnicity. What I am suggesting is that the "modes and contents of what [was] consciously experienced" by the Irish before the coming of the Normans was different from that experienced after it.
Thus, after the twelfth century, the expression of this Irish ethnic consciousness was much more intense. Once awakened, this new form of ethnic consciousness was maintained and reinforced by the institutions, structures, and practices which were developed throughout the history of the interaction between the "Irish" and their colonizers to ensure the ethnic boundary between the two groups remained firmly intact. The perpetuation of this ethnic consciousness in contemporary Northern Ireland has been ensured by these same institutions, structures and practices.

B. Methodology

Just as historians select certain facts and events to which they give significance (Carr, 1962), so too do ethnic groups. In this thesis, I will be examining events from the past which have become "myths"6 of the present, serving to fuel the ethnic conflict in contemporary Northern Ireland.

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6 Becker (1932: 231) writes that "history written by historians...is a convenient blend of truth and fancy of what we commonly distinguish as 'fact' and 'interpretation'." The "myths" of the past constructed by the Nationals and Protestants to validate their respective positions are also "convenient blends of truth and fancy."
Specifically, I will make a detailed analysis of those social conditions and historical processes which gave rise to Irish ethnic consciousness and created the boundary between the Irish and their colonizers. I will attempt to "discover the features of set Y [the Anglo-Normans; the Protestants] which make the members of [set] X [the Native Irish; the Catholics] say that the members of Y...are not 'Xs like us'" (Moerman, 1965: 1220). Language, the legal system, and religion, I will argue in Chapter 3, were the primary cultural institutions which distinguished the Anglo-Normans from the Native Irish. After the sixteenth century, religion became the main symbol of ethnic identity in Ireland.

The body of literature I will be using is an interdisciplinary one. Regardless of the source of information--history, political science, geography, sociology--the perspective in this thesis will be anthropological. Whenever possible I will attempt to clarify my arguments concerning the awakening of Irish ethnic consciousness and its maintenance using material translated from Gaelic documents. One such historical text will be the translation of Geoffrey Keating's work, The History of Ireland, which was originally completed in 1634 and constructed from the "old vellums of the monasteries and the brehons, as they existed about the year 1630.... [Keating] rewrote and redacted [these documents] in his own [Gaelic] language....[According to D. Comyn, the editor and
translator of Keating's works, Keating] invents nothing, embroiders little. What he does not find before him, he does not relate..." (Keating, 1902, Vol. 1: vii).

As well, I will consult historical texts and archaeological material which have attempted to reconstruct pre-twelfth-century Gaelic life. This material will be used in an attempt to show the dimensions of the cultural, economic, and political threat that the invading Normans posed to the structure of Gaelic life.

Ethnographic data will primarily be drawn from material written by individuals who have conducted field work in the area, that is, researchers who have actively participated in the day to day lives of the people whose activities they have investigated. In Chapter 5, I will also use written personal life stories of people who were born and raised in Northern Ireland, to explore how one mechanism of self-segregation which emerged during this long ethnic struggle, namely the separate education system, functions to maintain and reinforce the ethnic boundary between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland.

The focus of this thesis will be on the development of Irish ethnic consciousness. While it is beyond the scope of this work to construct it, there is another story to this conflict--the Protestant one. I do embellish my account of Irish consciousness with material from the Protestant story,
but I make no claim that by doing this my interpretation of the development of the ethnic struggle in Northern Ireland is without bias. However, my presentation of the Irish point of view does not detract from my central argument, namely that the present Irish nationalist movement, which emerged in the nineteenth century is only a recent stage of an ethnic struggle which began in the twelfth century, when the Anglo-Normans invaded Ireland.
Chapter 2

Twelfth-Century Ireland: The Setting

When the "greedy" Norman land barons encouraged their king to invade Ireland, they expected to find a land of untold wealth and riches. This eighteenth-century translation of a poem written in the ninth century by St. Donatus, then Bishop of Etruria, "gives lyrical expression to the myth of wealth, to be won in Ireland:

Far westward lies an isle of ancient fame,
By nature bless'd, and Scotia\(^1\) is her name;
An island rich--exhaustless is her store
Of veiny silver and of golden ore;
Her fruitful soil forever teems with wealth,
With gems her waters, and her air with health.

Her verdant fields with milk and honey flow,
Her woolly fleeces vie with virgin snow;
Her waving furrows float with bearded corn
And arms and arts her envy'd sons adorn.

\(^{1}\)"The Scoti were a group of people who lived in Ireland and migrated to Scotland in the fifth century, hence the ambiguous use of 'Scotia'" (Brody, 1973: 47).
No savage bear with lawless fury roves,
No rav'ning lion through her sacred groves,
No poison there infects, no scaly snake
Creeps through the grass, nor frog annoys the lake."

However, the dreams of these land barons were dashed when, upon arrival on Ireland's shores, instead of riches the Normans only found a land of woods, bogs, mountains and a very hostile Irish population.

In general, Ireland may be described as an irregularly shaped bowl with a large central lowland area ringed by highlands. While glacial deposits do make some areas of this central plain fertile, in many regions like County Clare, the limestone comes to the surface and the soil is broken and barren. Nearly one-seventh of the central plain is covered with raised bogs or peat bogs (Merne, 1986: 49). The raised bogs were built up by layers of poorly decayed plant debris on a limestone base, and still provide an abundant natural source of fuel.

It was on the eastern fringes of this plain that most Anglo-Normans settled after their arrival in the late twelfth century and it was here that they first introduced feudalism to Ireland. Nicholls (1972: 5) quotes twelfth-century chronicler, Gerald of Wales, who describes the twelfth-century Irish landscape as being "a land full of woods, bogs and lakes."
Fig. 1  Ireland: Political Divisions After Partition, 1921.  
(Source: Pringle, 1985)
Ireland's physical features with structural framework inset.

Fig. 2 Ireland: Physical Features. (Source: Gmelch, 1986)
Nicholls adds that for the midland plain and the north, this description "would still have been true in the sixteenth century."

Throughout the thirteenth century, the Anglo-Norman settlers cleared the majority of the level, good ground in the southern and eastern regions of the plain and by the sixteenth century most counties around the present day location of Dublin, formerly called the Pale, had been cleared (Nicholls, 1972: 5). Much of the indigenous grasslands were converted to mixed farming, a process which seriously undermined the Gaelic economy.²

The highlands around the central plains feature rugged, low mountains with blanket bogs and deep gorges. The blanket bogs, unlike the peat bogs, are very acidic and vegetation on them grows very slowly. No part of Ireland is more than forty miles from the uplands. For the Gaels, who knew their countryside intimately, this mountainous region enabled their guerrilla bands to resist the militarily superior English armies until the seventeenth century. It was also into this infertile, harsh land that much of the Irish population was pushed during the Plantation Era.

² This topic will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.
The northern, western, and southern coasts facing the Atlantic Ocean, are rugged and broken with numerous offshore islands. Along the eastern coast, which borders the Irish Sea, the coastline is more regular. In the eastern coastal wetlands are found salt marshes, mud flats, shallow sea bays, and brackish lagoons. Along the eastern coastal interior are grasslands, moors, bogs, and a generally treeless landscape. It was in this eastern region that most colonial activity took place.

The southern estuaries of the present counties of Cork, Waterford, and Wexford form excellent natural harbours. It was the potential threat of these "excellent natural Irish harbours" to the security of England, that was a major motivating force behind the Anglo-Norman invasion (Beckett, 1981; Cronin, 1981). In an era of heightened political turbulence in Europe, Henry II could not afford to have such a convenient land-base from which his enemies could launch their attacks on England. Therefore, the English monarch resorted to invasion as a way to gain effective military control over Ireland, and thus secure Britain's "western flank." Therefore while it was Ireland's topographical features which enabled the Gaels to resist English domination for five hundred years after the Anglo-Norman invasion, it was, unfortunately, also these topographical features that made this English domination inevitable.
Chapter 3

The Anglo-Norman Invasion: The Emergence of a New Form of Irish Ethnic Awareness

A distinctive Gaelic culture, which contemporary Irish nationalists embrace as the heritage of all "true Irish today", was firmly established in Ireland by the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion, 1169-1250. While there were definite political and economic motives for this invasion, it also had important cultural goals. The effects of these cultural, economic, and political goals on the Gaelic culture will be the topic of this chapter.

Whatever the motivations for the invasion might have been, the fact that it occurred is crucial, as it gave new life to Irish ethnic consciousness and set the stage for future ethnic confrontation. This nascent ethnic awareness will be explored in the final section of this chapter.

I The Cultural Impact of the Anglo-Norman Invasion

Language, Brehon Law (especially with respect to rules of inheritance), and religion were the primary
institutions which differentiated the Gaels from the Galls.¹ It was to these three core institutions that the Anglo-Norman invasion posed its greatest cultural threat.

A. Language

Celtic-speaking groups began to arrive in Ireland as early as the sixth century B.C. Each wave of new settlers neither exterminated nor replaced the original population, instead the conquerors were assimilated into it (Stewart, 1977: 28). The last of the Celtic groups to conquer Ireland were the Gaels, who had by 150 B.C. established themselves as the dominant culture of the island. The Gaels spoke a dialect known as Q-Celtic, which was eventually adopted by all of the inhabitants of the island and became the unifying agent of Irish Gaelic culture (Stewart, 1977: 29).

The Celtic groups, referred to as the Ancient Britons, who settled in England during this period spoke a dialect known as P-Celtic. Subsequent invasions of Angles, Saxons,

¹ Gall, a term meaning foreigner, was used by native chroniclers in reference to the Anglo-Norman invaders (Cronin, 1981: 4).
and finally of Romans had all but eradicated P-Celtic from English soil by the twelfth century A.D.² Hence the language of the Anglo-Normans contrasted sharply to that spoken by the Gaels upon their arrival on Irish soil.

Some Anglo-Normans in the more sparsely colonized areas, learned the Irish language. However, the majority retained their mother tongue. Gaelic was forbidden in the towns and other areas under effective English control. As well, English remained the language of government and business, that is, the language of political and economic power. While the Anglo-Norman invasion had little initial effect on the Irish language, it began a process which has eroded the Gaelic language almost to the point of extinction. Valiant efforts of the Irish nationalists since the nineteenth century to revive this "instrument of national consciousness",

² "The Britons were subsequently displaced to peninsular parts of Britain and France (where P-Celtic survives today as Welsh, Cornish and Breton), by later invaders (e.g., Jutes, Angles, and Saxons), whereas Q-Celtic survives today as Irish, and due to later colonization from Ireland, as Manx and Scots Gaelic" (Pringle, 1981: 66).
have failed to restore the language to its original vitality.\(^3\)

B. Brehon Law

As the Roman conquerors had never reached Irish soil, Ireland was not influenced by Roman law (Cronin, 1981: 5). By the fifth century A.D. however, an indigenous, highly developed and complex legal system called Brehon Law had been drawn up to "uniformly delineate and enforce the Gaelic method of organizing society throughout Ireland" (Kelley, 1982: 1).

\(^3\) Cronin (1981: 20) writes that, "In the eighteenth century, Irish was the vernacular of Catholic (i.e., peasant) Ireland....The decline of the Irish language had begun before the Great Famine (1845-48), but that catastrophic event, which mainly affected the western half of the island, gave Irish its death blow. Still, the 1861 census put the number of Irish speakers at 1,105,536, about one-fifth of the population....By the 1890s Irish was confined to isolated pockets along the Atlantic seabord from Donegal in the north to Kerry, Cork and Waterford in the south." Irish is spoken by only about twenty-seven percent of the people in Ireland today, while virtually all of the people speak English. Irish is spoken in the vernacular by only one percent of the Republic's population, and mostly by those people living in the western areas (Brown, 1985: 268). Both English and Irish are official languages of the Republic of Ireland, while English alone is the official language of Northern Ireland.
The Brehon laws were a complete set of authoritative decisions upon nearly every civil, military, and criminal question which may have arisen in the lives of the early Gaelic people. The body of the law itself consisted of the "decisions and opinions of celebrated lawyers on definite issues which came before them" (Hayden & Moonan, 1927: 62). Law schools were established in nearly every region of Ireland and lawyers spent many years learning their profession. Once they had graduated, these "jurists, like others of their social and sacred grades, were free to move about the country at large, and in this way there was frequent interchange of professional knowledge, and a consequent overall preservation of the learned archaic language in which the law was recited" (Powell, 1958: 78). Thus the Brehon Laws formed a recognized system of law that was uniformly accepted and applied in all parts of Ireland.

