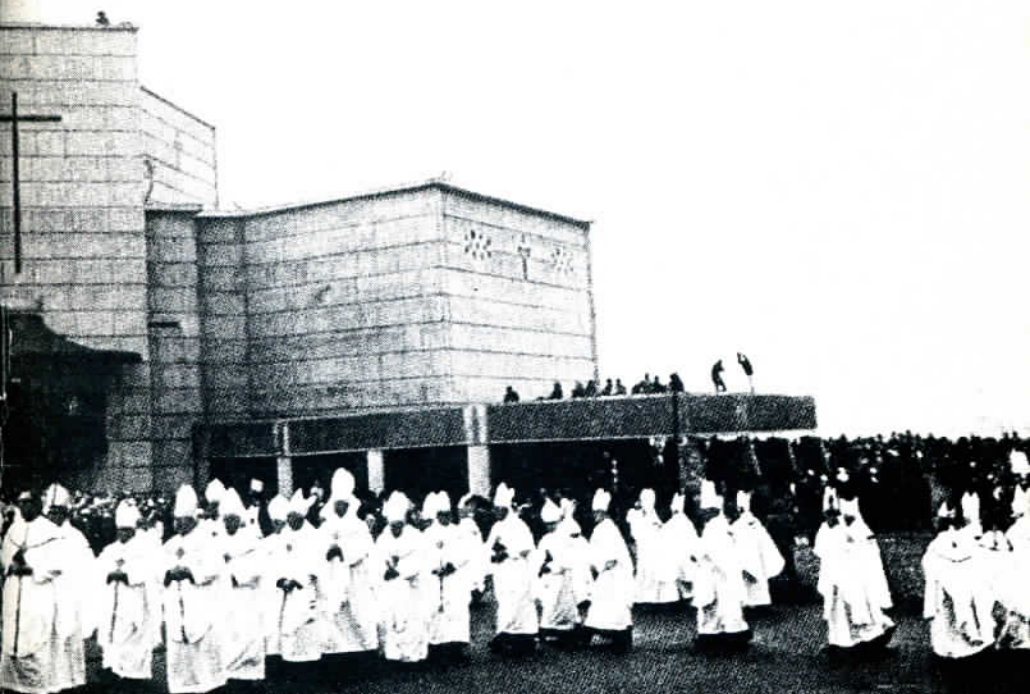


The Rise of Papal Power in Ireland



Athol Books



The Rise of Papal Power in Ireland

Preface

The Rise of Papal Power in Ireland was first published in the Irish secular magazine *Church and State*. When the Pope decided to visit Ireland in 1979, the articles were collected together and published as a duplicated pamphlet. This pamphlet constituted probably the only analysis of Irish Catholicism published at that time and consequently it sold out quite rapidly.

Before the Pope's visit, more and more Irish people were beginning to question the Catholic Church's version of its role and history. This process has continued and has called for this new edition of the pamphlet.

Furthermore both Ireland and Catholicism are occupying the minds of many people who are neither Irish nor Catholic, but who feel the need to comprehend both. The joint publishers — Athol Books and Church and State — are therefore making the pamphlet available to readers outside of Ireland as well as in Ireland.

© Athol Books 1983

ISBN 0 85034 028 4

Published by Athol Books, 9 Denmark Street, London WC2
and Church and State, 26 Church Ave., Cork, Ireland

Contents

The Development of Catholic Social Power in Ireland	4
Irish Christianity and European Feudalism	5
Roman Catholicism first established in the Pale	6
Rinnucini's Reports	7
The Gallican Church in Ireland	8
Gladstone and Newman	14
From Gallicanism to Ultramontanism	17
Ultramontanism and Nationalism in Ireland	20
The Hierarchy's Policy for Home Rule	22
An Rioghacht	26
 Notes on Tolerance	31
Goethe in Italy	33
Gladstone	33
James II	34
Religious Freedom and Cromwell	35
The Established Church in Britain	36
Putting Religion in its Place	37
A Society without a History	38
The Anglo-Irish Aristocracy	39
We were not cheated	39

Introduction

This pamphlet is being published to mark the visit of the Pope to his green island — or to that part of it where heretics find it prudent to lie low. It deals chiefly with the question of how long Papal influence has held sway on the island (leaving aside the heretics in that part of it which he found it prudent not to visit).

What makes the Irish such a puzzle to the modern freethinking British or Europeans (and even to themselves) is the idea that they have been fervent Roman Catholics for fifteen hundred years, and that their fervour survived two hundred years of Protestant persecution and Liberal temptation (from about 1600 to about 1800) only to revive with redoubled force at the end of it. If this idea was at all accurate (if it was accurate even to the extent of 50%), the Catholic Irish would indeed be an incomprehensible people in the modern world. It is however a grossly inaccurate idea.

The great secret about Catholicism in Ireland is its age. The Church has guarded that secret well. It has created a general opinion about itself that it is one of the oldest Churches in Europe. But it is by far the youngest. Its vigour during the past century was the vigour of raw youth. Catholic enclaves have existed on the island for over a thousand years, but for a thousand years the Catholic Church in Ireland was the Church of the would-be conqueror: Viking, Norman and Old English.

What we know today as the Catholic Church in Ireland is a new Church that was constructed between the 1820s and the 1840s as an integral part of the social movement by which the mass of the Gaels sloughed off their Gaelic heritage and entered European civilisation as a new people. The Gaels had not been Roman Catholics in any meaningful sense while they were Gaels. And in the light of this knowledge the great mystery about the Irish dissolves. The mystery was only a misapprehension.

The articles which compose this pamphlet, and which provide the key that unlocks Irish history, were first published in the magazine *Church and State* in 1973. The position that is stated in them has not been publicly disputed by anybody. If it was not soundly based it would undoubtedly have been knocked down. We can therefore confidently say on the occasion of the Pope's first visit to one of his newer Churches that we have his measure.

September 1979

The Development of Catholic Social Power in Ireland

It has been customary in Catholic nationalist circles to represent Gaelic Ireland and its English-speaking derivative as the most ancient Catholic nation in Europe. Irish nationality has usually been dated from about the time of St. Patrick, and a staunch adherence to Catholicism ever since, despite Reformationist temptations and suffering under the Penal Laws, is represented as the most notable feature of Gaelic (and Gaelic revivalist) nationalism throughout the ages.

It is true that the nominal conversion of Ireland to Catholicism began in the fifth century, but it took more than a thousand years for the substance of Catholic social power to get a grip on the society. It appears that the Church maintained orthodox Roman organisation and discipline while the conversion was in progress, but before the Church became a social institution. (That is to say that Catholic doctrine and organisation prevailed within the clergy but not within the society.)

But when the Church became a social institution of the clans it was not by changing the way of life of the clans in accordance with Roman Catholic doctrine, but by changing Roman Catholic doctrine and organisation to make them tally with the way of life of the clans. Church organisation lost its independence and was subordinated to the clan organisation. The clergy became an aristocratic caste within the clan. The Bishops took their place along with the bards as kept men of the chiefs. The main centres of religious organisation became the monasteries instead of Bishopsrics.

The society accepted the ideology of Christianity as a superstition with little or no social relevance. Religious fervour had its outlet in monastic life. And with this addition of a new superstition, monasteries, and a new ideological caste controlled by the aristocracy, clan life proceeded as before.

Irish Christianity and European Feudalism

The Church in Ireland did not transform the clan organisation, but succumbed to it. Elsewhere in Europe the power of the Catholic Church grew as a major element in a new social organisation — feudalism — which was a great advance in European civilisation. In Ireland it succumbed to the old social order. For a couple of centuries known as the Dark Ages, while the break up of the Roman Empire by the barbarian invasions was laying the basis for the new social organisation, Europe was in apparent chaos. In Ireland, where no new social order was gestating, peace reigned.

In these circumstances a certain degree of Christian learning was preserved in the Irish monasteries, while in Europe, apart from Rome and one or two other city states, an intellectual recession accompanied the social advance that was taking place. Irish monks contributed to the spread of Christianity in the new barbarian-feudal Europe. But Irish influence on European development was limited to the period of the conversion of Europe to Christian ideology of the most general kind. (And in this respect it should be said that the Irish monasteries contributed more to the social development of Europe than of Ireland, for the simple reason that social development was taking place in Europe but not in Ireland.)

The Church of Rome had also maintained itself throughout the Dark Ages. It had the prestige of being the only survivor of the Roman Empire, and it had social ambitions worthy of the Empire. When the period of general ideological conversion was over, and the questions of specific doctrines and of Church organisation arose, the Irish monastic influence could not compete with the Roman influence. In the new Christian barbarian-feudal Europe the Roman Catholic Church was a major institution. And the Irish Church became an anomaly needing to be brought to order. Numerous attempts were made by the Papacy to reform the Irish Church along Roman Catholic lines. Eventually the Norman conquest was sanctioned towards this end. (The Normans were the most reliable secular arm of the Papacy in the 11th and 12th centuries, and had defended it from attack in Italy itself.)

Roman Catholicism first established in the Pale

An orthodox Roman Catholic Church has existed in Ireland since the time of the Norman conquest, but until the 17th century, it existed only in the actual areas of Norman and English colonisation. The Church in the Gaelic part of the island remained subordinate to the clans. At the time of the Reformation virtually all of the clan chiefs recognised Henry VIII as head of the Church. They did not do so for religious reasons, but because they were on good relations with Henry at the time. Their Christianity was still general, superstitious, and pre-Catholic, and the conflict of Protestantism and Catholicism had no meaning for them.

It was the Catholics of the Pale who remained true to Rome at the time of the Reformation. The alliance of Gaelic Ireland with Rome came later. Rome supported the English crown in Ireland from the Norman invasion to the Reformation. When a couple of Gaelic kings in the 14th century appealed to the Pope for support for a campaign against the English Crown, they were excommunicated. But, when England broke free from Rome and established a national Protestant church as part of its bourgeois development, and Rome began to work for the overthrow of the English Protestant monarchy, the exploitation of the difficulties encountered by the English Crown in Ireland was an obvious tactic. The Papacy sought instruments in Ireland for the re-establishment of Papal and feudal power in England. O'Neill's rebellion in the late 16th century (based on Gaelic Ireland, but far from being a general national movement of Gaelic Ireland), was supported by the Papacy and the great Catholic feudal state of Spain.

