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HALE, CAROLYN MAE
THE REVEREND IAN R. K. PAISLEY: A CASE STUDY
IN STATUS QUO DISCOURSE.

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA, PH.D., 1978

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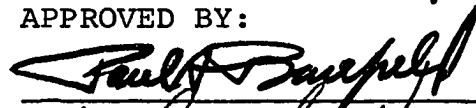
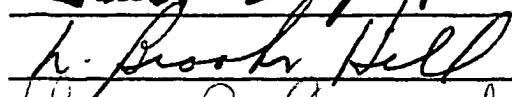
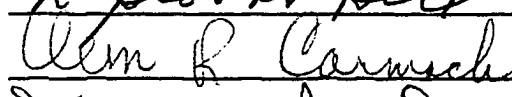
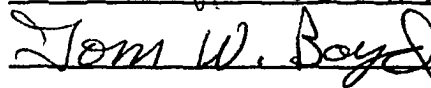
THE REVEREND IAN R. K. PAISLEY:
A CASE STUDY IN STATUS QUO DISCOURSE

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of
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BY
CAROLYN M. HALE
Norman, Oklahoma
1978

THE REVEREND IAN R. K. PAISLEY:
A CASE STUDY IN STATUS QUO DISCOURSE

APPROVED BY:

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

This dissertation is dedicated to my mother
Mrs. Edith Golden Hale who first showed
me the exciting frontier of learning.

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Professors, friends, acquaintances, and even strangers have helped me with this dissertation, though for all the opinions expressed, and conclusions drawn I am responsible. This must similarly apply to any errors of fact that may have escaped my own vigilance.

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THE REVEREND IAN R. K. PAISLEY:
A CASE STUDY IN STATUS QUO DISCOURSE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Social change is a process which alters the way people behave both as individuals as well as members of groups. Although social change is inevitable, the form it takes and the agents who produce it vary. When traditional strategies and tactics fail to influence the status quo, more radical tactics and strategies often occur. Revolutionary strategies, for example those used in the civil conflict in Northern Ireland, have occurred because traditional strategies failed to influence the status quo in England. Revolutionary tactics take many forms, including bombing, physical violence, and guerilla warfare. Revolutionary rhetoric constitutes one major source of strategies and tactics that often play a significant role in altering the position of individuals or groups.

This study generally explores the nature, function, scope, and role of revolutionary discourse in social change. To accomplish this purpose the study focuses on a single

national situation and a central character within that context, analyses of Irish revolutionary discourse in its historical and political context, and concentrates on the pivotal role of Reverend Ian Paisley's work.

Purpose of the Study

Specifically, the study investigates Reverend Ian Paisley's "revolutionary" discourse as it impacted upon social change in Northern Ireland from 1966-1976. One initial qualification is crucial, however; as the research progressed it became increasingly evident that Reverend Paisley, although working in a revolutionary context and using revolutionary tactics, is not revolutionary per se. Quite the contrary, his work represents a highly volatile and successful form of status quo discourse. From the perspective of his vehement status quo defense, however, there develops a unique and productive perspective for studying the interaction of the diverse conflicting groups in Ireland.

This purpose may be operationalized in the central questions and theses of the study. Three general questions govern this project: (1) How can one best characterize the diverse competitive forces struggling to determine the future of Northern Ireland? (2) How does Ian Paisley fit into this context? (3) What are the sources of Ian Paisley's effectiveness? Two general theses are advanced: (1) A thematic analysis of Ian Paisley's rhetoric clearly depicts the positions of the diverse forces in contemporary Northern Ireland.

(2) An analysis of the rhetorical strategies and tactics used by Ian Paisley demonstrates the interactive patterns of the diverse forces in contemporary Ireland.

The purpose of the study is further clarified through the definition of its key terms: social change, revolution, revolutionary discourse, revolutionary cause, violence, status quo, and status quo discourse. These terms have been defined in a variety of ways, and no one definition is entirely adequate, because what constitutes revolutionary or social change depends on the society in which a person lives.