The Brehon laws regulated the various ranks in Gaelic society, enumerated their rights and privileges, and governed the relationships between and among their numbers. Medieval Ireland had a society comprising of about 150 clan territories or petty states called tuatha, which were often violently

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4 This freedom of movement was also given to physicians, antiquaries, poets, and musicians (Keating, 1902, Vol.1: 71).
defended by armies led by the clan chiefs. The Gaelic clans were essentially of an aristocratic nature. The highest position in the clan was held by the king, who often co-ruled with a select number of chief magistrates. Next in authority were the chief nobles, who were highly aristocratic and powerful. Included in this class were the priests and seers. A less powerful but still influential rank was the non-noble freeman. Members of this class were gentlemen farmers who owned land and property, as well as the finest craftsmen including the blacksmith, whose craft was believed to have been of a semi-supernatural character (Ross, 1970: 35-36). Finally, there were the unfree or "humble" classes of society which consisted of families who had fallen on hard times, conquered people and slaves, who had no franchise, were not allowed to bear arms, and owned neither land nor property (Ross, 1970: 36).

Being a member of a clan was extremely important to the Gaels as it ensured the individual of both political and property rights. Nicholls (1972: 9) notes that in Ireland, "the greater part of the humbler classes certainly did not belong to any recognized clans or descent-groups other than their immediate family groups." Nicholls (1972: 9) quotes a 1627 author, Conall Mageoghagan, who "refers contemptuously to persons of this sort as 'mere chubs and labouring men (not) one of whom knows his own great-grandfather.'" The presence
of this class emphasized the crucial need for the clans to maintain accurate genealogies so as to determine who did and did not have clan privileges. The task of keeping genealogical records was entrusted to the professional families, or scribes and chroniclers.

The basic unit of the clan was the nuclear family which was in turn part of a greater structure of the extended family called the fine. Individual status was derived from the more complicated levels of organization, that is, the fine, the clan, or the tribe (the latter being made up of several clans all claiming to be descended from a common ancestor), and depended on how each person functioned within these larger structures (Crumley, 1974: 23).

Under Brehon law, women shared equal property rights with their husbands. Tierney (1960: 273) in his reconstruction of the Celtic ethnography of the Stoic philosopher and historian, Posidonius, wrote:

Husbands add to the money received by way of dowry from their wives, an equal amount taken from their own property after evaluation. A joint account of all this money is kept and its increase is preserved. Whichever survives the other inherits the other partner's share with the profits accruing.
However, this equality in property rights did not mean that wives were equal in all aspects of Gaelic life. Tierney (1960: 273) continues:

Husbands hold the power of life and death over their wives, as they do over their children, and when a person of distinction dies, his relations come together, and if there is any suspicion concerning the death, they examine the wives under torture as they would slaves, and if found guilty, they put them to death by burning after every extreme torture.

Clan membership was very important in matters concerning inheritance. Inheritance in Irish society was governed by the customs of Gavelkind and Tanistry. "'Gavelkind' was the Gaelic practice whereby the lands of a family group were re-distributed on the death of one of its landholding members [amongst members of his immediate fine, rather than going to his children]. 'Tanistry' was the practice whereby during the lifetime of a king or chief, his successor was chosen from among his kindred within a certain degree of consanguinity" (Beckett, 1981: 34-35n). Both customs conflicted with Canon law, which was followed by the Normans, and was the law of the Roman Church.

Unlike the feudal system, which strictly followed the
Canon law of primogeniture, Brehon law did not distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate children, giving both the right to inherit clan chiefdomship. Nicholls (1972: 11,77) writes that under the custom of "naming" of children, those "born of a casual relationship" could be "affiliated" with a clan solely on the sworn declaration of a mother on her death bed. The usual practice, Nicholls claims, was for the mother to name a clan chief as the father of her child.

"The Gaelic chief was chosen by his peers of the derbfine, the ruling family, from 'the eldest and worthiest' of the [male] candidates; his successor, the tanist (hence tanistry) was elected during the chief's lifetime" (Cronin, 1981: 5). Not only did this custom of tanistry plus that of "naming" provide an avenue of social mobility for unaffiliated clan members, after the Norman invasion it opened the way for Anglo-Normans who had intermarried with the Gaelic aristocracy, to gain the highest position of power within the Gaelic clan. One of the probable reasons that Henry II's reforms, which were designed to replace Brehon Law with Canon Law failed, was because many Anglo-Normans living outside the Pale, the English stronghold, found it economically advantageous to abide by Brehon Law.

According to Keating, the customs of "tanistry" and "gavelkind" were crucial to the continuation of Gaelic society.
He justifies these laws, saying:

...they [the Gaels] understood that the 'tanistry' was suitable in order that there should be an efficient captain safeguarding the people of every district in Ireland, by defending their spoils and their goods for them. For, if it were the son should be there, instead of the father, it might happen, occasionally, for the son to be in his minority, and so that he would not be capable of defending his own territory, and that detriment would result to the country from that circumstance.

Neither was it possible to dispense with the second custom [gavelkind] obtaining in Ireland at that time, that is to say, to have fraternal partnership in the land. For, the rent of the district would not equal the hire which would fall to the number of troops who would defend it: whereas, when the territory became divided among the associated brethren, the kinsman who had the least share of it would be as ready in its defence, to the best of his ability, as the tribal chief who was over them would be (Keating, 1902, Vol.1: 67-69).

While they did not enforce it to any large extent, both of these practices were banned by the Anglo-Normans, and Canon Law, the law of the Church, was declared the only legal law
in Ireland. However, it was not until the judicial decisions of 1606 and 1608 that the customs of gavelkind and tanistry were officially declared void, and English Law became the law of Ireland (Beckett, 1981: 34-35).

C. Religion

Religion has had a prominent role in the conflict between the Irish and English (later British) from the beginning. One of the major goals of the invasion was to bring the recalcitrant Irish Church back into the Papal fold.

According to Irish legend, Christianity was introduced to Ireland in the fifth century by St. Patrick. Scherman (1981: 89-90) writes:

...there must have been a man like St. Patrick--or several men embodying the one great figure--of remarkable attributes....[However] one can not now disentangle history from fantasy; one can only repeat the story as it is told, and try to discern something of the character behind the myth.
St. Patrick, Scherman claims, was the son of a British official in the Roman administration, who was probably Christian. In A.D. 405, at the age of sixteen, St. Patrick had been captured in a raid carried out by the men of Connaught on the British coast. After six years of slavery, the boy escaped to the European continent where he was said to have "received his visionary call to return to Ireland and proselytize." By the time of his death in 461, St. Patrick had laid strong foundations for the growth of the Christian Church in Ireland.

Ireland, from its privileged position "on the edge of Christendom...[was freed] from the orthodoxy of Rome" (Cronin, 1981: 5). Many years of wars between Britain and France had disrupted communication between Ireland and Rome. While the Irish Church had been modelled on the Church in Rome, this isolation led to the former developing a distinctive, nationalistic character. In many important aspects, the Irish Church differed markedly from that of its progenitor. These areas of conflict enabled Henry II to get the Papal sanction he needed to justify his invasion of Ireland.

The Irish Church was made up of three orders:

The first order, according to an eighth-century [Irish] historian...was composed of St. Patrick's
non-monastic clergy, bishops on the Roman pattern—though far more actively evangelistic and peripatetic than the contemporary Continental clergy. The second order consisted of the founders of the great monasteries....The third order consisted of holymen (or friars) 'who made their dwellings in desert places and who lived on herbs and water and alms' (Scherman, 1981: 205).

Chadwick (1985: 202-203) writes that:

...the earliest organization of the Irish Church, as introduced by Patrick and his predecessors, was almost certainly diocesan, modelled on that which obtained throughout western Europe; but within a comparatively short time in Celtic Britain and Ireland this system proved incapable of adaption to a tribal system of society. Its place was therefore taken in the sixth and seventh centuries by the 'Celtic' Church, in which the diocese gave way to the federations of monastic communities, each with its paruchia under the supreme jurisdiction of the 'heir' (conarb) of the founder-saint.

Monastic churches were erected on the lands of the powerful clan families. These religious organizations penetrated most of the social, economic and political institutions which organized Gaelic life. Scherman (1981: 206)
writes, "the lay connections of monasteries extended to all conditions of life: they were trading centers, schools, penitentiaries, [and] repositories of food in times of famine." Their activities then, went far beyond the realm of those of a purely religious institution.

Each monastery was a "self-sufficient entity" with its own "absolute ruler". It was the activities of the Irish monastic clergy which had evoked the wrath of the Roman Church.

Ideally the abbot, who ruled the monastery was chosen from within the family of the patron saint, however when this was not possible, the abbot was appointed from the descendents of the Gaelic prince on whose land the monastery was built. The Irish clergy did not practise celibacy and fathered many legitimate as well as illegitimate children. Like the rest of the population, the Irish clergy practised tanistry--a practice which was in direct violation of Canon Law. As a result, the religious profession in Ireland had adopted a "strongly hereditary character".

As the monastery was an integral part of the clan, the clergy actively participated in secular wars and battles waged against their rival clans. This activity of the Irish clergy was strongly denounced by the Roman Church.

Even in small matters concerning clergy behaviour, the two churches disagreed. The Roman Church condemned the Irish
clergy's insistence on wearing long hair and moustaches, the normal fashion for Irishmen (Nicholls, 1972: 100). In addition, the Irish clergy refused to wear authorized lay dress. The Roman Church had thus lost most of its control over the Irish clergy.

Another major area of friction between the two religious bodies concerned Irish marriage practices. In Ireland, church and state were separate, therefore, "throughout the medieval period and down to the end of the old order in 1603, what could be called Celtic secular marriage remained the norm and Christian matrimony was no more than the rare exception grafted onto this system" (Nicholls, 1972: 73). Divorce was easy under this system of secular marriage and, Nicholls (1972: 73) writes, "it was normal for men and women of the upper classes to have a succession of spouses."

Who one could marry was defined differently under Irish secular law than it was by the Church in Rome. Marriage was forbidden, except by Papal dispensation, between all individuals related up to the degree of third cousin and in the third century this was extended to prohibit marriage between those related by affinity as well (Nicholls, 1972: 74-75). Under Brehon Law however, marriage was permitted up to the first cousin, as well as between affines. Clan solidarity was enhanced by this preference for marriages
between close kin. This practice was also important to the small freehold farmer, who depended on kin for both labour and defence.

These and other deviations of the Irish Church prompted Adrian IV, the only English pope to issue a bull, Laudabileter (1155), which "gave Henry II of England 'the right' to invade Ireland in order 'to proclaim the truths of the Christian religion to a rude and ignorant people, and to root out the growths of vice from the fields of the Lords.'" (Cronin, 1981: 4). Beside giving "Papal recognition of the claim of the English monarchy to ultimate sovereignty over Ireland" (Bottigheimer, 1982: 64)--a recognition that was not withdrawn until Henry VIII forsook the Catholic doctrine in favour of Protestantism--the Papacy secured for itself "the annual tribute of one penny from every house in Ireland" (Cronin, 1981: 4).

While the Anglo-Norman invasion had only laid the foundation for massive future changes with respect to the

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While at the aristocratic level mixed marriages between Anglo-Normans and Gaelic nobility did occur, endogamy strengthened ties between clan members at the lower levels. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, the role of endogamy changed from a secular to a religious one in prompting group solidarity, after Henry VIII rejected Roman Catholicism and established the Church of Ireland with himself as its head.
Gaelic language and legal system, its religious aims met with more immediate success. The "insular" Irish Church had been brought closer within the papal fold.