It is from this military alliance that the growth of Catholic social power in Gaelic Ireland begins. The clans were at the end of their tether when Catholic Europe began to support them against the Protestant Crown of England. The new militant counter-Reformationist Orders poured into Ireland, and set to work to make Gaelic Ireland properly Catholic. Ireland became a battle ground in the international conflict of social systems. Powerful democratic forces were in motion in England under the Protestant banner. Those forces demanded the suppression of Catholicism. But in that period the suppressed Catholic Church in Ireland was the spearhead of a powerful European feudal counter-revolutionary movement aiming to re-establish a reactionary Catholic monarchy in England. There was no independent Irish national force — least of all a socially progressive one — in this situation.

Even after the consolidation of the Gaelic/Catholic alliance in the time of Hugh

O'Neill, the Catholicisation of Gaelic Ireland, so long as the clan structure retained any vigour, was of a very tentative and superficial kind. In the 1640s, for example, the Bishop of Raphoe behaved very much as a member of the clan aristocracy, and after the death of Owen Roe became military leader of the clan forces. (And in fact the Bishop was much more of a clan figure than Owen Roe, who had spent most of his life in the service of Spanish feudalism. The Bishop wasn't capable of Owen Roe's sophisticated military tactics, and led his troops in the manner of a proper clan chieftain, and to disaster.)

Rinnucini's Reports

When Rinnucini came to Ireland in 1645 as Papal Nuncio, to supervise the counter-reformationist forces in the effort to exploit the opportunity offered by the Civil War in England, there were two quite separate Catholic forces in Ireland: those of the Catholic gentry (Anglo-Irish in origin) represented in the Confederation of Kilkenny, and those of the clan remnants led by Owen Roe O'Neill.

Rinnucini's instructions directed him to work

to establish in Ireland an unalterable right to the public exercise of the Catholic religion

and to

introduce into the Church a strict observance of the holy Council of Trent; and to this end you will use the utmost diligence, as on its success will depend the success of the reformation necessary in the present relaxed state of clerical discipline.

Rinnucini reported that discipline was indeed in a deplorable condition, that little account was taken of "the splendour and grandeur of religion"; that priests administered the sacraments in "what is little else than a secular dress"; that the people and most of the Bishops were perfectly satisfied with a private, unostentatious and informal exercise of religion; that "even the lowest artisan wishes in sickness to hear the Mass at his bedside"; and that consequently, "none who have had Mass in their own room appear to care for any other mode of worship".

Rinnucini was particularly revolted by Owen Roe and the clan forces. He described Owen Roe as "a strange grasping man, but it would be impossible to remove him". The clan was still not amenable to a Papal diplomat's pressure. In April 1647 (after the Battle of Benburb) he included a long criticism of Owen

Roe in his report, culminating in the following:

One thing I cannot pardon he allowed his soldiers to call themselves the army of the Pope and the Church. The result is that whenever the Ulster soldiers (barbarous enough by nature although good Catholics) perform any act of cruelty or robbery, the sufferers execrate His Holiness and me, and curse the clergy whom they consider the patrons of this army. (Rinnucini, Embassy in Ireland, English edition, 1873)

Later, when the Confederation of Kilkenny, following its own interests, acted counter to Rinnucini's purposes, he found himself dependent on Owen Roe and the clan forces, and was only then prepared to overlook their barbarism.

After the defeat of 1649 the clan remnants were no longer capable of independent activity. From the time of James II to the death of the last Stuart Gaelic Ireland remained attached to Jacobitism, though after the "Flight of the Wild Geese", (the migration of Sarsfield's army and the Gaelic aristocracy to the feudal parts of Europe), it was merely a sentimental attachment. The clansmen became a peasantry, made socially helpless by their history as clansmen. They vegetated under a new Protestant landlord class, and gave their passive allegiance to a remnant of the old Catholic aristocracy. The appointment of the Hierarchy of the Church remained in the hands of the Stuarts until the death of the last Stuart pretender to the British throne in the 1750s. Catholic political activity revived about 1760.

The Gallican Church in Ireland

In 1825, when the British Parliament was seriously considering a general political emancipation of Catholics, a Parliamentary committee of the House of Lords was set up to take evidence from leading Catholics in Britain and Ireland on Catholic social doctrine. (Before the final Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, restrictions on Catholicism were much stricter in Britain than in Ireland.

The Catholic Relief Acts of the 1790s had applied only to Irish Catholics. And, although Catholic Bishops had functioned openly in Ireland since the second part of the 18th century, the first Catholic Bishops were not appointed in England until 1850, when their appointment aroused political controversy, and led to a hostile Act of Parliament which, however, was never implemented in practice.) Evidence was taken from numerous members of the Irish Hierarchy. An extract is given below from the evidence of Bishop Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, the most influential Bishop of the day:

.....In matrimony, we recognise, as it were, two things: the one the civil

contract, and the other the religious rite. The civil contract and all its effects we leave entirely to the civil law of the country where we dwell

Are Catholics prohibited intermarrying with Protestants by the Council of Trent? No; there is not a syllable about it in that Council

Do you consider the marriage of a Protestant with a Roman Catholic valid? It is valid in a civil and in an ecclesiastical point of view.

Have you never known a marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant solemnised by a Protestant clergyman dissolved by a priest? Never: it could not be done; not by the Pope, nor Council, nor any authority on earth

If a Roman Catholic and a Protestant intermarry, and the children are brought up Protestants, does the Roman Catholic incur any censure? No, never.

Have you ever known the Catholic clergy make it a condition in a marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant, that the children should be brought up in the Roman Catholic faith? They advise it; it is in the nature of religion, that the ministers seek to make all the proselytes they can.

Have you ever known them to refuse to perform marriage unless that condition were acceded to? I have; but if they should the parties can go to the Protestant clergyman, who has equally the power of marrying them

What oaths are taken by the Bishops? We take the oath of ceremonial obedience to the Pope, which means that we are to obey him as the head of the Church, according or agreeably to the discipline as found in the sacred canons. We insert in the oath a clause salvo meo ordine; which implies, that the obedience which we promise to him is not to be understood so as to trench upon our own rights as Bishops, or any rights of the Church in which we are Bishops

When you state that you swear that you will obey the Pope, agreeably to the canons; do you mean that each individual taking that oath reserves to himself the right of judgement how far what is commanded is conformable to those canons? I can say that as individuals we do reserve to ourselves that right. But then there are many canons which are of a dubious import: there are others of them which define the rights and privileges of bishops: those are known to us; but upon those it is not the individual judgement of man that he is to trust to but the universal understanding of the bishops of the

country in which he dwells. For instance, the bishops of France and, I might add, the bishops of Ireland, have always maintained that many privileges belong to their order in their respective countries, which the bishops of Belgium, for instance, do not claim for themselves

Can you state in what respect the national canons received in Ireland or any particular construction put upon the general canons, differ from those which are received in other countries? For instance, a particular church, or the canons of a particular council, might define, that the authority of a general council was superior to that of the Pope; such a canon may be received, for instance, in Ireland or in France, and might not be received in Italy or in Spain

Do you conceive your obligations to the Pope to be limited by the words contained in your oath? Unquestionably

Is the Pope's authority received by the Irish Roman Catholic church as supreme in matters of faith and morals? We recognise him as the head of our church, and therefore give him the executive authority. But that is limited by the sacred canons: he cannot create new articles of faith.

Are papal bulls received in Ireland? They are But we would not receive any bull that would trench on our rights as a national church

The deposing power of the Pope is of course considered as done away with? It is perfectly obsolete The power of deposing kings is completely obsolete? I think completely extinct.

Not acknowledged? I have not heard of a divine who has maintained it for a long time I have defended in public theses that the Pope has no such authority, and that it is decidedly contrary to reason and the public good.

Is the authority of the Pope in spiritual matters, absolute or limited? It is limited.

Is it limited by the authority of councils? It is limited by decrees of councils already passed; it is limited by usage, also, in the respect, that when he directs any decree respecting local discipline to any nation whatsoever, beyond the limits of his own territory (I mean the papal states), the assent of the bishops of such a country is necessary, in order that his decree have effect.

Can the court of Rome, of its own mere volition, give orders for bringing

tithes, taxes, impositions, alms, contributions, or any money for bulls of pardon or indulgences, upon the Catholic people of Ireland? I state distinctly that the Pope has no power in any shape or form, or for any purpose or pretext to levy or require from the subjects of this realm any money whatever, or any equivalent for money.

Is it in the power of the Pope to absolve the Catholic people from their oaths of allegiance? It is not

Could the Pope excommunicate a Roman Catholic holding office under the Crown, supposing, for instance, the law allowed him to be a judge, for performing the duties of that office, even though a sentence pronounced by him might trench upon the supposed supremacy of the Pope in spiritual matters? If it be a mixed matter, in which civil rights are concerned, certainly such a judge could not be molested or excommunicated by the Pope for deciding according to the law.....

Do you think that the Catholic Church of Ireland is more or less independent of the Pope than other Roman Catholic churches existing in other countries? I think we are more independent in a certain way and more dependent in another. We are more independent, because the Pope does not at present and he could scarcely presume to nominate anyone except such person as we recommend; we are therefore very independent, because we have the election of our own prelates in our own hands, and it would be morally impossible to take from us that right. But we are more dependent than other churches in another way; for instance, in the church of France the King has the appointment of the Bishops; the Pope has only the power to give institution; there the church is national We are more dependent, therefore, than the French church, because the Pope has the naked right of appointing in our church, without consulting us; and though I say it would be morally impossible for him to exercise that right, yet I think it an evil that he has it

Is the claim that some popes have set up to temporal authority, opposed to scripture and tradition? In my opinion it is opposed to both.