Social change is defined as "alteration in the attributes or functioning of individuals, groups, institutions or society."¹ Revolution will be defined as a form of change in the status quo, relatively abrupt and variously stretching over a period of a few years to several decades; it affects the behavior patterns of significant segments of the population.² Revolutionary discourse is defined as a process of human interaction in which "the objective is the destruction of the offending individual or institution."³ The study itself further characterizes the strategies and tactics of

¹Gerald Zaltman, Philip Kotler, and Ira Kaufman, Creating Social Change (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1972), p. 174.

²Mostafa Rejai, The Strategy of Political Revolution (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1973), p. 7.

³Revolutionary discourse is distinct from reformatory discourse which has as its objective correction.

revolutionary discourse. A revolutionary cause is defined as "the attempt to destroy the offending institutions."⁴ Violence means any behavior designed to injure, damage, or destroy persons or property.⁵ The most common acts of violence are murder, assassination, riot, and terrorist activities. Violence, however, may consist of more than physical acts. Violence has important psychological dimensions more subtle, and brutal, than the physical dimensions. Terrorist activity, for example, may leave a profound psychological impact and insecurity on members in a community.⁶ Such psychological acts of violence deprive people of their personal integrity and, indeed, of their humanity.⁷ Status quo is

⁴Philip Kotler, "The Five C's: Cause, Change Agency, Change Target, Channel, and Change Strategy," in Creating Social Change, ed. Gerald Zaltman, Philip Kotler, and Ira Kaufman (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1972), pp. 174-175.

⁵Rejai, p. 9.

⁶In June and July of 1972, I witnessed psychological violence in Northern Ireland. On one occasion in a department store, a clerk told me she would like to invite me to her home, but she "dared not since just that morning before she came to work, a man down the road had been shot in the head." She began to cry and said: "You just don't know where you're safe anymore." On another occasion, the director of a Teen-age Youth Center told me: "I will tell you anything you want to know, but I will lie if anything endangers the children. They can be hurt, you know."

⁷At times the psychological violence extended to reporters. One reporter who free-lanced for a Swedish newspaper was afraid he would be arrested as a political prisoner since his expensive camera equipment and passport had been confiscated. Later he attempted escape to the Republic of Ireland with a stolen German passport. He was captured at the train station and taken as a prisoner since internment without trial was operative at that time.

defined as the existing state of affairs at the time in question. Status quo discourse is defined as spoken and written communication in defense of the existing establishment.

Survey of the Literature

One of the more important scholarly contributions to an understanding of why successive British Governments have failed to resolve the Irish question is the recent work by Patrick O'Farrell: Ireland's English Question: Anglo-Irish Relations, 1534-1970. This work explains that the problem in Northern Ireland is not necessarily political because: (1) the problem has been a question of historical and religious identity; and (2) from the Reformation Period the two countries have been divided by differing views of reality and differing attitudes based on the importance religion has played with the two respective communities. Other scholars either ignore the religious question or see the Irish problem in purely political terms. This is also one of the few works which tap the archives of the Irish hierarchy and the Vatican to show how closely and suspiciously the Catholic Church regarded any secular political movement.

The 1968-1969 crisis is the topic of several books. Among the most important are Ulster: A Case Study in Conflict

In addition to these personal acts of terrorism, the constant strain of tanks and British soldiers in the streets, people and cars being searched, bombs exploding unexpectedly, and the sound of shooting all night long, have had an impact psychologically on community members although they might not have been hurt physically.

Theory by RSP Elliot and John Hickie; and Barricades in Belfast: The Fight for Civil Rights in Northern Ireland by Max Hastings. The former pinpoints many of the conflicting groups in Northern Ireland and their ideologies. The latter is a first hand account by a reporter on the scene and will probably remain a primary textbook on the crisis of 1968-1969.⁸ Much of the material is biased from a Catholic or Protestant perspective; however the Elliot and Hickie study and the Hastings book are more scholarly and objective.