II The Economic Threat Posed by the Anglo-Norman Invasion

The Gael's own communal practices were severely threatened by the introduction of new forms of landholding by the Anglo-Normans. By the thirteenth century, the Anglo-Normans had gained effective control over much of the better land areas, converted these regions into manors, and introduced Canon Law and the English (i.e., Norman) concepts of feudal obligation and political structure to the Irish countryside (Pringle, 1985: 78). All of these innovations contradicted the Gaelic system of land tenure.

Communally held land had been the economic basis of Gaelic society. Wealth was calculated in terms of the number of cattle owned by the clan. While the Gaels did grow some wheat and oats, most of the land was utilized for grazing. Anglo-Norman agriculture, on the other hand, emphasized mixed farming, especially the growing of fruits and vegetables. The Anglo-Normans introduced a three-field system of crop rotation which converted most of the best land in Ireland into cereal production for the British market (Pringle, 1985: 77).
As a consequence, much of the grazing land in Ireland was converted into agricultural land. This action greatly reduced the economic base of the Gaelic chiefs, and threatened their continued economic success.

A combination of geography and strong resistance from the Gaelic clans prevented the Anglo-Normans from effectively destroying the native Irish economy. Through intermarriage and the process of Gaelicization, as well as less peaceful means such as small scale rebellions and guerrilla attacks, the Gaels were able, by the beginning of the fifteenth century, to reclaim control of the majority of the land confiscated by the invaders. This pattern of confiscation by the colonists and reclamation by the Gaels through warfare and Gaelicization persisted until 1603 and the surrender of the last Gaelic prince. However throughout this period, after the first success of the Gaels, the confiscations became progressively larger and the reclamations progressively smaller.

The Anglo-Normans introduced new forms of settlement to Ireland, which have had a detrimental and lasting economic impact on the Irish population. Beside building "nucleated, manorial villages" in the agricultural areas, the Anglo-Normans built fortified towns in areas of strategic or economic importance (Pringle, 1985: 78). The Gaelic population was denied entry into these towns and prohibited
from taking part in any economic activity generated in these urban centres. As will be discussed in the last section of this chapter, the exclusion of the native Irish from the towns was as much to prevent Gaelicization of the Anglo-Normans as it was to prohibit the Irish from enjoying the economic benefits of urban life. Regardless of the purpose of this restriction, the economic consequences of being excluded from the towns greatly aggravated an already strong resentment the Gaels had toward their colonizers.

III The Political Failure of the Anglo-Norman Invasion

The twelfth century was an era of nation-building and great political instability in Europe. Henry II realized that a foreign landing in Ireland of England's enemies would present an intolerable threat to England's security. Furthermore, the English did not trust their Irish neighbours, fearing they may assist England's foes.6

6 England's worst fears about Irish loyalty and its own military vulnerability were confirmed when in 1315, the Irish chiefs invited Edward Bruce to help them organize an attack on England. England had just experienced defeat at the hands of Edward's brother, Robert the Bruce at the battle of Bannockburn in 1314. Cronin (1981: 6) chronicles the numerous occasions since 1315 that the Irish have conspired with England's
Thus the primary intention of the Anglo-Norman invasion was to politically cripple the Irish nobility and to make all the Irish subjects of the English monarchy.

By the middle of the thirteenth century, the Normans dominated three-quarters of Ireland, with only central and western Ulster remaining firmly under Gaelic control (see Fig. 3). However, the "Irish...would not be conquered. Like wild animals, they knew their countrysides, its bogs, its forests, its hidden valleys and overhanging hills. They waged a constant and effective guerrilla warfare, attacking the enemy from behind, decimating his flanks, destroying his outposts, retaking villages, negating his conquests" (Scherman, 1981: 235). By 1400, effective English control had been reduced to one-third of the island—mostly in the modern counties of Louth, Meath, Dublin, Kildare, and a few scattered town beyond (Busteed, 1972: 1). By the mid-fifteenth century, English control had been confined to a small area called the Pale, which extended only about thirty miles inland from the ports of Dublin and Drogheda. "The area outside the Pale was politically fragmented and enemies, when England itself was preoccupied in foreign battles, in hopes of ridding itself of what to the Irish was a constant threat to their cultural, economic and political integrity. This pattern, Cronin demonstrates, was to continue until the Second World War."
Fig. 3  The Extent of Norman Control, circa 1250.
(Source: Pringle, 1985)
generally either under the control of local Gaelic clans or the descendents of Norman barons whose loyalty to the King of England could no longer be guaranteed" (Pringle, 1985: 82). Thus, rather than securing its "western flank", the English had only alienated the Irish population and increased their own military vulnerability.

IV An Awakening of Ethnic Consciousness in Ireland

New ideas (Christianity) and different cultures (the Norse) had penetrated Gaelic society prior to the arrival of the Normans. However, unlike the Normans, neither Christianity nor the Norse appears to have threatened to radically change the "modes and contents" of the Gaels' "social life-world."

According to Ellis (1985: 82) Christianity was absorbed by the Gaelic culture without "prolonged confrontation or conflict" because of the similarities which existed between the philosophies of the ancient religion and the new. Ellis (1985: 82) argues that "the majority of the early Celtic Christians were the old class of druids in a new guise." He supports his contention by referring to a notation in the "extant saint's Life" which "refers to St. Illtyd as being 'a druid by descent.'" To further support his
argument, Ellis (1985: 82) offers the following archaeological evidence:

Most of the early Christian churches, monasteries and holy places appear to have a pre-Christian religious connection. The sacred druidic sites were not destroyed or shunned but utilized for the new faith. Most early Celtic churches were built in circular sites, an essential druidic concept, rather than in the Roman cruciform and rectangular patterns. Springs and wells, traditional sites of the nature philosophy of the Celts, were 'taken over', blessed and, as 'holy wells' have become an essential part of Celtic Christianity. We hear of St. Kentigern rebuking the Strathclyde British for worshipping the spirit of a well, but promptly blessing the well and allowing the worship to continue in the name of Christ.

As mentioned in Chapter 1 of this thesis, the bardic schools were allowed to continue unrestricted after the introduction of Christianity and, Ellis adds, there were many monastic schools which arose in the sixth-century A.D. that were founded on the sites of existing bardic schools. Finally, as also mentioned in Chapter 1 of this thesis,
Ellis offers as evidence the continued pagan content of both prose and poetry, even when it was written in Latin. From the evidence presented by Ellis, it would appear that the introduction of Christianity conflicted little with either the "ethos" or the "world view" of pagan Gaelic society.

The arrival of the Norse in the eighth century did not go unnoticed by the Gaels. There was, at times, strong local or provincial resistance to these "foreigners" who differed from the Gaels in both appearance and language. However, Pringle (1985: 72) notes that Gaelic kings seemed to have little reservations about soliciting the assistance of the Norse "when occasions arose for their own internecine wars."

Norse settlements were generally located in the frontier zones between pre-existing political units, where local resistance would presumably be "less resilient" (Pringle, 1985: 72). The Norse, after they had established their settlements, converted to Christianity and through intermarriage with the surrounding Gaels were soon Gaelicized, thus losing much of their foreignness and hence their potential as a threat to the Gaelic way of life.

While the "ethos" and "world view" of the Gaels were not unaffected by their interaction with the concepts of Christianity and the Norse culture, these changes were gradual.
However, the changes to the Gaelic "social life-world" brought about by the Norman invasion were of "chaotic" proportions. To render this "incomprehensible social situation" meaningful, the Gaels required a "system of cultural symbols" which would "make it possible to act purposefully within" the situation in which they now found themselves. In my opinion, a new, more intensely expressed Irish ethnic consciousness provided the Gaels with the "system of symbols" they needed to bring order and meaning back into their disrupted lives.

Pringle (1985: 82) writes:

A strong sense of nationality appears to have existed in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The descendents of the Norman colonists for example, maintained a group identity which excluded the Gaelic Irish. The colonists also made a distinction between the 'English by blood' (i.e., themselves) and the 'English by birth' (i.e., those living in England). The English, in turn, made a distinction between the 'wild Irish' (i.e., the Gaelic Irish) and the 'Anglo-Irish' (i.e., the colonists in Ireland); whereas the Gaelic Irish made a distinction between 'Gaedhil' (natives), 'Gaill' (foreigners, i.e., Anglo-Normans) and 'Saxain' (English).
Pringle attributes the reasons for these distinctions as not resulting from any awareness of cultural or ethnic differences on the part of these groups, but as a "reflection of social position" that arose from the feudal system. He argues:

Feudalism was a very conservative social system which placed an emphasis upon social stability and order: social status was determined by birth and jealously guarded. The colonists were constantly anxious to maintain a distinction between themselves and the Gaelic Irish in order to preserve their privileged position by excluding the Gaelic Irish from the benefits of English law (except in a few special cases where the Irish were granted special charters from the King). The Irish were prohibited, for example, from becoming members of trade guilds, and thereby prevented from participating in urban life. The Gaelic nobility, for their part, appealed to brehon law to justify their claims to land, and therefore found it equally convenient to make a distinction between themselves and the 'gaill' (Pringle, 1985: 83).

While not denying that establishing ethnic boundaries between the groups may have had definite economic advantages, there are at least two historical events which reveal the Gaels
and the Anglo-Normans were also fully aware of their ethnic and cultural differences.

The justification given by the Gaelic princes to the Pope for inviting Edward Bruce to help them drive out the English, shows that the Gaels were aware of ethnic differences between themselves and the English, and were very concerned with retaining their ethnic integrity.

Cronin (1981: 6), quotes from Irish Historical Documents, "The Remonstrance of the Irish Princes to Pope John XXII, 1317":

'More than 50,000 human beings of each nation' had died in the wars following Adrian IV's grant of Ireland to Henry II. English law sought 'the extermination of our race'. They would fight to defend 'the rights of our law and liberty against cruel tyrants and usurpers', and 'recover our native liberty which for a time through them (the English) we lost...'. The English 'have striven with all their might and with every treacherous artifice in their power, to wipe our nation out entirely and utterly to extirpate it.'

Cronin adds that the document was signed by Donal O'Neill 'King of Ulster and by hereditary right true heir to the whole of Ireland'--an ancient claim of his family.
Some authors (Pringle, 1985) have argued that the Irish were not politically united prior to the nineteenth century, therefore they did not constitute a nation. According to Walker Connor, an ethnic group becomes a nation when it becomes self-aware of uniqueness and becomes conscious that the customs, beliefs, and attitudes it shares are different from those shared by other groups.

Pringle agrees that when the Anglo-Normans arrived on Irish shores, the Gaelic Irish had a uniform culture with its own unique legal system, language, and religion. While each clan chieftain fought individual battles against the English invaders in the ensuing centuries following the initial invasion of 1169, all of the Gaelic chiefs had a common goal, namely to protect their common culture against a foreign culture which posed an intolerable economic, cultural, and political threat. Their common fear that the English sought the "extermination of our [Gaelic] race" and to "wipe our [Gaelic] nation out entirely and utterly to extirpate it", was expressed in the "Remonstrance of the Irish Princes to Pope John XXII, 1317." This important document indicates that not only were the Gaelic people aware that they formed a distinctive nation, but they were conscious that this nation was very different from that of the English. To quote from the "Remonstrance" again, the Gaelic princes claimed they were fighting to defend "'the rights of our
[Brehon] law and liberty against cruel tyrants and usurpers', and 'recover our native liberty [i.e., economic, political, and cultural freedom] which for a time through them (the English) we lost...' (Cronin, 1981: 6). Brehon law was a distinctive feature of Gaelic society which organized all aspects of life. The Gaelic princes were aware that the English intended to replace Brehon law, the backbone of their society, with English Canon law which operated according to very different principles. The Gaelic princes felt that if the English were successful in their attempt to eradicate Brehon law, the "native liberty" of the Gaelic people would be permanently lost. Thus, while internecine warfare prevented the Gaelic chiefdoms from uniting into a single force to rid Irish soil of a foreign culture, they individually fought to achieve this end.

The Gaelic princes were not the only ones who were aware of the ethnic differences between the Gaels and the Norman invaders. By the end of the thirteenth century, the Anglo-Normans living in the Pale felt obligated to pass harsh legislation in the Dublin Parliament in an attempt to halt any further Gaelicization of their group members.