What is your opinion respecting the conduct of those popes who have interfered with states, and extended their pretensions to the civil business of men? I do not like to speak harshly of men who have already passed out of this world; but I think that the popes who so acted have done much mischief, and very often have acted upon a power or upon an authority which they had no right to exercise

Were those claims opposed in Europe? Opposed they were; and the consequences of such opposition were many and very bloody wars

Does the Catholic clergy insist, that all the bulls of the Pope are entitled to obedience? By no means, the Pope we consider as the executive authority in the Catholic Church; and when he issues a bull, enforcing a discipline already settled by a general council, such a bull is entitled to respect; but he may issue bulls which would regard local discipline, or other matters not already defined and in that case his bull would be treated by us in such a manner as might seem good to us

In the creed of Pope Pius the Fourth, there are the following words 'I promise and swear obedience to the Roman bishop, the successor of St. Peter': what is the proper meaning of those words? Of course, that we would obey him in those things to which his authority extends: namely spiritual matters, or the execution of decrees regularly defined by general councils and accepted of by us, for they are not all the decrees of even general councils which are received in each kingdom; for instance, the decrees of the Council of Trent, regarding discipline, are not received in the kingdom of France; the decree of the Council of Trent, regarding a particular discipline, is not received in the province of Dublin in Leinster, though it is received in other parts of Ireland; all the decrees then even of general councils, much less all the decrees of the Pope cannot have force unless they are received formally by the nation which they regard, or whose discipline is affected by them; each church has its rights, and those rights cannot be subverted or affected by any proceeding on the part of the Pope, without the concurrence of the hierarchy of such church.

If the pope were to intermeddle with the rights of the king, or with the allegiance which Catholics owe to the king; what would be the consequence so far as the Catholic clergy were concerned? The consequence would be, that we should oppose him by every means in our power, even by the exercise of our spiritual authority.

In what manner could you exercise that spiritual authority? By preaching the gospel to the people, if he interfered with the temporal rights of our king.

Is it well known, what the things are in which the Pope cannot interfere? Unquestionably; in all things of a political or civil nature he cannot interfere; there are some matters of a mixed nature wherein he may be considered as having some power, such for instance as marriage; this we consider a sacrament, and also as a civil contract; the power of the pope, or of the bishop, extends to the spiritual qualities and effects of that union ; but the temporal effects

which flow from it are the subjects of the civil law.

Was there anything in the conduct of the Roman Catholics, in your opinion, during the reigns of the Stuarts, that justified the English parliament in passing the penal laws against them? Yes; I think at that time, the connexion of the Roman Catholics with the Stuarts was such as justified, and even made it necessary for the English government to pass some penal laws against the Catholics; such as excluding them from offices of trust, and perhaps even from the councils of the sovereign; but I think the necessity which existed to pass certain restrictive laws against the Roman Catholics could not justify them in passing the very harsh and unnatural laws which abounded in the penal code.

When were those (i.e. temporal) powers formally disavowed by the Pope? I do not know that they were ever formally disavowed by the Pope, nor do I suppose that they have been, nor was it necessary that they should, because they have long since gone into disuse.

Where can the committee find the laws which now define the powers or pretensions of the see of Rome, with respect to foreign countries? We can best find them in the usages of the different churches in Europe; and we are not bound to recognise any of the ancient laws which at all affected temporal rights.

Do the usages of the different states of Europe determine the power of the see of Rome? Yes, the usages of each country respectively

Do you think, in case the question of Roman Catholic emancipation were settled so far as regards the removal of political disabilities, that there ought to remain any restriction with respect to the public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland, any restriction as to processions, or the performance, in the most public manner, of the ceremonies of that religion? I think, whenever different religions are living in the same country, the carrying abroad in the open air, and exposing to public view the ceremonies of any religion, is not consistent with sound sense, or that prudence which ought always to govern states; and therefore I think, that those processions in the open air, outside the precincts of a church, ought to be guarded against, even by law, if it were thought advisable; and to that I would make no exception, except as to the attendance of clergymen at funerals, and that attendance I would have so regulated, that his clerical dress and the external show which attends the performance of that rite, should be exhibited only at the burial place, and not paraded through the streets.

(Evidence of Irish Bishops to Committee of House of Lords, 1826)

Bishop Doyle's evidence was backed up by the evidence of the Archbishops of Armagh, Dublin and Tuam.

Gladstone and Newman

When a definitive statement was made, in the 1860s, of the position of the Catholic Church on the matters concerning which the Irish Bishops had given evidence to the Parliamentary Committee in 1826, that position was directly contrary to the position stated by the Bishops in 1826. In fact all of the views of Bishop Doyle cited above will be found condemned by the Pope in the Syllabus of Errors of 1864. The temporal power of the Church was reasserted. The power of the state was declared to be limited to purely secular matters in which there was no spiritual admixture. The Church was accorded the right of declaring what was a purely secular matter and what was a church matter. And in mixed matters, the supremacy of the church over the state was asserted. At the First Vatican Council in 1870 Papal Infallibility in matter of faith and morals, and the unconditional organisational authority of the Pope over the entire church, were made obligatory beliefs for Catholics.

In 1874 Gladstone issued a pamphlet on "*The Vatican Decrees*" in which he referred to the evidence of the Irish Bishops in 1826, and posed the question whether the Government had been misled:

Why did theology enter so largely into the debates of Parliament on Roman Catholic Emancipation? Certainly not because our statesmen and debaters of 50 years ago had an abstract love of such controversies, but because it was widely believed that the Pope of Rome had been and was a trespasser upon ground which belonged to the civil authority, and that he affected to determine by spiritual prerogative questions of the civil sphere

The Rome of the Middle Ages claimed universal monarchy. The modern Church of Rome has abandoned nothing, retracted nothing By condemning those who, like Bishop Doyle in 1826, charge the mediaeval Popes with aggression, she unconditionally, even if covertly, maintains what the mediaeval Popes maintained. Even this is not the worst. The worst by far is that whereas, in the national churches and communities of the Middle Ages, there was a brisk, vigorous, and constant opposition to these outrageous claims now this same opposition has been put out of court, and judicially extinguished within the Papal Church, by the recent decrees of the Vatican. (pp 10-11)

A century ago we began to relax the penal laws against Roman Catholics, at once pettifogging, base and cruel When this process had reached the point, at which the question was whether they should be admitted into Parliament, there arose a great and prolonged national controversy; and some men, who at no time of their lives were narrow-minded, such as Sir Robert Peel resisted

the concession. The arguments in favour were obvious and strong, and they ultimately prevailed. But the strength of the opposing party had lain in the allegation that, from the nature and claims of the Papal power, it was not possible for the consistent Roman Catholic to pay to the crown of this country an entire allegiance, and that the admission of persons, thus self-disabled, to Parliament was inconsistent with the safety of the State and nation.

An answer to this argument was indispensable; and it was supplied mainly from two sources. The Josephine Laws, then still subsisting in the Austrian Empire, and the arrangements which had been made after the peace of 1815 by Prussia and the German States with Pius VII and Gonsalvi, proved that the Papal Court could submit to circumstances, and could allow material restraints even upon the exercise of its ecclesiastical prerogatives Much information of this class was collected for the information of Parliament and the country. But there were also measures taken to learn, from the highest Roman Catholic authorities of the country, what was the exact situation of the members of that communion with respect to some of the better known exorbitancies of Papal assumption. Did the Pope claim any temporal jurisdiction? Did he still pretend to the exercise of a power to depose kings, release subjects from their allegiance, and incite them to revolt? Was faith to be kept with heretics? Did the Church still teach the doctrine of persecution? Now, to no one of these questions could the answer really be of the smallest immediate moment to this powerful and solidly compacted kingdom. They were topics selected by way of sample and the intention was to elicit declarations showing generally that the fangs of the mediaeval Popedom had been drawn, and its claws torn away; that the Roman system, however strict in its dogma, was perfectly compatible with civil liberty.

Answers in abundance were obtained tending to show that the doctrines of deposition and persecution, of keeping no faith with heretics, and of universal dominion, were obsolete beyond revival; that every assurance could be given respecting them, except such as required the shame of a formal retraction; that they were in effect mere bugbears, unworthy to be taken account of by a nation, which prided itself on being made up of practical men (pp 24-26)

The theory which placed every human being, in things spiritual and things temporal, at the feet of the Roman Pontiff, had not been an idolum specius, a mere theory of the chamber. Brain-power never surpassed in the political history of the world had been devoted for centuries to the single purpose of working it into the practice of Christendom; had in the West achieved for an impossible problem a partial success; and had in the East punished the obstinate independence of the Church by that Latin conquest of Constantinople, which effectually prepared the way for the downfall of the Eastern empire. (p.27)

(In the evidence of the Bishops:) *Papal infallibility was most solemnly declared to be a matter on which each man might think as he pleased; the Pope's power to claim obedience was strictly and narrowly limited: it was expressly denied that he had any title, direct or indirect, to interfere in civil government. Of the right of the Pope to define the limits which divide the civil from the spiritual by his own authority, not one word is said by the Prelates of either country. Since that time, all these propositions have been reversed.* (p. 32)

We have seen what ample assurances this nation and Parliament were fed in 1826; how well and roundly the full and undivided rights of the civil power, and the separation of the two jurisdictions were affirmed. All this had at length been undone, as far as the Popes could undo it, in the Syllabus and the Encyclical. It remained to complete the undoing, through the subserviency and pliability of the Council. (p. 40)

I am not going to pretend that either foreign foe or domestic treason can, at the bidding of the Court of Rome, disturb these peaceful shores. But though such fears may be visionary, it is more visionary still to suppose for one moment that the claims of Gregory VII, of Innocent III, and of Boniface VIII, have been disinterred, in the 19th century, like hideous mummies picked out of Egyptian sarcophagi, in the interests of archaeology, or without a definite practical aim. (p. 46)

It is certainly a political misfortune that during the last thirty years, a Church so tainted in its views of civil disobedience, and so unduly capable of changing its front and its language after Emancipation from what it had been before, like an actor who has to perform several characters in one piece, should have acquired an extension of its hold upon the highest classes of this country. (p. 62)

Since Gladstone had been for thirty years the most consistent advocate of general freedom for the Catholic Church in Britain, and had disestablished the Church of Ireland a few years previously, and since his position ensured maximum publicity for his views, the Catholic leadership in Britain had to try to produce a coherent reply to him. *John Henry Newman*, the intellectual cream of British Catholicism, published a reply in 1875 (*A Letter On The Occasion of Mr. Gladstone's Recent Expostulation*) in which he made the following observations:

I will say of the great man, whom he quotes I mean Bishop Doyle, that there is just a little tinge of patriotism in the way in which, on one occasion, he spoke of the Pope He says to Lord Liverpool: 'We are taunted with the proceedings of Popes. What, my Lord, have we Catholics to do with the proceedings of Popes, or why should we be accountable for them? As to the lan-

guage of the Bishops in 1826, we must recollect that at that time the clergy, both of Ireland and England, were educated in Gallican opinions. They took those opinions for granted, and they thought, if they went so far as to ask themselves the question, that the definition of Papal Infallibility was simply impossible. (pp 11-13)

From Gallicanism to Ultramontaniam

The revival of Catholic political activity in Ireland in 1760, through the Catholic Committee, took place on the initiative of a new class of Catholics: the bourgeoisie, chiefly merchants and professional men. The founders of the Catholic Committee, Curry and O'Connor, issued a series of pamphlets against the Penal Laws, in which they based their plea for Catholic relief on an appeal to the principles and practice of William of Orange. (This was partly an agitational device for working on Protestant public opinion, but O'Connor in private correspondence, wrote that he considered the statements in praise of William in the pamphlets to be substantially correct.) For about thirty years the bourgeoisie struggled with the aristocracy for predominance in the leadership of the Catholic community. In 1790 the aristocracy surrendered predominance to the middle class.