Two major works assist in providing categories for analysis: The Strategy of Political Revolution by Mostafa Rejai and Ronald G. Havelock, et al., Planning for Innovation: A Comparative Study of the Literature on the Dissemination and Utilization of Scientific Knowledge.⁹ This study is heavily dependent initially upon Rejai's study to define the preconditions of political revolution for the conceptual framework comprising Chapter II. It helps clarify the revolutionary upheaval in Northern Ireland. Havelock's work is useful because it provides categories to classify Reverend Paisley's

⁸Other accounts which may be of interest to the reader are: Bernadette Devlin's The Price of My Soul; Liam de Paor's Divided Ulster; Sunday Times Insight Team's Ulster; Terence O'Neill's Ulster at the Crossroads; Andrew Boyd's Holy War in Belfast; Henry Kelly's How Stormont Fell; and Richard Rose's Governing Without Consensus: An Irish Perspective. Complete entries may be found in the bibliography.

⁹Ronald G. Havelock, et al., Planning for Innovation through Dissemination and Utilization of Knowledge (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan, July 1969), pp. 11-20.

discourse, and look at the tactics he employs in status quo discourse.

Materials by and about Ian Paisley are crucial for this study. Materials by him are The Protestant Telegraph, issues 1966-1976 inclusive, The Revivalist, issues 1966-1976 inclusive, books, taped sermons, press conference tapes, and one in-depth personal interview with Reverend Paisley by the writer.¹⁰ This ten year period of materials have been examined thoroughly to look at Reverend Paisley's political and religious status quo discourse.

Reverend Paisley reaches far beyond his Belfast congregation through his authorship, editorship, and daily radio sermons (broadcast from Red Lion, Pennsylvania) titled "The Voice of Protestantism."¹¹ He is the author of The Fifty Nine Revival, Christian Foundations, The Ravenhill Pulpit, The Massacre of St. Bartholomew, An Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans, Billy Graham and the Church of Rome, and numerous booklets which have a circulation of over 50,000.¹²

¹⁰Full entries of Reverend Paisley's materials may be found in the bibliography.

¹¹Dr. Ian Paisley, "Dr. Paisley to Broadcast Daily Round the World," The Protestant Telegraph (Belfast, Northern Ireland, September 21, 1968), p. 1.

¹²Reverend Ian R. K. Paisley, D.D., M.P., Preaches at the Martyr's Memorial Church (Belfast, Northern Ireland: Spin Record Company, 1970), p. 1 of insert with the record.

Materials about Reverend Paisley are few. One is a bibliographical account by Patrick Marrinan: Paisley: Man of Wrath. The other is a single article in the speech and communication literature in Today's Speech; in this article, Don Abbot examines the role of rhetoric of the Protestant extremist in the beginning of the civil unrest in Northern Ireland. He specifically focuses on two of Paisley's rhetorical strategies: political evangelism and confrontation.¹³ Reverend Paisley is identified as a preacher in the tradition of right-wing fundamentalists in the United States.¹⁴ Thus, no other studies even closely approximate the breadth or focus of the present research.¹⁵

Government documents and newspapers provided valuable chronicles and current reactions. The House of Commons Parliamentary Debates record Reverend Paisley's political speeches from July 3, 1970 to 1974. The House of Commons Research Division provided two additional documents: (1) Disturbances in Northern Ireland, Cmd. 532, H.M.S.), September, 1969; and (2) The Hunt Report of the Advisory

¹³Don Abbott, "Ian Paisley: Evangelism and Confrontation in Northern Ireland," Today's Speech, Volume XXI, No. 4 (Fall, 1973), pp. 50-55.

¹⁴Personal correspondence by the writer with Dr. Abbott on February 24, 1975, stated he had not written a thesis or dissertation on Reverend Paisley and "I do not know of one in progress."