In areas where Anglo-Norman colonization had been sparse, intermarriage between the Anglo-Norman and the Irish aristocracy had frequently occurred. These Anglo-Normans accepted Gaelic culture and had, by the mid-fourteenth
century, been fully assimilated into it, becoming in the process, "more Irish than the Irish themselves" (Pringle, 1985: 84).

Even the settlers living in the Pale were strongly influenced by the surrounding Gaelic culture. In 1297, the Dublin Parliament felt it necessary "to take punitive measures against the 'degenerate Englishmen' who were adopting Irish traits" (Kelley, 1982: 2). The failure of these measures prompted the passing of the Statutes of Kilkenny, in 1367. These statutes condemned the assimilation taking place, which was described as:

The colonists, 'forsaking the English language, fashion, mode of living, laws and usages, [and living and governing] themselves according to the manners, fashions and language of the Irish enemies, and also [having] divers marriages and alliances between themselves and the Irish enemies aforesaid...' (quoted from the Irish Historical Documents, in Cronin, 1981: 239).

The Statutes, which were to remain in effect for the next five hundred years, forbade intermarriage between the English settlers and the Irish,\(^7\) required all Gaels living inside

\(^7\) This prohibition became rigidly enforced throughout Ireland when the religion of the colonizers became different from that of the colonized, see Chapter 4.
the Pale to speak English at all times, in addition to prohibiting the settlers from following Brehon laws, wearing native dress, talking Gaelic, and adopting Gaelic names (Kelley, 1982). As with most of the Norman reforms and laws, the Statutes were not enforced. It was not until Henry VII passed the Poyning Laws, in 1494 that the King's forces imposed the provisions of the Statutes on both natives of and settlers in the Pale.

The aim of these Statutes had been to keep the Anglo-Norman culture pure, while ridding Irish soil of its native Gaelic culture. However the delay in enacting the Statutes only reinforced ethnic group solidarity among the Irish and intensified their resistance to the foreign culture being imposed upon them.

Ethnic group membership in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Ireland was "highly malleable and responsive to whatever circumstances" (Greenwood, 1977) individual Gaels or Anglo-Normans found themselves. On the one hand, the Anglo-Normans who accepted the Gaelic culture became members of the Irish ethnic group. On the other hand, Gaels who lived in the towns and abided by the rules of the Statutes, identified themselves with the Anglo-Norman ethnic group. Therefore, right from the beginning, self-identification rather than descent was the key criterion for group membership.
V Summary and Conclusions

The seeds of future ethnonationalistic conflict were sown when the Anglo-Normans attempted to exert their sovereignty over Ireland. Not only had the economic foundations of the Gaelic clans been shaken and their political power reduced, but the very continued existence of the Irish culture was threatened. Use of the Irish language had been prohibited in areas under effective English control. The Brehon laws, which organized Gaelic life, had been outlawed. The monastic system, which trained future generations and protected the Irish people in times of economic need was in a state of collapse. The Irish people rebelled, however, physically resisting the influence of the culture of their invaders, and in the process became more intensely conscious of their own ethnic identity.

In the aftermath of the Anglo-Norman invasion, ethnic boundaries between the two cultures on Irish soil, while not rigidly entrenched, were none the less drawn. In the subsequent centuries, the social cleavages between native and settler deepened, as the cultural differences between the two became more pronounced. In the remaining chapters of this thesis, I will discuss how the new form of Irish ethnic consciousness which arose in response to the Norman
invasion has been maintained and reinforced throughout the ensuing centuries, and how it continues to be perpetuated in Northern Ireland.
Chapter 4

The Deepening of Social Cleavages Between Native and Settler

This chapter is not a history of the cultural, economic, and political abuses inflicted upon the Irish people by their colonizer since the Anglo-Norman invasion. Rather it is an examination of five specific historical events which deepened the social cleavages between natives and colonists, producing the two sharply defined ethnic identities in contemporary Northern Ireland. These events were: (1) the centralization of power under the English Crown, initiated in earnest by Henry VII, the first Tudor King; (2) the Rebellion of 1641; (3) the Cromwellian revenge of 1649; (4) the victory of William of Orange in 1690; and (5) the imposition of the Penal Laws in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It was these events which gave many of the major institutions and symbols that maintain and reinforce ethnic boundaries in Northern Ireland today their first significance.
The Gaelic resurgence of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had pushed back effective English control to within the borders of the Pale. Outside the Pale, the Irish enjoyed a period of relative freedom with only the occasional clashes with the English. However in 1485, Henry VII the first Tudor King began a process of consolidation of power, designed to build a strong, centralized monarchy at home and to complete the goal of the Anglo-Norman invasion by finally bringing Ireland under total English domination.

The Anglo-Norman settlers in the Pale were the first targets of Henry VII's action to tighten English control over Ireland. He annulled the Act of 1468 which had asserted that in order for English statutes to be valid in Ireland, they first had to be ratified by the Irish Parliament in Dublin. Further, he forbade the Irish Parliament from meeting unless the English King had been informed beforehand of what legislation the assembly intended to sanction. Thus the political power formerly enjoyed by the Anglo-Normans (or Old English) in the Pale was severely curtailed. This action was the first of many initiated by the English Crown
and/or English Parliament, which drove a permanent wedge between Ireland's first colonists and their mother country, and led to the Old English merging with the Gaelic Irish in the seventeenth century, to form a single Catholic Irish ethnic group.

In 1494, Henry VII began his assault on the Gaelic culture by passing the Poyning Laws, which authorized the King's forces to impose the provisions of the Statutes of Kilkenny on both native and settler alike living in the Pale. While Henry VII was able to secure the loyalty of the Old English in the Pale, his forces made little headway in subduing the Gaelic and Anglo-Norman population outside this English stronghold. Even as late as 1532, some twenty-three years after Henry VIII became King of England, most of Ireland remained under the control of the Gaelic princes and a few Anglo-Norman lords who had adopted the Gaelic culture and whose loyalty to England was questionable (see Fig. 4).

In 1534, Henry VIII broke with Rome and established a separate Church of England.¹ This independence from Roman

¹ The Protestant Reformation, taking place on the Continent during this period, gradually came to shape the doctrines of the Church of England. It was during the reign of Elizabeth I that this process of Anglicization was completed.
Fig. 4  The Lordships of Ireland in 1532.
(Source: Pringle, 1985)
Catholicism by the English monarch was soon forced on Ireland—an almost entirely Catholic island. The Church of Ireland was established, and it no longer acknowledged the superiority of the Pope and had as its head the English monarch.\(^2\)

To the Old English living in the Pale, the newly established Church did not appear to pose a serious threat to either the doctrine or the liturgy of their faith. Thus when Henry VIII presented three bills he had drafted, to the Irish Parliament in 1537, they were all passed with little dissention. The first was an act denying papal authority in Ireland; the second prescribed for office holders, an oath acknowledging royal supremacy; and the third proposed the dissolution of thirteen of Ireland's monasteries\(^3\) (Bottigheimer, 1982: 79-80).

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\(^2\) While Henry VIII probably remained a Catholic until his death in 1547 (Bottigheimer, 1982: 79), his quarrel with Rome greatly affected his policies toward Ireland. The Papacy for its part, withdrew the sanctions it had given, since Henry II's invasion, to the English claim of sovereignty over Ireland. Now Irish Catholics looked for and received support from Rome against the abuses of English rule.

\(^3\) "In 1534 there were more than four hundred monastic houses [friaries] and probably between four and five thousand monastics. The friaries, in particular, had become the chief religious centers in many parts of the country and were by no means remote from the daily life of the people" (Bottigheimer, 1982: 79).
By Henry VIII's death in 1547 nearly one-half of the monasteries had been dissolved, leaving only those in the strongly Gaelic regions of northwestern Ulster, northern Connacht and southwestern Munster mainly untouched (Bottigheimer, 1982: 81).

The dissolution of the monasteries--the pride of Gaelic religious life and centres of learning and creativity--struck at the very heart of Gaelic culture. Therefore it is hardly surprising that the resistance to this policy was strongest in the very traditional regions of Ireland.

Religion and education had been closely linked in Ireland even before the sixth century when Irish eminence in both fields had earned her the title, "the island of saints and scholars" (Darby, 1976: 113). Many scholars from the continent had sought refuge in the Gaelic monasteries to avoid the invasions by the Barbarians. They brought with them their expertise and books, making the Irish monastic schools of the fourth and fifth centuries attractive places of learning for many foreign students, especially ones from England (Scherman, 1981: 240-249).

The monastic schools gave children a practical education and prepared them for their future roles in Gaelic society. Both girls and boys were trained in the monasteries. Scherman (1981) discovered some women had not only penetrated the "world of intellect" but they had achieved "a more than
respectable success". The fact that the names of several women appeared on a list of great lawyers is, according to Scherman, proof of this. Under Brehon Law, which governed the educational practices of monasteries in both pagan and Christian Ireland, many years of specialized and intensive training were required before one could become a lawyer. She adds that while women were occasionally trained for specialized professions in pre-Norman times, they usually were restricted to learning the domestic arts.

The native Irish believed from pagan times, "a man could rise, through his thrift, his profession, or talent given him by the gods, above the station of his father" (Scherman, 1981: 247). Education then, was the key to upward social mobility in native Irish society.

The reproduction of Gaelic society had been entrusted to the monasteries, therefore the threat of their closure represented a greater hardship for the native Irish than it did for the Old English, most of whom were able to send their children to the Continent for a "proper" education. But when, "in 1537, Henry VIII instructed his Anglican bishops in Ireland to ensure that each clergyman 'keep or cause to be kept...a school for learning to propagate an alien tongue and an alien church'" (Darby, 1976: 123), the Old English joined Irish parents in expressing strong opposition. Trinity College, which was founded in Dublin in the 1590s
to serve as both a university for higher learning and a tool of conversion, met similar unified resistance. Thus, two separate systems of education,\(^4\) closely linked to religious belief, emerged in Ireland.

B. Elizabeth I and the "Ulster Plantation"

The aim of the first two Tudor Kings was, according to Bottigheimer, assimilative. He writes:

Henry VII and Henry VIII had wished to bring Ireland to some decent order, not to crush and overwhelm it. They had no desires to extirpate its culture or aristocracy, but only to assimilate both to the English monarchy (Bottigheimer, 1982: 101).

However, religious differences and the power struggle taking place between the Irish Parliament and the English Crown increased friction between the Old English and native

\(^4\) Separate education is an important mechanism of self-segregation in contemporary Northern Ireland, and will be discussed in chapter 5.
Irish on the one hand, and the English on the other. Bottigheimer (1982: 101-102) continues:

By degrees [the objectives of assimilation of the early Tudor Kings] changed under Elizabeth until English policy was openly hostile towards Irish and especially Gaelic society. Assimilation was replaced as an objective by 'reformation', a remodelling which went far beyond religion to include law, language, custom and even social habits.

Elizabeth began her reign by withdrawing all of the concessions made to Catholics during the brief reign of the Catholic Queen Mary. Laws were passed requiring the use of the Book of Common Prayer and fines were imposed on those who did not attend the English or Anglican Church.

Henry VIII had instituted a policy of "Surrender and Regrant" by which the Gaelic chiefs could turn over their land to the English Crown and then receive it back to be held in vassalage. While the Gaelic princes still retained their land, they were forced to abide by English law and "aristocratic home rule" was brought to an end.

When Elizabeth came to power she continued the policy of Plantation, started on a small scale by Queen Mary. The Irish countryside was divided up into shires or counties,
each of which was administered by a loyal sheriff. The lands of the Irish lords who rebelled against the Crown's authority were confiscated and these estates were then leased to English settlers who were of the Protestant faith and therefore considered loyal to the Crown. While early Plantation attempts in Leinster and Munster (see Fig. 5), were not very successful, they did provide the English with valuable experience. The next Plantation venture in Ulster profited from this experience.