Since Catholic education was not allowed in Ireland under the Penal Laws, upper class Catholics went to the continent and chiefly to France to be educated, and the clergy were trained on the continent. The 18th century was a period when the power of the Papacy was in serious decline, in Europe and particularly in France. Long before the frontal assault on Papal Catholicism by the French Revolution, the development of absolute monarchies had restricted the effective sphere of operation of the Papacy. The French Hierarchy had long denied most of the Papal claims, recognised the precedence of the French Monarchy over the Pope in matters of ecclesiastical appointments, and asserted the ritual sovereignty of the National Hierarchy even in spiritual matters (Gallicanism). The Austrian Emperor Joseph II placed himself effectively in control of the church in the Austrian Empire in the 1780s. A vague spiritual precedence was still accorded to the Pope while he was being deprived of effective power. Since Catholicism was not being formally ruptured by these developments, and since there was no power (save the supernatural one) to which the Pope could appeal to bring these great Catholic monarchs to order, he had no choice but to submit to these developments.

It was in this Gallican atmosphere that the Irish Catholics, lay and clerical, received their education in the second half of the 18th century. The bourgeois Catholics in the leadership of the Committee are seen as very odd specimens of Catholics indeed from the viewpoint of modern/mediaeval Catholicism. They were very much like the loyal subjects of the king in Britain who would not tolerate the king's doing anything without their explicit authority.

The foremost Catholic propagandist in Ireland from 1770 to the 1790s was the Rev. Arthur O'Leary, a Dominican educated in France, who was given an ovation at the Volunteer Convention in Dublin in 1783. In a controversy with John Wesley in 1786 he declared:

Catholic subjects know that if God must have his own, Caesar must have his due. In his quality of pontiff, they are ready to kiss the Pope's feet, but if he assumes the title of conqueror, they are ready to bind his hands charity begins at home; and I do not believe any Catholic so divested of it as to prefer fifty pounds a year under the Pope's government to a hundred pounds a year under that of a Protestant kind the history of Europe proclaims aloud, that the Roman Catholics are not passive engines in the hands of popes, and that they confine his power within the narrow limits of his spiritual province. They have often taken his cities, and silenced the thunders of the Vatican with the noise of the cannon. As to his spiritual power from Ludwig Muggleton down to John Wesley those who have instituted new sects amongst the Christians have more power than the Pope dare to assume over Catholics We acknowledge no power in him either to alter our faith, or to corrupt our morals. (Life and Writings of A. O'Leary, 1868 edition, M.B. Buckley, ed., pp 127-9)

In "An Essay on Toleration: Plea for Liberty of Conscience", O'Leary sets out, as the Catholic position, exactly those liberated views which were comprehensively denounced when Pius IX was restoring the universal claims of the Papacy, and declaring intolerance to be a principle of Catholicism, in the 1860s.

Very severe penal laws against Catholicism were introduced in France by the revolutionary forces at the time when the British ruling class was considering lifting the anti-Catholic laws, on the ground that they had served their purpose. The Irish college in France was closed by the Revolution. Catholic education was permitted in Ireland. Maynooth was established. Bishop Doyle was the last of the Irish Bishops to be educated and ordained in Europe. In his youth Doyle had wavered between Christianity and Rationalism, and though he plumped for Christianity his interpretation of it was strongly influenced by Rationalism. But the following generation of clerics, educated at Maynooth, were sheltered from the pressures of modern social and intellectual movements.

The Gallican Bishops tended to be moderately liberal in social outlook, and not to be anti-British (since Britain was the breeding ground of liberalism). Arthur O'Leary, who had served as a chaplain in the French Army in the Anglo-French war of 1756, when he came to Ireland actively campaigned to eradicate Jacobite sentiments from the Catholic masses and to encourage pro-British sentiments. Doyle, who published (under the pseudonym "JKL") a number of influential political pamphlets agitating for reforms, saw those reforms as coming within a British context. Croll, who began as parish priest of Belfast and ended as the last liberal Archbishop of Armagh (being succeeded by Cardinal Cullen in 1849) had been educated at an academy in Downpatrick run by a Catholic and a Unitarian,

and was an enthusiastic advocate of mixed Catholic-Protestant education in Belfast. (Anti-Partition propagandists attribute the worsening of Catholic/Protestant relations in Ulster in the course of the 19th century to a unilateral change of attitude on the part of the Protestants. They doggedly ignore the fact that when good relations prevailed the Catholic hierarchy was Gallican and liberal in outlook, gave an exceptionally liberal interpretation to Catholic doctrine and accorded little power to the Pope, and that the worsening of Catholic/Protestant relations went along with a drastic change in the character of the Catholic Hierarchy, the consolidation of Papal power over the Church, the condemnation of liberalism, and the restoration of mediaeval Catholic doctrine.)

The Ultramontanist Revival

Roman Catholicism, as a disciplined international Church controlled by the Vatican, had its power eroded in the 18th century, and almost suffered catastrophe from the impact of the French Revolution. (Napoleon occupied Rome, and ran the Pope much as the Irish chiefs had run their clan Bishops.) After the defeat of France, the Papacy tried to increase its power through agreements with the reactionary monarchies of Europe. But this strategy set narrow limits to what could be achieved. These monarchs were determined to be masters in their own states and they certainly would not have tolerated much interference from the Pope. Free control by the Vatican over the Church was not to be achieved in this way.

Two kinds of Ultramontanism (i.e. unrestricted Papal authority over the Church) emerged in France. One kind was that advocated by the theologian, *Lammenais*. He was opposed to the strategy of Papal alliances with the reactionary monarchies, and advocated that the Pope should put himself at the head of the liberal-democratic forces in Europe, disassociate himself from the monarchies, resume effective authority over the Church, and use it for the liberal reform of Europe. In the 1820s Lammenais was an influential figure in the Church, and had an audience with the Pope who treated him with great deference. But when Lammenais published a liberal newspaper during the 1830 revolution in France, the Vatican condemned it and an Encyclical was issued against Lammenais' views. (Lammenais thereafter broke with the Church and was among the revolutionaries in 1848).

The chief theorist of the other Ultramontanist tendency was the reactionary political writer, *Joseph de Maistre*, who published a book called "*The Pope*" in 1816. With more realism than Lammenais, de Maistre held that an increase in the Papal authority over the Church would serve the reactionary forces in Europe. In the course of the century the Papacy did resume its power over the Church. (The reactionary monarchies proved to be weak supports.) Liberalism in every shape and form was comprehensively condemned in the 1860s. At the First Vatican

Council of 1870 the unrestricted doctrinal and organisational authority of the Pope over the Church was formally established.

Ultramontanism and Nationalism in Ireland

The growth of Catholic nationalism in Ireland roughly coincided with the growth of Ultramontanism in the Catholic Church — and they contributed to each other's development. The British government tried a number of times to pass a Catholic Emancipation Act which, along with giving equal political rights to Catholics, would give the Government the power of veto on the appointment of Catholic Bishops. In the Catholic states of Europe it was customary for the government to have the actual power of appointment of Bishops, and agreements existed with a number of Protestant states acknowledging their interest in the appointment of Bishops. The English Catholic Committee agreed to the veto, and so initially did the Irish Hierarchy. But it was vigorously opposed by O'Connell, who worked up an agitation against it and insisted that the Pope should have free control over his Church in Ireland. The veto was defeated and Ireland came into the patronage of the Ultramontanist party. The change in composition of the Hierarchy could not be immediate. Bishops once appointed are there for life. Until the 1840s the old liberal Bishops were in a majority. In the late 1840s, Ultramontanists became the majority, and the cap was put on it when Cullen came from Rome in 1849 to become Archbishop of Dublin.

In 1845 Peel introduced a Bill to set up non-denominational colleges in Ireland. Even as late as this the Hierarchy was lukewarm on the matter. Again it was the Nationalists who made the running on the religious issue. O'Connell denounced the scheme for "Godless Colleges", and the Repeal movement opposed it. O'Connell wrote to Archbishop McHale:

A fatal liberalism is but too prevalent, and these pseudo-liberals are extremely anxious to have an opportunity of assailing the party of the sincere and practical Catholics as being supporters of narrow and bigoted doctrines. I should not take the liberty of troubling your Grace with a letter if I were not deeply alarmed lest the friends of truly Catholic education should be outmanoeuvred by their enemies.

Thomas Davis, a Protestant liberal, was in substantial agreement with Peel's Bill, and attempted to oppose O'Connell in the Repeal movement. This was a disillusioning experience for Davis. In private correspondence at this time he wrote:

I am determined not to become the tool of a Catholic ascendancy, while appar-

ently the enemy of British domination. I will not become the conscious tool of bigots. I will not strive to beat down political, in order to set up religious ascendancy Now or never, we Protestants must ascertain whether we are to have religious liberty. I would prefer a military to a theocratic government.