¹⁵An examination of both dissertations and abstracts on Reverend Ian Paisley revealed that nothing has been written about him.

Committee on Police in Northern Ireland, Cmd. 535, H.M.S.O., Belfast, Northern Ireland, October, 1969. The "Chronology," although not a government document, is a full and concise account of the events in Northern Ireland during the five years of crisis, 1968 to 1973.¹⁶ Newspaper accounts were often useful, such as The Times (London), The Belfast Telegraph, The Guardian (London), The Sunday Times (London), The Observer, The Irish Times, and The International Tribune.¹⁷

The rhetoric of conflict and social change has received increased attention in the last several years, and, as a result, rhetorical scholars have indicated an interest in revolutionary discourse. None of this research addresses the Irish situation or the Reverend Ian Paisley. Several books and articles provide insight into the rhetoric of conflict and confrontation.¹⁸ Among these articles¹⁹ the

¹⁶Richard Deutsch and Vivien Magowan, Northern Ireland, 1968-1973: A Chronology of Events, Volumes I, II (Belfast, Northern Ireland: Blackstaff Press, 1973), pp. 1-400.

¹⁷Television broadcasts have been checked from ABC, NBC, CBS, and BBC. The BBC provided specific information from radio and television broadcasts in which Reverend Paisley participated or in which the crisis in Northern Ireland was the main topic.

¹⁸Waldo Braden's Oratory in the Old South and Jeffery Auer's Antislavery and Disunion, Studies in the Rhetoric of Compromise and Conflict are two sources which give case studies in this area.

¹⁹Articles in the area of confrontation were: Lawrence W. Rosenfield's "A Case Study in Speech Criticism: The Nixon-Truman Analog;" James Andrews' "Confrontation at Columbia: A Case Study in Coercive Rhetoric;" Leland Griffin's "The Rhetorical Structure of 'The New Left;'" Charles

most useful was "The Rhetoric of Confrontation" by Robert Scott and Donald K. Smith. Scott and Smith's article analyzes a fundamental meaning level of confrontation, stating that "primary to every confrontation in any setting, radical, or moderate, is the impulse to confront."²⁰ They speak not merely of confrontation, but the rhetoric of confrontation, because this action with its diverse manifestations is inherently symbolic. The act not only carries an explicit message but also informs us of the essential nature of discourse itself as human action. Scott and Smith along with Burgess, Griffin, and Haiman agree that the focus of rhetorical study should shift from simple examination of audience reaction to a focus more broadly on the nature of the interaction or transaction.²¹ The current study appropriately addresses the complex interaction of diverse people and groups.

Significance of the Study

The significance of the study is the potential contribution to the field of communication in the area of conflict and social change. As the preceding literature survey

W. Lomas "Dennis Kearney: A Case Study in Demagoguery;" and Haig A. Bosmajian's "The Sources and Nature of Adolf Hitler's Techniques of Persuasion."

²⁰Robert Scott and Donald K. Smith, "The Rhetoric of Confrontation," The Quarterly Journal of Speech, LV (February, 1969), pp. 1-8.

²¹Scott and Smith, p. 1; cf. Scott and Smith, p. 11.

attested, in the past decade there has been an increasing interest in revolutionary rhetoric, the rhetoric of confrontation, and the area of social change. Yet, additional detailed case studies are needed. This study contributes to the methodology of this area by providing additional information on the nature and role of revolutionary discourse as well as the relationship between revolutionary discourse and social change.

This study will also further help to understand the Northern Irish conflict. Political conditions provide an environment in which riots continue. The cyclical riots in Ireland are a result of a historical siege mentality where both Catholic and Protestant communities see "the other" as an enemy and, therefore, are unwilling to entertain compromise. This lack of compromise is seen uniquely in their discourse, especially status quo discourse such as Ian Paisley embodies. His status quo discourse as analyzed in this study should help make sense of the Northern Irish conflict.