When the shire system was imposed upon the province of Ulster--by this time the only area where Irish power and Gaelic culture remained intact--a rebellion broke out. The persistence of Gaelic culture in Ulster was, according to Busteed (1972: 4), partly because a strong Gaelic military and social organization had successfully resisted the foreign invaders, and partly because "such a vigorous people could make full use of woodlands, lakes and mountain areas", which presented difficult obstacles to late medieval armies. Therefore when rebellion broke out in 1594, the English were faced with the strongest resistance they had yet encountered in their struggle to subjugate Ireland.

The Ulster Gaelic chieftain, Hugh O'Neill "appealed for solidarity between the Gaels, whose traditional way of life was being threatened by the consolidation of Tudor power and the imposition of English law. He also appealed for
Fig. 5  The Principal Tudor and Stuart Plantations.  
(Source: Pringle, 1985: 13)
solidarity between Catholics against the Protestant English" (Pringle, 1985: 93).

Hugh O'Neill's plea for group solidarity of all the Irish population, based on their Gaelic cultural origin and common religion, failed. In the wake of the total military defeat of the Ulster chieftans, most of the Gaelic nobility forfeited all Irish rights to land and property and fled overseas to the Continent. Deprived of their natural military and political leaders, the Irish population was left disorganized and powerless to resist foreign English domination.

Whereas intermarriage had been an important Gaelic tool to recoup lost land and power in the aftermath of the Norman invasion, it was virtually impossible after the reconquest of Ireland. The increased number of settlers bearing a different culture and religion substantially decreased the likelihood of intermarriage and thus the possibility the native Irish could once again Gaelicize their invaders and regain their land.

Busteed (1972: 4) writes:

In an age when religious feelings ran much deeper than in contemporary Britain and were moreover, associated with even more frequently political attitudes, such differences were a powerful obstacle to miscegenation. When reinforced by the
fact that the Planters were also alien in origin, culture, technology, and language, they made assimilation virtually impossible.

The alternative, Busteed continues, was the wholesale expulsion of the colonists, which was tried in the years 1641-1648 and 1688-1691. Both acts brought only severe retaliation and hardship to the Irish people.

II The Rebellion of 1641

A. Shifting Group Membership

Clarke (1981: 45) claims that "in essence the second phase of the conquest of Ireland was the conquest of the old colony and the repudiation of its members by their mother country." The full force of this repudiation was not felt by the Old English until after 1603 when their power and influence declined sharply. Prior to this time

5 The intensity of religious feeling, combined with differing political attitudes and cultural differences still are obstacles to miscegenation in contemporary Ireland.
however, the attitude of the English government toward Catholicism had been "vacillating" and "uncertain". Boyce (1982: 79-80) writes:

The Old English were Catholics, and they were aware that the Elizabethan conquest was a Protestant one, and a danger to them....But the Old English and Native Irish were distinctive groups, and the Old English sought to maintain and emphasize that distinction, remaining aloof from Irish Catholic and English Protestant alike.

The Crown, on the other hand, failed to recognize these "fine but deep distinctions". To the English "Papists--whatever their racial origin--were regarded as disloyal or at best 'half-subjects' of the Crown" (Boyce, 1982: 80).

While the imposition of "Direct Rule" by the Tudor monarchs had made the Irish Parliament in Dublin impotent, the Old English in the Pale still had the illusion of power and influence. However, after Elizabeth's death in 1603 and the influx of new Protestant settlers, the balance of power in Ireland shifted. The English Parliament began passing legislation which favoured the New English over the Old. For example, the Old English now had to send their children to the Continent for an orthodox religious training
because it was no longer available at home (Bottigheimer, 1982: 114).

When the Old English joined the native Irish in rebellion in 1641, it was to protest the discriminatory legislation of the English Parliament against Catholicism. They denied their action was against the King, who was recognized as being more tolerant of Catholicism. However, no matter how vehemently the Old English proclaimed their loyalty to the Crown, "...the spectacle of Native Irish and Old English combining in rebellion in 1641 only served to confirm New English and Protestant prejudice that birds of a feather flew together" (Boyce, 1982: 80).

While others defined the Old English as being Irish, they themselves did not identify with this group. It was not until the struggles of 1688-1691 that the Old English became fully integrated into the native Irish ethnic group and became part of a common Irish ethnic identity.

B. The Birth of a Protestant Myth

"Don't let it [1641] happen again", has become the rallying call of Protestants in Northern Ireland. The Irish rebellion of 1641 took a more violent twist in Ulster where centuries of
cultural oppression and land confiscation built up deep hatred and resentment. However, the intensity with which this hatred and resentment was vented on the Protestant population has been hotly disputed.

Ian Paisley describes the Irish rebellion, which has become part of the "mythology of Protestant colonialism", saying:

In 1641, the Roman Catholic Church decided to exterminate the Protestants in Ulster, and there took place one of the most barbarous and bloody massacres in Irish history. It was led by the priests of the Roman Catholic Church and the rivers of Ulster ran red with Protestant blood. In the town of Portadown, the River Bann was so choked with Protestant bodies that the Roman Catholics could walk dry-shod across the river (Cronin, 1981: 231).

Cronin counters Paisley's accusations by quoting from W.E.H. Lecky's discussion of the 1641 rebellion in the first volume of his five volume History of Ireland, written in the eighteenth century and based on contemporary sources of that period. Cronin (1982: 231) writes that, "Lecky, a professor at Trinity College, Dublin, an Irish Protestant and a Unionist member of parliament, after noting various statements on the numbers killed, varying from 50,000
to 300,000 adds:

'It may be boldly asserted that this statement of a sudden surprise, immediately followed by a general and well organized massacre is utterly and absolutely untrue. As is almost always the case in a great popular rising, there were in the first outbreak of the rebellion, some murders, but they were very few and there was at this time nothing whatsoever of the nature of a massacre.'"

While the actual death count in the Rebellion of 1641 may never be known, the myth surrounding this event has survived in the subconscious of the Protestants in Northern Ireland. For example, McFarlane (1986: 200) discusses how border Protestants, in one contemporary community in Northern Ireland where the Protestant population is both a minority and lives mostly in isolated farmhouses, have re-emphasized "their centuries-old 'siege mentality.'"6 This siege mentality, McFarlane (1986: 200) claims, has been reawakened in response

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6 "...or 'bawn' mentality, referring to the fortified farmhouse built in [Ireland, especially in Northern Ireland] in the seventeenth century [to protect Protestants living in isolated areas from violent attacks by members of the Catholic majority]" (McFarlane, 1986: 200).
to "the recent successes of the Nationalist (Republican) grouping in local government elections and the history of the 'door-step' murders in the area." McFarlane (1986:200) predicts that this "local Protestant vision" of the re-enactment of the Rebellion of 1641 will only become more established as "the responsibility for state control is handed over to the Northern Irish (as opposed to British) security forces, and as the number of individual killings at places of work, home, and leisure increases as a proportion of total killings." Assurances by many members of the Catholic community that there was no sectarian motivation to these killings and that the victims were selected because they were "Brits", have done little to counteract the images from the past that these killings and other recent events have rekindled in the minds of the Protestant community. McFarlane (1986: 200) concludes that "under these circumstances Protestants may increasingly see violence, and the approval of violence, as an intrinsic feature of the basic opposition in Northern Ireland society."
III The Cromwellian Retaliation of 1649

The defeat of the Gaelic princes in 1603 had deprived the Irish of their natural leaders, but it had not diminished their determination to free Ireland from foreign domination. While the violence of the Rebellion of 1641 may have been exaggerated, the motive of the native Irish was not—they wanted to rid their land of a threatening foreign culture.

English retaliation for 1641, however, was not long in coming. Almost immediately after he had defeated and executed the second Stuart King, Charles I, Cromwell turned to the business of subduing Ireland. Unlike the 1641 Rebellion, the atrocities of Cromwell's army in Ireland have been well documented (see Ellis, 1975). The Cromwellian invasion inflicted much suffering on the Irish people, but rather than extinguishing their will to fight for their freedom, it strengthened it.

The measured religious freedom which the Irish Catholics had enjoyed under the Stuarts was soon lost. But, while Cromwell prohibited the celebration of mass, he did not attempt any large scale conversion of the Catholic population.

The Cromwellian invasion did, however, bring many major changes to the lives of the Irish people, the repercussions of which are most evident today in the reduced status of women. "Under ancient Brehon law, the law that had survived
in Ulster even after the rest of Ireland had been yoked into the English Common Law system, women enjoyed the rights of independent property ownership, had access to divorce and remarriage, and could be respected practitioners of the arts and sciences if they chose to do so" (Fields, 1977: 104). However, this degree of equality "women of Ireland and particularly women of Ulster" enjoyed with men in their society, was stripped away with the "infusion into secular life of the archaic domestic code imposed by the Cromwellian invasion" (Fields, 1977: 104-105). Fields (1977) argues that the "puritanical segregation of the sexes and hence the stereotyping into rigid sex roles", which today has reduced Irish women in Northern Ireland to the status of "slaves of slaves" was not as many "critics of Irish society believe", a result of the "preeminence of the Catholic Church" but directly attributable to the seventeenth century Puritanism imposed by Cromwell on Ireland.

The invasion produced other long term effects. Cromwell's long war against the royalists had been very expensive. The lands of those in Ireland who had not supported his cause were confiscated and redistributed to the soldiers who had fought with him and the adventurers who had financed his campaigns (Pringle, 1985: 107). While the ownership of land changed hands, Cromwell did not bring
in new settlers to replace the Irish tenants already established on the estates. Often the old landlords became tenants to the new landlords (Pringle, 1985: 109). Pringle (1985: 109) argues, "given that little attempt was made to convert the tenants to Protestantism, the confiscations resulted in the introduction of a religious divide between a numerically small but powerful landlord class and a large and increasing impoverished tenantry. This divide [Pringle contends] became a significant factor in shaping the nature of Irish nationalism in the nineteenth century."

While I agree with Pringle that this "religious divide" was important in the development of nineteenth-century Irish nationalism, it also has been important in the development of voluntary organizations which function as mechanisms of self-segregation in Northern Ireland today.

In the eighteenth century, the Enclosure Acts, whereby the landlords could close off common pasture for their own use, were enacted in Ireland. This was a serious blow to the Irish peasantry already suffering under the many abuses of the landlord system. To prevent the passage of land from tenants of one religion to those of another religion, secret agrarian societies were formed^7 (Stewart, 1977). These

7 These organizations were "collectively known as 'Whiteboys' because of their practice of wearing white shirts over their clothing at night" (Pringle, 1985: 120).
secret agrarian societies would occasionally become involved in bloody skirmishes in the rural areas. It was one such skirmish in Diamond, County Armagh, in 1795 which transformed the Peep o'Day Boys into the Orange Society (Stewart, 1977).

Stewart (1977) argues that these secret agrarian societies also provided the model for contemporary Protestant paramilitary groups, such as the Ulster Defense association, as well as for the Provisional I.R.A. While it is probable that the organization and tactics of these Whiteboy groups influenced the structure of both of these organizations, at least in the case of the Provisional I.R.A., the pattern of warfare more likely can be traced back to the times of the Anglo-Norman invasion when small Gaelic guerrilla groups launched attacks on their foreign foe from the protection of mountains and woods.

Cromwell's war also had far reaching effects on the contemporary residential patterns of some urban centres in Ireland. Cronin (1981: 9) writes that in Cromwellian Ireland, the "Catholics were expelled from the towns and forced to live outside the walls; to this day some Irish towns have sections called 'Irishtowns' as their colonial legacy."

The effects of 1641 are reflected in Cromwell's policy of excluding Irish Catholics from the towns. Not only did
the exclusion deny this group any possibility of taking advantage of urban economic benefits, it ensured that the demographic balance of these urban centres would not be upset. The Protestants feared the Catholics would soon outnumber them if they were permitted to live in the towns, and this would present an intolerable threat to the former's continued privileged economic and political position.

The Cromwellian invasion then, not only added to the already long list of grievances remembered by the Irish people which continue to fuel nationalist sentiment today, but it was the birthplace of several institutions that are today instrumental in reinforcing and maintaining the boundary between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland.