As Denis Gwynn put it, in a history of the episode written at a time when Catholic nationalism was still confident and unembarrassed about such things:

Davis in his earnest and conscientious way held a view which was utterly at variance with that of the Catholic majority.

(O'Connell, Davis and the Colleges Bill, 1948, p. 5)

McHale, the first Nationalist Bishop wrote to Peel:

.... nothing but separate grants for separate education will ever give satisfaction to the Catholics of Ireland; and whatever certain individuals may report to the contrary, the prejudices against your Government scheme, called 'national', are justly deepening.

Within the Repeal Association the handful of supporters of supra-religious, national education, as distinct from sectarian, religious education, were routed. Davis died shortly after.

Catholic social power was effectively established in Gaelic Ireland not in the fifth century, but in the nineteenth century, at a time when Gaelic Ireland was becoming English-speaking. And it was established in conjunction with the rise of the Nationalist movement. The liberal Bishops had not held Catholic social doctrine of the mediaeval and modern kind, and they were not Nationalists. But, as the liberalism of the Hierarchy diminished, its tendency towards Nationalism increased. Anti-Britishism came easier to Bishops infected with the illiberal, intolerant social Catholicism of Pius IX than to the earlier generations of Bishops whose liberal outlook found the British political atmosphere congenial.

There is an interesting passage in Cardinal Newman's reply to Gladstone on the relationship of Ultramontaniam and Irish Nationalism. Gladstone had referred to the defeat of the liberal Irish University Bill of 1873 by the Catholic sectarian pressure of the Irish Bishops acting through the Nationalist MPs, and Newman replied as follows:

I must not say that they were Irishmen first and Catholics afterwards, but I say that in such a demand (i.e. for religious control of education) they spoke not simply as Catholic Bishops, but as the Bishops of a Catholic nation. They did not speak from any promptings of the Encyclical, Syllabus or Vatican Decrees. They claimed as Irishmen a share in the endowments of the country, and has

not Ireland surely a right to speak in such a matter and might not her Bishops fairly represent her. It seems to me a great mistake to think, that every thing that is done by the Irish Bishops and clergy is done on an ecclesiastical motive; why not a national. But if so, such acts have nothing to do with Rome Irishmen do not, cannot, distinguish between their love of Ireland and their love of religion, their patriotism is religious, and their religion is strongly tinged with patriotism; and it is hard to recognise the abstract and ideal Ultramontane pure and simple, in the concrete exhibition of him in flesh and blood as found in the polling booth or in his chapel.

(A Letter on the Occasion of Mr. Gladstone's Recent Expostulation, pp 10 11)

Newman is stretching his argument by saying that Irish Ultramontanist had nothing to do with Rome because it also had a source in popular anti-British nationalism. But he is correct in saying that Irish Ultramontanist was distinguished from that of other countries by its popular, nationalist context. Ultramontanist and nationalism strengthened one another in Ireland, as is shown by the controversy on education throughout the century. Liberal national education (national, that is, in the sense of embracing Catholics and Protestants in a single educational system), was opposed on the grounds of Catholic social doctrine, and because it would have cut the ground from under the Nationalist movement. The most substantial cultural force hindering the merging of Southern Ireland into British society was Catholicism.

The Hierarchy's Policy for Home Rule in Ireland

The Ultramontanist Hierarchy got a firm grip on Catholic Ireland in the mid-nineteenth century, at the moment when bourgeois and nationalist development was getting under way properly, and it strengthened its power uninterruptedly throughout the following century. Since this was a century of rapid social and political development, it is a sign of great ability on the part of the Hierarchy that the uninterrupted growth of its power in this period has the appearance of being a natural phenomenon. The Bishops displayed great determination, flexibility and diplomacy in supervising the social and political evolution of a modern nation in such a way as to engender in the great body of that nation a mediaevalist social vision. And in its tactics it took full account of the peculiarities of the situation in which the Church found itself in Ireland.

In 1913, when it was assumed that a Home Rule government would be in being within a year, a pamphlet called "*Religion in the Public Life of a Nation*" was published by the Rev. James MacCaffrey, a Maynooth professor, which out-

lined the strategy for the next phase of the struggle. The imminence of Home Rule, it said, made it

important that we, the Irish Catholics, should consider gravely the position of religion in the public life of the nation. For centuries religion and nationality have gone hand in hand. I do not wish for a moment to deny that many signal services were rendered to our country by those who did not see eye to eye with the majority of the people on matters of religion, nor do I forget that many of our own co-religionists were to be found in the ranks of our bitterest opponents. But making due allowance for these facts I say that in the main my proposition holds good that in the past religion and nationality have always gone hand in hand. (p. 5)

Taking "centuries" to be a poetic exaggeration of "a century" and understanding that "religion" means Roman Catholicism, this statement is perfectly accurate and puts the handful of Protestants who "served" the development of Catholic nationalism (in the vain hope of making it something else), neatly in their place.

"In the past our principal duty was to pick holes in every measure brought forward by English statesmen", says Fr. MacCaffrey, but in the future the actual work of government must be undertaken, and that is different from "criticising the work of strangers". He explains that this will involve certain pressures which were evaded while everything could be blamed on Britain:

The interests of the various classes are sure to clash. The interests of the labourers will not always harmonise with the interests of the employers, the interests of the towns will sometimes conflict with the interests of the rural districts. (p. 6)

"Now, what will be the effect of these great changes on the religion of the vast majority?" Fr. MacCaffrey asks. Putting aside the question of ideal Church/State relations, and taking account of certain complications and peculiarities which exist in Ireland, he says that "the Catholics of Ireland want no establishment or endowment of their religion." Nor could the naked doctrine of Catholic religious intolerance be openly stated in Ireland. Religious toleration must be formally conceded.

But the fullest toleration does not mean and should not mean that the State must be indifferent to religion A nation that wishes to strengthen and to maintain itself must be founded on a religious basis Nor does it mean that those who are at the head of affairs in Ireland should feel called upon to hide their own religious convictions or to abandon the practices of their religion,

merely because they happen to be Ministers of the Crown. (p.9)

Again, while in a country situated as Ireland is today, the union of Church and State is neither possible nor desirable, still it would be wrong to suppose that religion and government can be entirely divorced. Church and State are brought into close contact on so many points that total separation is just as impracticable and undesirable as establishment. (p. 11)

Education and marriage law are mentioned as areas where Catholic social doctrine must prevail.

In the matter of political parties, the pamphlet hoped that a Conservative/Progressive party division could be brought about:

But you may ask me why should there not be a great Catholic party pledged to defend the interests of religion and backed by all the influence of the Catholic Church? I do not deny that such a policy may have found favour with some, nor do I wish to minimise in the slightest the important services rendered to religion by some of the Catholic parties on the Continent. But I must frankly say that in a country situated as Ireland is today the formation of a Catholic party is to be avoided at all costs. In some cases the formation of a political party pledged to the defence of religion was an absolute necessity. In Belgium for example, owing to the many attacks made upon religious interests, and especially owing to the effort to drive religion from the schools, nothing remained but to form a Catholic party that would protect the interests that were threatened by the Liberals With full knowledge, therefore, of all that the Catholic party of Belgium has done for Belgium I still have no hesitation in saying that the formation of a Catholic party in an Irish Parliament would be bad for the country and bad for the best interests of religion. (p. 19)

Because there was no liberal threat to Catholic dominance in Ireland, the formation of a political party by the Church would not just be an unnecessary luxury, but would in fact increase the probabilities of an anti-Catholic party developing. In order to engage in the politics of government, the Church party would need to have specific policies on issues where a whole range of policies were legitimately open to Catholics. Catholics who were in disagreement with these specific policies, though not in disagreement with the general social doctrine of the Church, would be forced to join another political party:

Such men might be as anxious for religious interests as the most advanced of the politico-religious party, but once they found that they were deserted by their own side and classed as enemies and opponents of the Catholic Church they would be driven inch by inch to live up to the reputation they had got,

and though they themselves might never go so far as to give up the practices and beliefs of their earlier days, we may count upon it that their children would be driven to such a step ... and in a few generations it would be found that to be outside the Catholic party would mean to be outside the Catholic Church. This would mean that Catholic Ireland, now united and strong would be divided into two camps and that though the Catholic Party might be strong and powerful, religion would be bound to suffer Instead of having a Catholic Party or of making the interests of religion depend upon general elections our great aim ought to be to see that both political parties ought to be formed on such a basis as to allow Catholics to take sides freely with one or other party. (p. 21)

.... so long as the great body of Catholics are what they are I should infinitely prefer to rely on the public opinion of the country than upon any organised religious party.

And it was calculated that a favourable disposition of public opinion could be maintained if the Church controlled education, and if Catholic marriage law prevailed. The strategy, then, was that Catholicism should not be formally established as the state religion, but that the public display of Catholicism could be achieved in other ways, and that certain laws should be passed embodying Catholic social doctrine. There should be no Church party, but all parties should be made to operate within the sphere of Catholic social doctrine. The Church would exercise a general regency over the society, independently of the particular parties, by relying on (and taking effective steps to perpetuate) Catholic public opinion.

Religion and nationalism have gone hand in hand through centuries of sorrow, and surely they are not going to be at each other's throats in the hour of victory. When I recall the sacrifices of the past and the deep and earnest devotion of all classes in town and country at present, when I note the close union between the clergy and the people so characteristic of the Irish race throughout the world I have no reason to fear that Catholic Ireland will cease to be Catholic merely because she has begun to be free. (p. 22)

The history of the past sixty years demonstrates that this was not groundless optimism. The Hierarchy implemented this strategy with great ability, and the political separation of Southern Ireland from Britain, instead of leading to a decrease in the power of the Church through the development of internal political conflicts, led to an enormous increase in Catholic social power. The strategy ensured that the political and social conflicts which developed occurred within the general framework of Catholicism. But there is a still further phase in the development of Catholic social power to be taken note of.