IV The Triumph of William of Orange

After Cromwell's death in September, 1658, hope rose again in Ireland and Dublin when Charles II was acknowledged King in May, 1660. Charles, who was sympathetic to the Irish who had supported him while he had been in exile, introduced measures designed to ease the suffering of the Irish Catholics. A court of claims was set up to restore confiscated land to many Catholics. Protestant protest forced its dissolution
in 1667, and while many claims were thus never heard, 1,200 claims for the restoration of Catholic land had been granted by 1699 (Bottigheimer, 1982: 142-143). Therefore Catholics had increased their ownership of land in Ireland to fourteen percent.

While Catholics still had no political power and could not hold government offices, the practice of Catholicism was not molested during Charles' reign. Although problems of land and religion subsided somewhat, Ireland now suffered from commercial discrimination.

The exportation of cattle to England was forbidden under the Navigation Acts of 1663 and 1670. Irish ships were no longer allowed to engage in foreign trade. All goods destined for foreign ports had to pass first through British ports, where goods were subject to high tariffs. While the latter sanction probably had a greater affect on the Protestant population, the first jeopardized the viability of the traditional mainstay of the Gaelic economy--cattle.

With the ascension of the Catholic James II, Irish Catholics were not only granted full freedom of worship, but were admitted to government offices. James' policies were very unpopular with Protestants in both England and Ireland. The Protestants decided to invite William of Orange, who was married to James' Protestant daughter Mary, to bring his army to England to "preserve England's 'constitutional rights
and the Protestant religion'" (Pringle, 1985: 110).

William of Orange became the next English monarch, without bloodshed on English soil, his battle being fought in Ireland. This power struggle enhanced both Catholic and Protestant group solidarity. On the one hand, it completed the unification of Old English and native Irish into one ethnic identity. On the other hand, it provided the Protestants with two important symbols of their ethnic identity: August 12, 1689, the day thirteen apprentice boys seized the keys and shut the gate of Derry, refusing admission to King James' troops; and July 12, 1690, the date William's forces won a decisive victory at Boyne. These two dates are celebrated annually in Northern Ireland and continue to be important expressions of Protestant unity.

While the annual celebrations of July 12 and August 12 have, for Protestants, become overt displays of group solidarity and expressions of their commonly shared values, Catholics view these events as assertions of Protestant domination over their lives. For the Kilbroney Catholics studied by Larsen (1982: 288):

...the rites of the Twelfth are a demonstration of Protestant power and a proof that nothing has changed in almost three hundred years since the Boyne. They note too the prominent place allotted to the politicians, further confirmation
that the ruling party represents only a section of the population. [As well] they claim that all talk about moral, religious, and ethical principles summed up in the poignant inscriptions on the banners, 'Fear God--Honour the King', are but empty words. The whole event is [in the opinion of Catholics] an obsolete tradition, kept up under the pretence of reaffirming Protestant doctrines, but in effect used only to demonstrate superior force....

Therefore, like the Rebellion of 1641, the Battle of Boyne and the closing of the gates of Derry by the Apprentice Boys have become symbols which continue to reinforce the boundary between Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland.

V The Penal Laws

While William had seized power at Boyne on July 12, 1690, and James had fled to France, the Irish continued to resist until October 1691 when the Treaty of Limerick established the terms of surrender. Merely by taking a simple oath of allegiance to William and Mary, men who had fought for James might retain their possessions. Roman Catholics were to enjoy under the Treaty, the same measures of freedom they had under
Charles II.

The Irish Parliament, made up entirely of Anglicans (which at the time comprised less than one-tenth of the Irish population), refused to implement the provisions of the Treaty of Limerick and passed a series of enactments called the Penal Laws. These laws were "primarily aimed at Catholics and were designed to relegate Irish Catholics to menial positions, both politically and economically" (See, 1980: 112).

The laws were also exceptional in that they penalized the religion of the majority rather than that of the minority, as had been the case on the Continent, especially in France (Magee, 1975: 35). Furthermore, the laws were not designed to convert the Irish Catholic population, just to make their lives miserable. Thus, the aims of the Penal Laws were more for political and economic reasons rather than for religious persecution.

Over one million acres of land had been confiscated from the Irish who had supported James II. Under the Penal Laws, Catholics were prohibited from buying land from Protestants, or even taking a lease that exceeded thirty-three years. When an Irish landowner died, he was forced to divide

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8 To a lesser extent these laws also applied to the Presbyterian population in Ireland (See Gailey, 1975: 9-12).
his property equally among all of his children. This fragmentation of land reduced its viability as an economic base. The Penal Laws further directed that if any of the Catholic landowners' children had converted to the Protestant faith, then this child would inherit the entire estate.

The Catholic gentry bore the full brunt of these restrictions, and "it was against them that the penal code was really directed" (Magee, 1975: 35). The peasantry were not seen as dangerous, however the Roman Catholic proprietors who still owned their own land were seen as such, and the Parliament was determined that "land, the key to political power should not pass into their hands" (Magee, 1975: 35). A Roman Catholic had no power to leave his land at will. Therefore:

If a Protestant woman, owning land, married a Roman Catholic, her land passed at once to the Protestant next-of-kin; if a Roman Catholic wife turned Protestant, all her real property was released from her husband's control. Thus the amount of land held by Roman Catholic proprietors could not increase and was almost bound to diminish (Magee, 1975: 35).

As a result of these restrictions, many leading Catholic families converted to Protestantism in the eighteenth century, so that by 1778 Catholic proprietors were reduced from owning
fourteen percent of the land in Ireland, to less than five percent. Therefore, when it was economically advantageous to do so, Catholics could easily convert to Protestantism and enjoy all of the benefits that being a member of that group entailed. Therefore, as it had been in the twelfth century, ethnic group identity depended on the acceptance of the cultural norms and values of the group and not physical descent.

The Penal Laws had religious sanctions as well. Bishops had been banished from Ireland and only one Catholic priest was permitted to remain to serve each parish. Pringle (1985: 117), suggests that in theory, because new priests could not be ordained without bishops, the Catholic Church should have collapsed, however in practice, the laws were never rigidly enforced. Catholic schools were banned and the practice of sending children to be educated on the Continent was also prohibited. But the ingenuity of the Irish Catholics prevailed, and:

Mass was celebrated and schools were conducted in open country, with lookouts to warn against the authorities. By the end of the eighteenth century, the greater part of Catholic education was being conducted in these Hedge Schools, and observers like Arthur Young describe 'many a ditch full of scholars', which they met on their travels (Darby, 1976: 124).
Beside driving these aspects of Catholic Gaelic culture underground, Darby (1976: 4) argues that the Penal Laws, "entrenched the divide between Catholics and Protestants" and "strengthened Irish Catholicism by adding a political component to it."

Beckett (quoted in Magee, 1975: 36) describes the genesis of this political component. While the cultural restrictions embodied in the Penal Laws were not forcefully imposed, the sanctions governing land were. Like the Gaelic princes before them, those members of the gentry that could afford to leave, left. Those who remained had no political power and were thus incapable of forming an intellectual professional middle class, to mobilize the Irish population. According to Beckett, political leadership passed "naturally" to the clergy. He concludes that "The great political power of the Roman Catholic Church in modern Ireland can be traced directly to the effectiveness of the eighteenth-century penal code" (quoted in Magee, 1975: 35).
VI Summary and Conclusions

While group membership remained a matter of self-identification rather than descent throughout the Tudor and Plantation period, Henry VIII's break with Roman Catholicism changed the cultural content of the settlers' ethnic group significantly, making crossing the ethnic boundary much more difficult. The Old English, who had suffered only a reduction of political power and influence under Henry VII, now found themselves identifying more and more with the Gaelic cause. When in 1641 the Old English and native Irish joined together to rebel against the discriminatory measures of the English Parliament, the two became in the eyes of the British Protestants both in England and in Ireland, one group. However, it was not until 1690 and the victory of William of Orange that the Old English identified themselves as being indistinguishable members of the Irish ethnic identity.

During this period, Catholics and Protestants replaced the old ethnic labels of native Irish and settlers, respectively. Even before the fifth century, when St. Patrick brought Christianity to Ireland, religion played a significant role in the social life of the Irish population. Children were trained for their future roles in monasteries. As well, the monastic churches played an active role in the economic, political, and social institutions which organized and
reproduced Gaelic culture. Therefore, it is not surprising that when confronted and threatened by a completely different religious system, "religion became 'the [ethnic] symbol' of the [Irish] nation in its struggle for continued viability" (Connor, 1972: 338).

The conflict between the Catholics and Protestants in Ireland was not in the sixteenth century, nor is it today in Northern Ireland, one based primarily on differences in religious doctrines, as some have argued (Hickey, 1984, 1986). It is instead "a struggle predicated upon fundamental differences of national identity" (Connor, 1972: 339). As the ethnic boundaries between Catholics and Protestants in Ireland hardened, many of those institutions which play a major role in strengthening group identity in Northern Ireland today, were created. Other institutions that had existed since Anglo-Norman times were given renewed significance.

With the influx of new Protestant settlers which began under the Tudors and intensified during the Plantation era, intermarriage between the two groups was brought to a virtual halt, and marriages within the two religious communities became the only acceptable pattern.  

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\[9\] Intermarriage between the two communities did and still does occur occasionally, but sanctions against it are an emotional burden to all those involved. Leyton (1975: 57) reports that during his research in Aughnaboy in the mid and late 1960s, "only one case of a match between Protestant and Catholic occurred, [and] a police escort was necessary at the wedding ceremony to protect the couple from the wrath of their families."
A separate school system was introduced by Henry VIII to provide education to all those who were willing to accept the Protestant faith. Despite progressively harsher and more discriminatory legislation aimed at destroying the Catholic school system, it remained operational throughout this period, playing an important role in transmitting to each new generation the cultural history of the Irish struggle against those who threatened to destroy the culture.

Residential segregation is a legacy of the Cromwellian years when the Irish were prohibited from living within the borders of the urban centres. The origin of some present day Catholic ghettos in Derry and Belfast may be traced to this period.

Secret agrarian societies responding to the injustices of the Enclosure Laws, were the forefathers of many of the important voluntary organizations such as the Orange Society and the Ancient Order of Hibernians, which continue to promote ethnic group solidarity and are ever vigilant of the "religious divide" remaining intact. Many of the Protestant paramilitary groups have been modelled after these secret agrarian societies. Even the Provincial I.R.A. was influenced by the activities of these agrarian groups.

Finally, the Tudor and Plantation eras have provided some of the most important symbols of ethnic group identity to both groups. The Rebellion of 1641 and the Battle of Boyne
in 1690 have become incorporated into Protestant mythology and are symbols of Protestant group solidarity. The Cromwellian invasion of 1649 and the Penal Laws have become a significant part of the "remembered" grievances of the Catholics. These two events are still used by Irish nationalists to strengthen group solidarity.

The ethnic struggle which began in the twelfth century persisted throughout the Tudor and Plantation periods. Each new reduction of political power, confiscation of land, and cultural restriction during these periods deepened the social cleavages between Catholics and Protestants. The pattern of intense ethnic conflict, followed by a period of relative calm, continued. By the mid-eighteenth century the major institutions and structures which maintain and reinforce ethnic boundaries in Northern Ireland today, were firmly established. Thus when the ideology that "all nations have a right to self-determination" was incorporated into the Irish nationalist movement in the nineteenth century, the only major change in the ethnic struggle was the legitimation of what the Irish had been fighting for since the twelfth century, namely to rid Irish soil of an illegitimate ruler.
Chapter 5

Ethnic Boundary Reinforcement and Maintenance in Contemporary Northern Ireland

Once Irish ethnic consciousness had been raised in the twelfth century, and as the boundary between the two groups--Irish and settler--became sharply delineated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, an institutional complex developed to maintain this division and strengthen ethnic group solidarity. These institutions and structures are crucial to the survival of any ethnic-based nationalist movement because while only a portion of the male and female population of the ethnic group at any one time are actively involved in nationalist activities, the movement must have a group with a strong sense of its own ethnic identity, which can be readily mobilized when necessary and from which the movement can replenish its ranks. While the Gaelic chiefs' aims were not always united politically in their struggle, they were culturally homogeneous (Pringle, 1985), and were aware as they fought their individual battles against the British that their "culturally relevant ways of thinking and doing things" (Heiberg, 1975: 189) were different from and being threatened by these invaders. The very persistence
of the struggle of the Irish people since the twelfth century to the present day may be directly attributable to the ability of these institutions and structures to keep the Irish ethnic identity strong.