An Rioghacht

The strategy of the 1913 pamphlet assumed a 32 county Home Rule State, retaining, initially at least, a certain constitutional connection with Britain. The large Ulster Protestant community and the British connection indicated that the establishment of "*religion in the public life of the nation*" should be proceeded with cautiously and deviously. But as it turned out, most of the Ulster Protestant community remained in the UK, the constitutional connection between the Free State and Britain was only of the most formal kind, and there was no prospect of the British Government intervening in the politics of the South on the strength of them. The Catholicisation of public life in the Free State therefore proceeded more rapidly and met with fewer obstacles than was anticipated in 1913. A body called An Rioghacht, or the League of the Kingship of Christ, was formed in the mid-1920s to propagandise for the further Catholicisation of public life. An Rioghacht exercised a very extensive influence from the 1920s to the 1960s. Its social philosophy was most comprehensively expressed in Fr. Denis Fahey's "*Mystical Body of Christ in the Modern World*", published with an introduction by John Charles MacQuaid, the Archbishop of Dublin who retired in the mid-1970s. In 1930 An Rioghacht issued a pamphlet called "*Ireland's Peril*" by the Rev. E. Cahill S.J. which analysed the new phase of the situation:

In Ireland we are confronted with the strange anomaly of a profoundly Catholic nation, devoid of many of the external features of Catholic civilisation, and suffering from all the material, and very many of the mental defects, which usually result from an un-Christian social regime.

The persistence of British influence was responsible for this.

The British disrupted the Irish land system, and the Irish social system in general.

The work of destruction was completed in the 19th century, when the Irish language, with all the wealth of Catholic tradition enshrined in it, was all but destroyed.

The British introduced a system of education

founded on the basis of un-Christian Liberalism. The English literature, whose general tone and spirit, where they are not those of Liberalism, are saturated with anti-Catholic prejudice, become the principal medium of education and instruction. Hence, while the Irish people are, for the most part, devotedly Catholic the character of the social system which has been forced on them

is neither Catholic nor Irish. It is a product of English domination, and is fashioned after an English Protestant model. In this respect the position of the Irish nation differs profoundly from that of the Catholic populations of Italy and Spain, and the more or less Catholic countries of continental Europe and South America. In the case of these latter, although they have all felt the effects of the social and political upheavals associated with the French Revolution, and although Masonic and other anti-Christian influences have had their baleful results the old Catholic tradition, even in public life, was never completely broken. Their civilisation and culture still rest very largely on the Christian basis It is far otherwise with the countries of the English civilisations, among which modern Ireland practically belongs.

In such countries

a return to Catholic standards in public life is a much more complicated process than for the continental countries. (pp 1-2)

The Irish people, as they exist today, are only a remnant of a small Catholic nation, which is enveloped on all sides by an immense English-speaking world, predominantly un-Catholic or un-Christian. To save this Catholic nation, or what survives of it, from final absorption into the large and more powerful body, would in any case be an arduous task. The many ties – political, economical, cultural and even racial binding the modern Irish nation to the English-speaking world, serve to increase the difficulty and the danger Besides this, there are forces at work in the very heart of the Irish nation itself that tend to weaken its power of resistance and recovery. The partition of the country by England into two states, one of which, containing a large section of the old Catholic population, is dominated politically and economically by the Protestant party, is one outstanding source of weakness. Even in the Free State the anti-Catholic and anti-Irish forces closely allied with international "Freemasonry" ("Freemasonry" should be understood as meaning bourgeois liberal secularism) are very strongly organised and supported by the whole weight of British influence A large section of the economic and intellectual life of the Free State is dominated by the non-Catholic minority Most of the larger commercial and manufacturing organisations are controlled by the non-Catholic party The Irish labourers, who are probably the very best Catholics of their class in Europe are organised under what is largely non-Catholic leadership, and with a purely secular programme. Large numbers belong to or are affiliated with British labour unions. (pp 3-4)

In a section on the "Paramount Importance to the Irish Nation of the Gael-tacht Population", Cahill writes:

If the language dies out from the Gaeltacht as a living speech, the prospect of its revival as a spoken national language of Ireland, will to put it mildly, have been considerably lessened, and if the native language dies, the salvation of the distinct nationality of the Irish people will become, humanly speaking, impossible.

And:

The old Catholic Irish tradition of the Gaeltacht is one of the nation's best bulwarks against the materialism of the English-speaking world, by which it is surrounded. (pp 17-18)

In Spain, Italy, Poland etc., the mass of the people are protected by the language barrier, and to a certain extent by their national sympathies and outlook, from the evil literature of countries other than their own. Our people, on the other hand, owing to their knowledge of English and the partial denationalisation resulting from the destruction of their own language and civilisation, are completely exposed to the corrupting influence of the Press of two mighty empires, predominantly non-Catholic. (p. 21)

Cahill complained that "there is little Catholic organisation, except for purely religious purposes", and called for the establishment of Catholic social organisations, and especially for a "Catholic Workers Association". The organisation of Catholic trade unions was conceded to be impractical for the time being, but Cahill advocated the formation of associations of Catholic workers

whose scope would include the large range of interests, such as intellectual and religious education, workers banks, housing, co-operative marketing, etc. which are not provided for by the existing Trades and Labour Unions. These associations, while in no wise clashing with the existing unions, or hindering their effectiveness in their own sphere, would serve to supplement them to the immense benefit of the workingmen and the whole cause of labour; and above all they would eliminate the many elements of danger which the existing unions now contain. (pp 26-7)

The great counterbalancing element in the situation is the strong Catholic faith of the people and the general habit among them which so far has not been seriously weakened, of fidelity to religious duties. It is clear that if the historical Irish nation is to be saved from the extinction which seems to threaten it, its salvation will be brought about mainly through the operation of religious forces. (p.28)

This view, that Catholic Ireland was heavily impregnated with British influence, and that the Catholic and British influences were in conflict; that British influence was not just economic, but was also cultural; that liberalism and secularism in Catholic Ireland derived from British influence; that the liberal development would weaken the national separatist forces; that the chief national separatist cultural force, the chief force tending to diminish British influence was Catholicism; and that Gaelic revivalism was the only other (and much weaker) separatist cultural force of any substance, is substantially accurate. Social activity based on it was remarkably successful in extending Catholic social influence during the following decades. On the basis of economic protectionism Catholic/Gaelic revivalist separatism flourished from the coming to power of Fianna Fail in 1932 until the late 50s, and the British influence was kept in check. The trade unions and the Labour Party were brought definitely within the sphere of Catholic social policy (the only trade union college in the state being administered by the Jesuits). The mediaevalist character of Catholic social ideology enabled a spurious kind of feudal anti-capitalism to be devised for influencing the working class (which only meant that the workers suffered all the economic disadvantages of capitalism without experiencing the advantages of the liberal world outlook produced by the development of capitalism in Britain and elsewhere.)

The inter-relationship between Catholicism and national separatism was exemplified in the first generation of "Republicans" to develop after the separation from Britain. Foremost in this generation was Sean South, who was thoroughly committed to the ideals of the only two substantial nationalist, cultural forces, Catholicism and Gaelic revivalism, and who belonged to the "Maria Duce" organisation which aimed to establish Catholicism as the official state religion of the Irish "Republic".

In his definitive statement of the final Catholic social objective, "*The Mystical Body of Christ in the Modern World*" (1935), Fr. Denis Fahey wrote:

Nations are not meant to return to the modes of communication or to the dress of the 13th century, but the formal principles of the Christian social order accepted in the 13th and the previous centuries must be acknowledged once more.

For a couple of decades progress towards the realisation of this glorious, reactionary illusion rolled on with increasing momentum. Then suddenly the illusion burst. Its economic basis in protectionism collapsed in the 1950s. There was an inevitable movement towards free trade with Britain. The British influence again began to increase, and with it the culture of liberal secularism. And the Faith of Our Fathers began to be messed about by the Second Vatican Council, which called off the Ultramontanist offensive launched a century earlier by the First Vatican Council. Catholic social power had gone over the hill, and national separatism

along with it. Though it is still extensive, and though a prolonged democratic struggle against it is necessary, Catholic social power no longer has a comprehensive ultimate social objective, and merely has the aim of hanging onto as much **power as possible in modern social conditions. It can henceforward only suffer a loss of power.**

Notes on Tolerance

Frederick the Great of Prussia was one of the pioneers of the state which is indifferent to matters of religion. In his Confessions, not written for publication, he wrote:

Religion is absolutely necessary in a state. This is a maxim which it would be madness to dispute and a king must know very little of politics indeed that should suffer his subjects to make bad use of it; but then, it would not be very wise in a king to have any religion himself. Mark well, my dear nephew, what I here say to you: there is nothing that tyrannises more over the head and heart than religion; because it neither agrees with our passions, nor with those great political views that a monarch ought to have If he fears God, or, to speak as the priests and women do, if he fears hell, like Louis Six, in his old age, he is apt to become timorous, childish, and fit for nothing but to be a capuchin I do not, however, mean that one should make a proclamation of impiety and atheism; but it is right to adapt one's thoughts to the rank one occupies. All the popes, who have had common sense, have held no principles of religion but what favoured their aggrandisement. It would be the silliest thing imaginable, if a prince were to confine himself to such paltry trifles as were contrived only for the common people. Besides, the best way for a prince to keep fanaticism out of his country is for him to have the most cool indifference for religion

There is one important reflection I would make with you; it is this: your ancestors have, in this matter, conducted their operations with the greatest political dexterity; they introduced a reformation which gave them the air of apostles at the same time as it was filling their purse. Such a revolution was, without doubt, the most reasonable that could ever happen in such a point as this: but, since there is now hardly anything to be got in that way, and that, in the present position of things, it would be dangerous to tread in their footsteps, it is therefore even best to stick to toleration. Retain well, dear nephew, the principle I am now going to indicate to you; let it be your rule of government, that men are to worship the Divinity in their own way

Have you a mind to know why my kingdom is composed of so many sects? I will tell you: in certain provinces the Calvinists are in possession of all the offices and posts; in others, the Lutherans have the same advantage. There are some, where the Catholics are so predominant, that the king can only send there one or two Protestant deputies; and of all the ignorant and blind fanatics, I dare aver to you that the Papists are the most fiery and atrocious. The priests in their senseless religion are untameable wild beasts, and preach a blind submission to their wills As to the Jews, they are little vagrants, poor devils, that at bottom are not so black as they are painted

As our ancestors made themselves in the ninth century, Christians, out of complaisance to the emperors; in the fifteenth, Lutherans, in order to seize the possessions of the church; and Calvinists in the sixteenth, to please the Dutch, upon account of the succession of Cleves; I do not see why we should not make ourselves indifferent to all these religions for the sake of maintaining tranquillity in our dominions

The great point is, to be useful to the whole of human kind, by rendering all men brothers; and by making it a law to them to love together as friends and relations

Now, pray mark what I am doing for this purpose: I use my best endeavours that all the writings in my kingdom, on religion, should breathe the strongest spirit of contempt for all the reformers that ever were and I never let slip any occasion of unmasking the ambitious views of the court of Rome, of its priests, and ministers. Thus, little by little, I shall accustom my subjects to think as I do, and shall detach them from all prejudices.

Goethe in Italy

In 1786 (the year of Frederick's death), Goethe was travelling in Italy, and he records the following conversation with a captain in the Papal army:

Then he turned to another question: "We have been told as a fact that Frederick the Great, who has won so many victories, even over true believers, and fills the world with his fame, is really a Catholic though everybody imagines he is a heretic. He has a special dispensation from the Pope to keep his faith a secret. As you know, he never enters one of our churches, but worships in a subterranean chapel and is deeply contrite that he cannot publicly profess the sacred religion because, if he did, his Prussians, a brutish nation of fanatical heretics, would kill him immediately, and then he could be of no more help to the cause. That is why the Holy Father has given him this dispensation, and, in return, Frederick quietly favours and propagates the one true faith." I merely said that, as it was such a deep secret, no one could verify it I was surprised at the shrewdness of the priests who deny or misrepresent anything which might infringe upon the mysterious circle of their traditional doctrine or cast doubts upon it. (Italian Journey, October 25, 1786)

Gladstone

An article entitled "Gladstone's Attitude to Catholicism" appeared in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* of July 1956, making a reassessment of the question posed in its title. It is a remarkable thing that such a reassessment should have been necessary. Frederick the Great had written only for the enlightenment of his heir, but Gladstone had stated his views in the cut-and-thrust of heated public polemics. Nevertheless, since he had consistently upheld the tolerance of Catholicism in a Protestant state, Maynooth had assumed that he was attracted to Catholicism, and had expected his conversion at the end of his political life. So a reassessment was required:

.... many people were convinced that he would one day seek admission to the Church and were rather disappointed when he did not do so And no doubt many such people treasured these illusions all through their lives. But no real student of contemporary history will entertain them for long We have been obliged to abandon our earlier view and to substitute for it its exact contrary. We would now contend (A) that Gladstone never at any moment of his life contemplated submission to the Catholic Church; (B) that no man was more

responsible than Gladstone for the anti-papal (as distinguished from the anti-Catholic) feeling which existed in England in the days of Pius IX; (C) that the undoubted evolution of religious opinions which Gladstone underwent during his life was much more in the direction of Rationalism than of Catholicism.

James II

James II of Britain introduced certain measures of religious toleration but is not included among the pioneers of religious liberty. His successor, William of Orange, restored some of the restrictions that James had abolished but he is regarded as having consolidated the freedom of religion in Britain. James was a Catholic. He aimed to restore the absolute monarchy, and Catholicism as the state religion. He aimed to establish the freedom of the Catholic Church, which historically has always meant the suppression of other churches. But in a Protestant country the restoration of an absolute Catholic monarchy has to be proceeded with cautiously. James began by relaxing certain of the restrictions on the Nonconformist churches, hoping to get the support of the Nonconformists against the Church of England. Catholicism was to be freed along with Nonconformism as the first step on the way to the establishment of the exclusive freedom of Catholicism and the curbing of Anglicanism along with Nonconformism. The plan was aborted by the 1688 Revolution. And James is properly regarded as a religious despot trying to make his way in difficult circumstances.

James was known to be a Catholic. His predecessor Charles II was officially a Protestant, and only formally converted to Catholicism on his death bed. He did as much as was expected under the circumstances for Catholicism.

It was not a mere absurdity for the Papal captain to believe Frederick the Great to be a secret Catholic, or for the Maynooth priests to expect the conversion of Gladstone at the end of his political career. The adherents of an exclusivist and persecuting church had no grounds for understanding the religious tolerance of the secular state. If Frederick permitted freedom of religion to Catholics in a predominantly Protestant state, it was reasonable on the basis of Catholic experience to believe him to be a secret Catholic doing what he could in difficult circumstances: a more prudent and politic version of James II. (The Vatican considered James's approach to be rash and shortsighted, and advised slower and even more devious methods.) And if Gladstone denounced any interference with the affairs of the Catholic Church, and disestablished the Church of Ireland, what conceivable motive could he have if he was not a secret sympathiser?

Gladstone explained his motives publicly. It was to allow the Catholic Church complete freedom of action, even after the Vatican Decrees of 1870, and to defeat it through the development of liberal public opinion without the interference of the state. While condemning any legal interference with it, he exposed its

purposes in a number of propagandist pamphlets on the Vatican Decrees. *Ronald Knox*, one of the leading English Catholic intellectuals of the 1920s and 1930s, frankly admitted that the Catholic Church was opposed to general freedom of religion: its ideal was Catholic supremacy in the State: but in non-catholic states, in which it was in a minority, it championed general freedom of religion as an interim measure which allowed it legal freedom to work towards its ultimate aim of Catholic supremacy. And he argued that the secular state was morally obliged by its own principles to allow the Catholic Church complete freedom to strive for the overthrow of religious freedom (See "*The Belief of Catholics*"). That of course is the twisted reasoning of a priest. But, fifty years before Knox, Gladstone had assessed that British liberalism was strong enough to allow complete legal freedom of action to this intolerant church, and yet to defeat it comprehensively. And that is what was done.

Religious Freedom and Cromwell

The history of religious freedom is a curious thing. Needless to say, it owes very little to religion. The Quakers are probably the only religious body that have consistently stood for freedom of religion in practice — and they never had state power. The Independents, or Cromwellians, in the English Revolution, are probably the only party in a situation saturated with religious ideology and religious conflict that stood for general freedom of religion while controlling the state. But the Independents were not properly speaking a church with a distinct and definite body of religious beliefs.

Cromwellian freedom of religion did not, of course, include freedom for Catholicism. Catholicism, as the great enemy of religious and political liberty, had to be suppressed if liberty was to survive. The demand for freedom of Catholicism would have been viewed in that period much as the demand for the freedom of the Nazi party would have been viewed by democrats in Germany after 1945.

The view of Cromwell as the champion of religious liberty undoubtedly sounds strange to Irish ears. That, nevertheless, is what he was: and that is what he will be increasingly recognised as being, now that the mediaevalist perspective of Irish nationalism has collapsed. Irish nationalism was something that did not develop until long after Cromwell was dead and gone. Cromwell in his time did not come to Ireland to suppress a nation struggling for its freedom. But since a nation afterwards developed and struggled for its freedom, then it was a simple thing for its propagandists to represent Cromwell as doing just that.

Cromwell came to Ireland to suppress the Royalist/feudal counter-revolution. For ten years the greater part of Irish society had behaved as a reserve of the Royalist counter-revolution. The Protestant gentry, the Catholic gentry, and the remnants of Gaelic Ireland had acted consistently in support of the Crown. And when

the Royalist forces were finally broken in England, Parliament was not going to allow them the freedom of Ireland to prepare for a new offensive.

There is an episode in the French Revolution which has close parallels with the Irish aspect of the English Revolution. The French Revolution introduced draconian penal laws against Catholicism (at a time when the penal laws had been virtually abolished in Ireland). The Church and the feudals retained great influence in a region of Western France, which was Celtic. The backward peasantry of the region rallied to the banner of the Church and King at the urging of the priests. The rebellion of *La Vendee* broke out against the revolution, and it was crushed by the revolutionary government in a merciless campaign that was comparable with Cromwell's campaign in Ireland.

The crushing of the Vendee rebellion is generally accepted as a necessary defence of liberty even by people who condemn the Reign of Terror. Cromwell had no Reign of Terror, but his Vendee is held against him by people who had no bother in seeing the French episode as a defence of liberty. But if Breton nationalism had amounted to anything, and if a Catholic-Celtic-Breton state had come into being, it would presumably have painted the suppression of the Vendee rebellion as Irish nationalist historians painted Cromwell's campaign in Ireland.

The Established Church in Britain

In Britain there is still a formally established State Church while in Ireland there is not. This led some Catholic nationalist propagandists a year or two ago to chance their arm with the argument that there is less religious freedom in Britain than in Ireland. In fact, though it is generally true that state churches are a menace to religious and political liberty, the Established Church in Britain has facilitated the development of both. In times when religion was looked on as a political necessity, the Established Church in Britain provided the necessary religion while at the same time preventing it from going too far. And as political democracy and liberalism developed, the Church was prevented from creating a disturbance by the fact that it was under political control.

The ruling class was not given to religious excesses, and it ensured that the Church did not indulge in them. And as the Parliamentary structure became increasingly democratic, popular curbs on the Church increased. Religious qualifications for membership of Parliament were progressively abolished. Catholics, Jews and atheists were admitted early in the nineteenth century. While some traditional offices required membership of the Established Church, the most powerful political offices did not.

The possibility then existed that an agnostic or atheist Prime Minister would appoint Anglican Bishops, and the possibility became an actuality. (While an issue has never been made of the fact, a number of Prime Ministers have in practice

been agnostic or atheist — there is not a very clear distinction made between the two in England — while others have been Methodist or suchlike.) And the final authority in the determination of the religious doctrine of the Church lay in a House of Commons that was increasingly nondescript as far as religion went.

Only in 1973 did the House of Commons relinquish its supremacy in religious doctrine. The Established Church may now determine its own doctrine and ritual. There could not be a surer sign than this that religion is a spent force in British public life.