The question of why a group that does not have any visible barriers to prevent its assimilation into the majority culture—a move that in most cases would be both politically and economically advantageous—chooses to maintain a separate identity (Pi-Sunyer, 1985; De Vos, 1975: 8; Smith, 1981: 46-47; Alverson, 1979: 15-16; & Gellner, 1980, 1981) is particularly relevant to the Northern Ireland situation. I have argued in chapter four that the conflict in Northern Ireland is "fundamentally" one of ethnic identity and not religion. Also, I have described how self-identification and not descent, has been the key criterion for determining group membership since Anglo-Norman times. Finally, I have attempted to show the severity of cultural, economic and political discrimination experienced by the Irish people prior to the mid-eighteenth century. Yet as I have also noted in this thesis, the assimilation of Irish men and women into first the Anglo-Norman and later the Protestant ethnic group has been a rare occurrence.
John Whyte (1986: 219) lists seven institutions and structures which have been stressed in the literature on Northern Ireland as being primarily responsible for maintaining the boundary between the Protestant and Catholic communities: (1) The Churches themselves; (2) The Orange Order; (3) social ranking; (4) political differences; (5) residential segregation; (6) separate education; and (7) endogamy. Of these seven factors, Whyte (1978, 1986) claims that separate education and endogamy have been the most important ones in maintaining group solidarity amongst the Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland. Rosemary Harris (1972) has made a thorough although ahistorical examination of how endogamy operates to maintain the ethnic boundary in a small rural community in Northern Ireland. As it is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine how all seven of these mechanisms operate, I will explore in this chapter the role separate education plays in reinforcing and maintaining the Irish ethnic identity.¹

¹ As I have done throughout this thesis, I will be focusing primarily on the function of separate education in maintaining group solidarity in the Catholic community.
I The Development of Separate Education in Northern Ireland

A. Irish Education in Pre-Nineteenth-Century Ireland

As history shapes current attitudes and behavior of a people (Greenwood, 1977), so too has it shaped the separate education systems of the Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland. Elsewhere in this thesis, I have discussed at length the development of the Irish education system prior to the nineteenth century. In this section, I will confine my analysis of this period to noting how the education system may have promoted Irish ethnic group solidarity, and in so doing, aided those fighting to protect their unique culture from foreign domination.
As discussed in Chapter Three, the Irish Church, the custodian of Gaelic education, had by the twelfth century developed a "distinctive nationalistic character" which deviated in many significant aspects from that of the Church of Rome--the most important aspect being that the former was governed by Brehon law, while the latter (and the Anglo-Normans) followed Canon law. While after the Anglo-Norman invasion, Canon law had been declared the official policy of the Irish Church, Brehon law continued to influence the education policies of the monasteries in those areas of Ireland that were not under effective British control (Scherman, 1981). It was these traditional areas and in particular Ulster, that offered the most persistent and strongest resistance to British cultural penetrations. It would not be unreasonable to assume then, that the ability of these monasteries to continue to generate a distinctive Irish culture was an important (although not the only) factor in preventing the assimilation of the Gaels into Anglo-Norman culture.

The Catholicism of the Irish and the Anglo-Norman settlers in areas of effective British control (see Fig. 4, page 78), was still structured by two separate legal codes when in 1537 Henry VIII denounced both legal systems and established the first Anglican schools in Ireland. When Henry VIII proposed the dissolution of the monasteries in that same year,
the Old English did not object because they saw the monasteries, which followed Brehon law instead of Canon law, as corrupt and in need of major reform. However, when Henry instructed his Anglican bishops to establish schools to convert the Irish to his new faith, the Old English and the Gaels joined together in their rejection of and protest against this new system of education (see chapter 4).

After the defeat of the last of the Gaelic princes in 1603 and the abolishment of Brehon laws of tanistry and gavelkind in 1608 and 1609 (Beckett, 1981), Canon law became the official practice of both the Old English and Gaelic Irish Churches. As oppression against those of the Catholic faith in Ireland intensified throughout the seventeenth century, the Old English identified more and more with the Gaelic cause. When Catholic education was denied in Ireland, the Old English sent their children to the Continent to ensure that they would receive proper moral and religious training. The native Irish resorted back to the Gaelic tradition whereby a private schoolmaster indoctrinated children into native Irish culture on a one-to-one basis (Barritt & Carter, 1972: 78; Scherman, 1981). When the Penal laws restricted the number of Catholic priests and forbade the sending of Irish children to schools on the Continent, the Catholic education system went underground and Hedge Schools were established to ensure proper Catholic values and morals were imparted to each new
generation (Darby, 1976; Chapter 4, supra). The Irish education system had helped to keep the Irish ethnic identity alive and strong throughout this era, in spite of severe cultural oppression.

B. Education in Ireland After the Union with Britain, January 1, 1801.

Canons 1113, 1372 and 1374 embody the Catholic attitude toward education. As these canons were in the past, and are still today the basis of Catholic rejection of "mixed or non-denominational education" in both Northern and Southern Ireland (Fraser, 1977: 130) they warrant further examination:

The Canon Law reads: 'Parents have a most serious duty to secure a fully Catholic education for their children in all that concerns the instruction of their minds, the training of their wills to virtue, their bodily welfare and the preparation for their life as citizens.'

Again it is decreed: 'All the Faithful shall be so educated from childhood, that not only shall nothing contrary to the Catholic religion and good morals be taught them, but religious and moral education shall have the principal place...'
Lastly the (Canon) law takes account of the dangers arising from non-Catholic schools: 'Catholic pupils are not to frequent non-Catholic schools or neutral schools that are open also to non-Catholics. Only the Ordinary of the place where the school is situated is competent to determine, according to the instructions of the Apostolic See, in what circumstances it may be tolerated for Catholics to attend such schools and what safeguards are to be prescribed against the danger of perversion...'

...It is said that, in regard to youth, the Catholic Bishops are afraid. They are. But their fear is a solicitude, based on some two thousand years' experience. It is more fully based on their esteem for the priceless worth of sanctifying grace and the unigueness of the one, true Faith. Therefore, they fear the circumstances that breed indifference and indiscipline.


Thus, the attempt of the British controlled Dublin government to establish a parochial school system in 1807, was met with the same strong Catholic resistance that
Henry VIII had failed to overcome when he imposed a new system of learning on sixteenth-century Ireland.

A second attempt by the government to provide education for all of the poor in Ireland, a group largely made up of Catholics, was the founding in 1811 of the Kildare Place Society, in Dublin. The objective of this society was to offer "the same advantages to all classes of professing Christians without interfering with the peculiar religious opinions of any" (Barritt & Carter, 1972: 78). Initially, Catholic parents did send their children to these schools. However, the policy of the Society of reading the Bible "without note or comment", brought a protest from the Catholic priests. They complained that a mere reading of the Scriptures without interpretation was insufficient for proper preparation of Catholic children, both morally and religiously, for their future life (Barritt & Carter, 1972; Fraser, 1977). Catholic parents began to withdraw their children from the Society's schools and the education system reverted back to one of separate schools run by Protestants and Catholics.

A third attempt by the government to provide an integrated system of schooling in Ireland was made in 1831, when a national education system was established. Like the Kildare Place Society, the national system wanted to ensure equal educational opportunities to all Christians without
interfering with the religious beliefs of any of the groups. The national system was based on two propositions: first, "it was proposed that religious education should be excluded from the secular day and secondly, that all clergy were to have full access to the schools" (Murray, 1986: 248). These propositions brought cries of protest from both religious communities.

The Catholic clergy protested the exclusion of religion from educational institutions under the national system as vehemently as they had opposed the Kildare Place Society's policy of reading the Bible "without comment or note". The Protestants protested both propositions. They opposed the exclusion of religion from the schools because they "felt that wisdom was learnt unconsciously from a general use of the Holy Writ, and that even Catholic children should have a chance of hearing in untainted form the 'Word of the living God'" (Barritt & Carter, 1972: 80). With respect to the second proposal, the Protestants felt that their control of the education system was being jeopardized by allowing full access of the Catholic clergy to the schools.2

The integrated national system began to breakdown as

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2 This reaction is an example of the chronic insecurity that has plagued the Protestant community in Ireland since 1641.
early as 1833 when the Presbyterian Synod of Ulster "passed a resolution that it should be right for school managers and teachers to read the Scriptures during school hours" (Barritt & Carter, 1972: 80). In 1839, a Presbyterian school at Correen agreed to transfer control of the school to the state, if the state government guaranteed that the school would be able to continue to have the right to provide religious instruction to students during the school day and could refuse entrance to children of other denominations (Barritt & Carter, 1972: 80). The state agreed.

Further deterioration of the national system came when the Protestants in 1839 founded the Education Society of the established Church of Ireland, for the purpose of maintaining schools independently of the state controlled Board of Education (Barritt & Carter, 1972: 80). As a result, two distinct school systems developed. First, there were the Church run voluntary schools, in which while most of the teachers received their salaries from the state, religious instruction within the school was given in accordance with the wishes of the manager (Barritt & Carter, 1972: 81). Secondly, the "model schools" were built and maintained by the state and a teacher was provided to give separate religious instruction during school hours, to any group of six or more children who requested it (Barritt & Carter, 1972: 81). Thus the education system which was transferred
to Northern Ireland on February 1, 1922, was rigidly divided along sectarian lines.

A three tier system of elementary education was proposed for the newly formed state of Northern Ireland, in 1923. Murray (1986: 249) briefly describes the three classes of elementary schools proposed by this act as:

Class I: Those built by local authorities or the Ministry of Education, or those handed over to the Ministry by previous managers (known as 'controlled' or 'state schools').

Class II: Those schools with management committees composed of four representatives of the former managers and two of the local government authorities (known as 'maintained' schools).

Class III: Those schools whose managers wished to remain independent of the local government authorities (known as 'voluntary' schools).

Financial aid given to each of these classes of schools depended directly on the degree of government involvement and control in the operation of the school. Farrell (1980: 101-2) contends that the motive of the Education Bill of 1923 was to offer financial inducements that would entice churches to transfer their schools to the state. Even if this was the
primary aim of the Bill, Sections 26 and 66 of this Act, doomed it to failure.

Section 26 of the Bill decreed that no religious instruction of any kind was to be taught in the school. Section 66 stated that religious denomination of the teacher must not be taken into consideration when the education authority was making an appointment (Barritt & Carter, 1972: 82).

Barritt and Carter (1972: 82) suggest that the rationale behind these sections was that most quarrelling between the Catholics and Protestants had been over the teaching of the Bible, therefore legislators assumed that if no religious instruction was included during the school day, then the objections of the two communities to integrated schools would be overcome. This reasoning illustrates the complete lack of understanding on the part of the legislators, of the different perceptions that each community had toward the relationship between religion and education. The conflict between the two communities over religious instruction in the schools was not that it was given—both groups felt children should have exposure to the Scriptures—but the objections arose over the way in which this instruction was given.

A second rationale for this Bill was the assumption that an integrated school system would provide a friendly atmosphere in which Protestant and Catholic children could
interact and get to know each other. In this way it was hoped that prejudice the children had learned from their parents about members of the other religious community could be overcome. This rationale illustrates the Utopian thinking of the legislators.

In the small rural community studied by Rosemary Harris (1972) in the 1950s, a small proportion of the Protestant children had to attend a Catholic elementary school, because of geographic necessity. She found that, "Years in the same class and general school contacts undoubtedly gave the Protestant children involved an ease of relationship with the Catholics in the district [and] ...some long term friendships [did occur]" (Harris, 1972: 137-138). However, Harris adds that gangs in this school were formed along a sectarian line and many battles were fought between Protestant and Catholic children. Her findings cast serious doubt on the creators of the Education Bill of 1923's belief that the integration of the schools would lead to the eventual elimination of prejudice between the Northern Ireland religious communities.