John Stuart Mill describes the development of religious liberty as follows:

Those who first broke the yoke of what called itself the Universal Church, were in general as little willing to permit differences of religious opinion as that church itself. But when the heat of the conflict was over, without giving a complete victory to any party, and each church or sect was reduced to limit its hope of retaining possession of the ground it already occupied; minorities seeing that they had no chance of becoming majorities, were under the necessity of pleading to those whom they could not convert, for permission to differ Yet so natural to mankind is intolerance in whatever they really care about, that religious freedom has hardly anywhere been practically realised, except where religious indifference, which dislikes to have its peace disturbed by theological quarrels, has added its weight to the scale. In the minds of almost all religious persons, even in the most intolerant countries, the duty of toleration is admitted with tacit reserves. (On Liberty, Introduction)

Putting Religion in its Place

Religious tolerance never comes about through a dominant church deciding that tolerance is a Christian principle. Tolerance only becomes a Christian principle when no Christian Church has the power to enforce its beliefs and practices on a society: a virtue is then made of necessity. It is the Frederick the Greats of history who are the pioneers of religious tolerance; they decide that religion must be controlled in the interest of the stability and development of the state. (Other enlightened monarchs of this kind were Elizabeth I of England and Joseph II of Austria.)

The aristocracy also contributed to the development of religious tolerance at various times. They might consider that a particular set of religious dogmas should be carefully imposed on the people to keep them in order, but consider themselves to be above such superstitions, and refuse to tolerate clerical interference with their own beliefs. And because of their social power the Church would have to let them be. There have been times when such aristocrats were the vanguard of social and intellectual enlightenment.

When the bourgeois development of society progressed to a certain extent, a philosophical intelligentsia appeared, and set about a systematic philosophical criticism of the dogmas and practices of the Church, usually under the protection of some enlightened monarchical or aristocratic patron.

Voltaire, for example, was patronised by Frederick the Great and by Catherine the Great of Russia. (There was a curious symbiotic intellectual relationship between Voltaire and Frederick. Voltaire fancied himself as a great diplomat and Frederick as a great poet: each hankered to be what the other was. So when Voltaire was living in Prussia, Frederick politely praised his inept diplomatic schemes and Voltaire politely praised Frederick's bad poetry.)

At a still later stage there came the manufacturing capitalists. In 19th century England the great power of this class established secular liberalism as the framework of public life. Following them, and to a great extent influenced by them, came the industrial working class, which reduced public religion in England to a mere shadow thrown by the past.

A Society without a History

The sequence of development described here occurred in varying forms in virtually every society in Europe. They did not happen in nationalist Ireland. Society in the Irish Republic bears no trace of them. Republican Ireland is, in that respect, a society without a history. It became a bourgeois nation in the latter half of the 19th century. But it was a nation that bore no traces in itself of the development of European society since the Renaissance (not to mention the Reformation).

Its development was influenced by no great humanist Churchmen of the renaissance variety (when popes were virtually atheist): by no religious reformer such as Luther or Calvin: by no enlightened monarch like Elizabeth or Frederick: by no independent and inquisitive aristocracy: by no freethinking bourgeoisie; by no agnostic proletariat: it has had no Voltaire, no Bradlaugh, no Dobden, no Zola, no Keir Hardie. (James Connolly, unfortunately, bowed his head to the Church, and engaged in futile schemes to develop a socialist movement which ignored the social power of the Church.)

It seemed for a moment that Conor Cruise O'Brien might become the Irish Voltaire. Unfortunately he is only a sceptical aristocrat, who is allowed his private scepticism in peace, but upholds official morality in public. He is the reformer behind the scenes. Such people, of course, do some good: but the time is ripe for influential people to become radical public reformers in these matters. The flesh is willing but the spirit is weak.

The Anglo-Irish Aristocracy

Even though Southern Irish society bears no traces of the developments mentioned above, that is not to say people of the kind mentioned did not exist in Ireland. They did. The Anglo-Irish aristocracy and intelligentsia of the 18th and early 19th century were abreast of their European counterparts. And so were the commercial bourgeoisie and intelligentsia of Catholic Ireland who developed in the 18th century, and who formed the liberal Catholic Committee, and participated with free-thinking protestants in the Volunteers and United Irishmen.

But these classes did not influence the development of nationalist Ireland in the 10th century. Catholic nationalist Ireland emerged out of the "hidden Ireland" of the 18th century. It was roused into activity by O'Connell. The liberal free-thinking Catholicism of the old commercial bourgeoisie and professional people was swamped in O'Connell's agitations and was sunk without social trace in the subsequent nationalist development. And Anglo-Ireland was overthrown by the tenants' struggles.

There was a last flicker, between 1880 and 1910, of the old Anglo-Irish Volunteer spirit. A number of Anglo-Irish aristocrats and intellectuals, the political great-grandchildren of Grattan Flood and Wolfe Tone, made a last ditch effort to influence the rising nationalist democracy: to liberalise it: to give it a different historical perspective: to link it up with the spirit of the United Irishmen, the Volunteers, the Patriot Parliament, Swift and Molyneux. They were appalled by the vigorous ignorance and bigotry of the democracy that was rising to replace them in control of Ireland. (The politicians of this effort were Isaac Butt and Parnell.)

Some of these Anglo-Irish were merely frightened for their skins and their property. Others (such as Standish O'Grady, T.W. Roberts, John Eglinton and Yeats), were genuinely saddened that the great political and intellectual heritage of Anglo-Ireland (the Volunteers, Grattan, Swift, etc.) should all be brought to nothing, and should leave no trace in Irish society. They set about influencing the nationalist movement, and tried to implant in it the Volunteer and United Irish heritage: but all to no avail. The rise of Sinn Féin, the IRA, Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil, severed the last tenuous links between Catholic nationalism and the Volunteers and United Irishmen.

We Were Not Cheated

The Counter-Reformation and Ultramontanist Catholic hierarchy took control of the Irish masses, who were just ceasing to be Gaelic speaking and were just entering into the world of politics and class struggle for the first time in their history. Out of the "hidden Ireland", the "men of no property" of

the 18th century, all the classes of modern Irish society developed.

In its development this society was not influenced by, but sloughed off, the layers of society that lay above it. Its entire cultural development, that of its bourgeoisie no less than its farmers and workers, was determined by the Catholic Church. Religious bigotry and intolerance was not the remnant of feudalism in Ireland: it was a new popular force, and was enforced by all the popular vigour that went into the establishment of religious tolerance, free-thinking, and the modern world outlook in England and elsewhere.

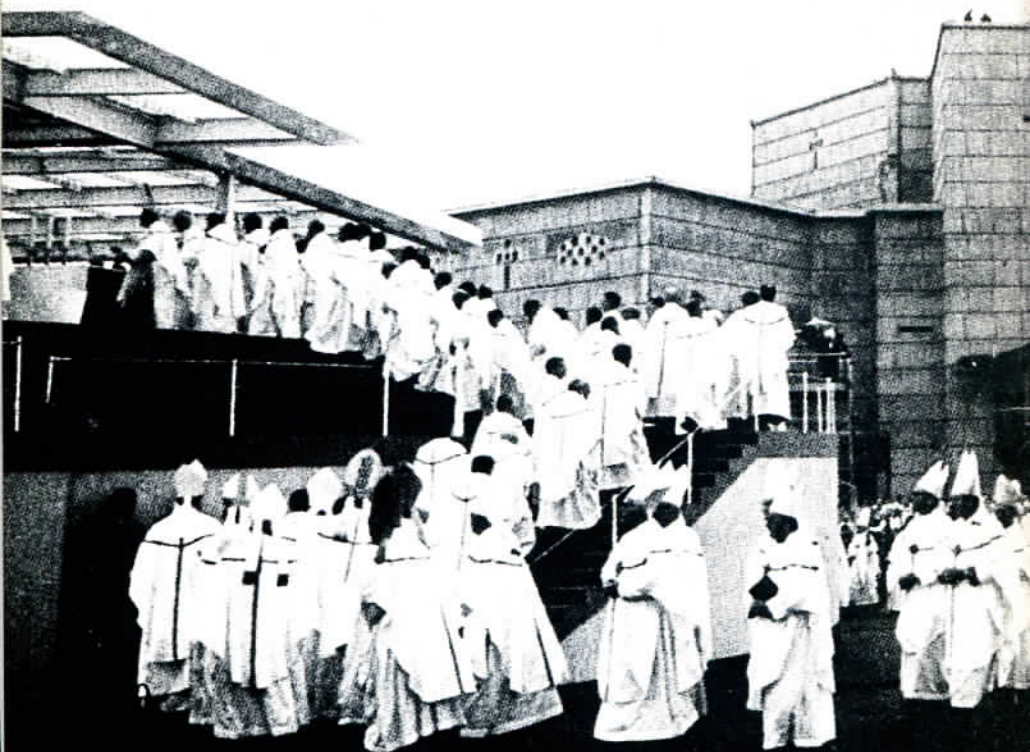
Connolly described us as "the aliens of the West". Having vegetated in the marvellous Celtic wonderland for two thousand years, under the oldest aristocracy in Europe, we finally began to take an interest in the modern world in the 1820s, entered it under the supervision of the Catholic Church, and laid low those West Britons who had been trying to civilise us in one way and another since Tudor times.

There is no glorious heritage out of which we have been cheated. We are now beginning to feel the need for liberal secular conditions of political and social life. Our first reflex is to look back, and say we were cheated at some time in the past out of what we now feel to be desirable. There is a weird line being circulated by some contemporary Sinn Feiners (Official), that the British imposed the Church on us (didn't they build Maynooth?) (Official Sinn Fein has now become The Workers Party, and it seems to have dropped that line.) In fact the British did their damndest to put curbs on the Church.

It was we who made it the power in the land in the struggle against Britain: and Sinn Fein did it more than any other tendency. If we now want relief from the restrictions of Catholic social power, we'll have to fight for it against the Catholic Church. Between 1850 and the present day we went through the experience of Catholic social power that Europe experienced between the 11th century and the Reformation. There was no conspiracy, and the experience was probably a necessary one. If we now want to reduce the Church to the position it should occupy in a liberal democratic society we must fight it, as Europe did. **IT HAS NO INTENTION OF REDUCING ITS POWER VOLUNTARILY; POWER MUST BE TAKEN FROM IT**



The Rise of Papal Power in Ireland



Published by Athol Books, 9 Denmark Street, London WC2
and Church and State, 26 Church Ave., Cork, Ireland