Rejection of the Education Bill of 1923 came swiftly.

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3 These friendships, Harris (1972: 138) comments, were especially important in the case of girls who as women seldom had contact with other women across the religious divide.
Strong pressure from a united committee of Protestant Churches and the Orange Order led to the removal of sections 26 and 66 from the Act in 1925 and 1930, and secured the representation of the Protestant clergy on all school committees (Fraser, 1977: 130). The Catholic reaction to the successes of the Protestant Churches and the Orange Order was to refuse to transfer any schools to the local education committees which they saw as being dominated by Protestants, and therefore hostile to the needs of Catholic children (Fraser, 1977: 131). Thus this latest attempt to integrate the Northern Ireland school system foundered, and ninety-eight percent of children remained in segregated schools (Fraser, 1977: 131).

Today there are "two almost self-contained education systems" in Northern Ireland. Whyte (1986: 228) writes that in 1969, which was the year of the most recent census of school attendance by religion, less than two percent of Catholic pupils attended Protestant schools and less than one percent of Protestant students went to Catholic schools. Whyte adds that these percentages have changed only fractionally in the seventeen years since this census was taken, and no significant change in these figures is anticipated in the near future.

In the following two sections of this thesis, I will examine how this segregated school system functions to
maintain and reinforce the ethnic boundary in Northern Ireland.

II Verbal Messages that Strengthen Ethnic Group Identity, As Conveyed by School Curriculum

Whyte (1986: 229) writes that in a survey of one thousand Derry children, it was discovered that Protestant and Catholic "children differed widely in their perceptions of nationality and of local history and that the gap widened with the length of time in school." Many authors writing about the conflict in Northern Ireland comment that the view of the history of Ireland taught in Catholic schools is different from that taught in Protestant schools. These writers however, seldom attempt to provide any explanation of what the teaching of two different interpretations of this history really means to the conflict now taking place. With the assistance of the excellent autobiographical description of the childhood educational experiences of Bernadette Devlin (1969) and Jack Holland (1981), I will argue that these two views of history perpetuate the "tradition of hatred [that] has been nourished for centuries" (McCord & McCord, 1979: 435), by Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland.
Bernadette Devlin (1969: 56) describes the grammar school she attended as being very Republican. She writes:

I went to a very militantly Republican grammar school and under its influence began to revolt against the Establishment on the simple rule of thumb, highly satisfying to a ten-year-old, that Irish equals good, English equals bad.

Devlin attributes her anti-British attitudes to the influence of the school's vice-principal, Mother Benignus, whom she admired and respected, and also to the history lessons taught in the school. She describes the Mother Superior, saying:

To Mother Benignus everything English was bad. She hated the English--with good reason: her entire family had suffered at the hands of the British forces. Everything [Devlin and her classmates] did in school was Irish oriented....[Mother Benignus] didn't hate Protestants, but her view was that you couldn't very well put up with them, they weren't Irish, and that clinched the argument (Devlin, 1969: 59-60).

She goes on to describe the school's Republican approach to
the teaching of history, saying:

We learned Irish history. People who went to Protestant schools learned British history. We were all learning the same things, the same events, the same period of time, but the interpretations we were given were very different. At the state school they teach the Act of Union was brought about to help strengthen the trade agreement between England and Ireland. We were taught that it was a malicious attempt to bleed Ireland dry of her linen industry, which was affecting English cotton. We learned our Irish history from Fallon's Irish History Aids, being a publishing firm in Southern Ireland. Now the Ministry of Education had issued a memorandum saying that Fallon's Irish History Aids were not to be used in schools, because they were no more than sedition and treason in the name of history. On a point of principle, all our books were published by Fallon's. When the Ministry wrote to complain, Mother Benignus wrote back in Irish, just to make another point clear (Devlin, 1969: 60).

Devlin (1969: 62) concludes that it was "the combined effects of Mother Benignus and [her] students...[as well as] a year of absorbing the lesson 'We are Irish, We are proud of our history, our dead, our culture, and our language'...[which] turned [her] into a convinced Republican...."
While Devlin's experience may seem extreme, it is by no means exceptional. Jack Holland (1981: 19) describes a similar anti-British attitude in the teaching of history in his childhood school, saying:

The education of the children was run along sectarian lines. Catholics went to Catholic schools, and Protestants went to State (ipso facto Protestant) schools. Catholics were taught Irish history—the story, basically, of Ireland's long struggle for freedom. Protestants received a British view of the world—how the Empire bestowed the virtues of its civilization on various native cultures, including the Irish. At the Christian Brothers school I attended, St. Gall's, I was strapped once for calling the town of Derry 'Londonderry'. The brother pointed out that the prefix 'London' was a recent (seventeenth century) invention, and that the real Irish name was Derry, 'oak grove' in Gaelic. Unfortunately, it was Londonderry in my atlas; being a stubborn child I insisted, much to his annoyance, on pointing out this anomaly. He walloped me and, with great contempt in his voice, dismissed the atlas as a mere English map.

But Holland learned his lesson well, for he and every other Catholic Irish author this writer has read, always use Derry instead of Londonderry in their writing.
While both Devlin and Holland display an awareness that the interpretation of Irish history they received was very different from that learned by Protestant children, it is difficult to determine if they had this knowledge during their childhood years. Both authors were products of mixed marriages, and had had frequent contact with their Protestant relatives throughout their childhood. Devlin's mother had been a Protestant before marrying her Catholic father. While her Protestant relatives, in particular her grandmother had disowned her mother, visiting still took place between Devlin's family and her Protestant relatives. Holland's grandmother, on the other hand, had married a Protestant and had given up her Catholic faith. Holland's father had been born in a Catholic hospital and when the nuns discovered that Holland's grandmother had been a Catholic, they "kidnapped" his father and baptized him as a Catholic. Holland's grandmother, with what appears to have been little resistance from his Protestant grandfather, decided to raise her son a Catholic. There was frequent interaction between Holland and his Protestant relatives and this interaction had been much more positive than that which occurred between Devlin and her Protestant relatives. Both authors indicate however, that certain subjects such as religion, politics, and any topics which may provoke sectarian controversy were avoided during these visits.
It is more likely that most of Devlin's and Holland's insight into the different historical interpretations taught in Protestant and Catholic schools came from their university experience. While both authors had been raised in Catholic ghettos, they were able to win scholarships to integrated universities. The knowledge gained during this late exposure to integrated learning however, appears to have done little to counteract the attitudes and prejudices learned during their early childhood educational experiences, as evidenced by their accounts of the current conflict in Northern Ireland.

III Non-Verbal Messages that Strengthen Ethnic Group Identity As Conveyed by Activities Outside the Classroom

The socialization of Northern Ireland's youngsters into two different cultures continues outside the classroom as well. Nell McCafferty (1986) discusses how, when she and her classmates went on an extra-curricular outing to a free educational film, the consciousness of her own Catholic ethnic identity was strengthened and the awareness of the difference between her ethnic identity and that of the Protestants was heightened. She writes:
...We were taken to a free educational film in a city cinema. The Protestant schoolgirls sat in one block of seats and we sat across the aisle in another. The boys were to come next day, sexual integration being considered the marginally greater danger. The cinema darkened, a drum roll began, the curtains parted and onto the screen flashed a picture of Queen Elizabeth the Second, Monarch of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. The Protestants stood smartly on their feet. Our escort, Miss McDevitt, an elderly aristocratic lady in tweeds, remained firmly seated. We took our cue from her and sat solidly through the national anthem.

Miss McDevitt never afterwards alluded to the incident, and we knew better than to ask her why she did it. They followed the Queen; we followed the Pope. The division was as simple as that, neither British nor Irish prime ministers having heard of us at the time (McCafferty, 1986: 159).

Symbols reflecting the ethnic distinctiveness of the Protestants and Catholics are encouraged by their respective school system. For example, Fraser (1977: 133) describes, "Protestant youngsters [as coming to school]...bedecked with Orange, Ulster, and Vanguard badges and tartan scarves, Catholic children [wore]...green scarves, shamrock badges, and Connolly badges (the latter behind the lapel)."

The effect that these and other symbolic "overt
demonstrations of...cultural affiliations" by the schools has on observers serves to maintain and reinforce the boundary between the two ethnic groups. Murray (1983: 145-6), who did fieldwork in Northern Ireland, explains:

...controlled schools in the North-Eastern Library Board area are required to fly the Union Jack daily outside. Individuals within these schools may see this as a natural manifestation for a State school. The response among Catholics however may be somewhat different. Murray [from previously published material] cites a general reaction from staff in an adjoining Catholic school:

They fly the flag down there to show that they are more British than the British themselves. It's also to let us know that they are the lords and masters and that we (Catholics) should be continually aware of it.

Again, quite naturally, symbols abound in Catholic schools which emphasize their Catholicity (statues, Papal flags, crucifixes, etc.). It might be difficult to imagine how these might cause offense. Indeed they can justifiably be seen as the sine qua non of Catholic education, which has always posited salvation higher than education. However, this observation too can be transferred into a rather different reality as it was by a Protestant teacher:
We play St. Jude's often in games and visit their schools regularly. I never fail to be impressed by the plethora of religious pictures and icons staring at you around every corner. It's hard to escape the view that a special show is being put on for our benefit.... This doesn't apply just to St. Jude's of course, but they must know that these are the very things that we object to, yet still they are flaunted everywhere.

These non-verbal messages are a constant visual reminder to Protestants and Catholics that a rigid boundary exists between them. The emotion that these messages convey makes transcending this boundary very difficult.

IV Summary and Conclusions

The separate school system in Northern Ireland has its roots in the sixteenth century when Henry VIII rejected Catholicism and imposed his own Church and School System in Ireland. This separate school system has persisted despite numerous attempts by the state, both before and after partition, to integrate it. Today nearly all schoolchildren attend either Catholic or State (in reality Protestant) schools.

The absorption of verbal and non-verbal messages by Protestant and Catholic schoolchildren make them acutely aware
that their ethnic group identities are very different. In this way the separate school system strengthens ethnic group solidarity and by so doing helps to ensure both the Irish Nationalists and the Protestant Unionists will continue to have a group upon whose support each can depend. The emphasis of these messages on the "remembered affronts" from past group interaction has an additional contribution to the conflict in Northern Ireland. It helps guarantee that the Provisional I.R.A. and the various Protestant paramilitary groups will have a continued influx of new members.
Chapter 6

General Conclusions

In this thesis, I have investigated Irish ethnonationalism by examining the formation, development, and maintenance of the consciousness of the ethnic group which supports it. I have argued that the Irish nationalist movement which arose in the nineteenth century to reclaim all but the six counties of Ulster for the Irish nation, was not a new phenomenon but was an end product of a long ethnic struggle that did not begin in the industrial era, nor even when the Protestant Planters arrived in the seventeenth century. Instead, I contend that the roots of Irish ethnonationalism must be looked for in the twelfth century, when the Anglo-Normans invaded Ireland. Further, I maintain that any understanding of the causes and nature of Irish ethnonationalism can only be gained if the entire eight hundred years of its existence is examined.

The persistence of ethnic activism in Ireland that has continued since the twelfth century and is still occurring in Northern Ireland today, has not been caused by a single factor. Rather, its persistence has been due to the
accumulation of political, cultural, and economic oppression experienced by the Irish Catholic population throughout their long struggle for freedom from foreign domination. These "remembered affronts" have been passed down from generation to generation by the institutions and structures which developed to maintain and reinforce the ethnic boundary between the Irish and the "Colonists".

In Chapter Five, I have investigated how one of these institutions—separate education—continues to pass on the centuries old "tradition of hatred" to each new generation, thus ensuring the continued separation of Protestants and Catholics in contemporary Northern Ireland. It should be pointed out that no one institution or structure that operates to maintain and reinforce this ethnic boundary can be held solely responsible for the continued tension and violence in Northern Ireland. Each institution and structure reinforces the attitudes and behavior generated by the other institutions. In unison, these institutions and structures present obstacles which severely hamper any attempt at resolving this conflict.
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