Although this is not a "figure study," Reverend Paisley is an integral part of the context. He is a significant religious and political leader in contemporary Northern Ireland. A brief biographical introduction can quickly establish his significance. His religious leadership began with ordination to the Christian Ministry August 1, 1945, in Ravenhill. Under his leadership the membership of the Ravenhill Free Presbyterian Church grew from two hundred people to over three thousand people by 1968, and now is the

largest Protestant Church in the United Kingdom. Currently, he is the Moderator of the Free Presbyterian Church of Ulster which represents over forty churches in Northern Ireland; he is Vice-President of the British Council of Protestant Christian Churches; a member of the Executive of the International Council of Christian Churches; and a member of the Cooperating Board of Trustees of Bob Jones University, South Carolina, U.S.A., who awarded him an honorary Doctor of Divinity Degree.

Reverend Paisley is an author as well as a minister of the gospel. Through his work as editor of The Protestant Telegraph, a bi-weekly newspaper, and The Revivalist, the official publication of the Free Presbyterian Church of Ulster, he reaches approximately 80,000 readers.²² One of the advantages of studying Northern Ireland from the standpoint of Reverend Paisley's status quo rhetoric is that a new perspective for viewing the conflict results, and perhaps, better sense of the conflict can be made.

Paisley's charismatic leadership also extends to the political realm. He is a member of Parliament for Bann Side, Northern Ireland, both at Stormont (before it fell) and at Westminster, House of Commons. His outspoken positions on Unionism, Protestantism, Northern Ireland's position in the United Kingdom, and ecumenicalism have consistently kept him in Parliament. This leadership resulted in the

²²Ibid.

formation of his own political party in 1971, The Ulster Democratic Unionist Party; subsequently he helped to organize the United Ulster Unionist Council. Reverend Paisley arouses either violent antagonism or unswerving loyalty. Either way, he is recognized as the strongest contemporary Protestant leader in Northern Ireland.

Methodology

The method of research employed in this study is primarily the case approach. Although the case method may be primarily descriptive and less systematic and controlled than other types of research, it is crucial for the present research. As a method of research, the case study has several advantages. An excellent method for examining the behavior of a single person in great detail, the case method has been used extensively in clinical psychology because, as some researchers argue, "the essence of psychological studies always lies in the unique attributes of the individual."²³ Because of Reverend Paisley's apparently inextricable role in the continuing conflict, the case method seems an excellent vehicle for examining the unique characteristics of the communication/action relationship.

Another advantage of the case method for the present study is its flexibility with respect to the choice of

²³A. O. Ross, "Deviant Case Analysis: A Neglected Approach to Behavioral Research," Perceptual and Motor Skills, XVI (1963), 337-340; also see G. W. Allport, Pattern and Growth in Personality (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1961), p. 126.

variables. Although some case studies have employed structured techniques for data collection, more often a wide scope of measures are collected to unravel the inherent complexity of the case. Such data is not only interesting in itself, but is also important to add validity to the assertion that the case is not merely conforming to a researcher's expectations.

Case studies are sometimes used to test broad hypotheses and to provide confirmatory evidence for theories. Case studies might be helpful in disconfirming what otherwise might seem to be logical implications of a theory. Negative results from a case study may lead to either a rejection of the law or to the addition of new assumptions to handle the deviant evidence.²⁴ An exploratory study is often a first step; more carefully controlled studies are usually needed to test whether the hypotheses that emerge have general applicability.

The exploratory character of this case study is both a liability and asset. The very lack of control that characterizes case studies also increases the method's potential for revealing new and perhaps important findings.²⁵ If a researcher specifies in advance the events he will manipulate, he might miss some critical advantage. For this reason,

²⁴John M. Neale and Robert M. Liebert, Science and Behavior: An Introduction to Methods of Research (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973), p. 145.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 147.

the case study method is not only more appropriate, but perhaps one of the few possible means, for examining the complex situation in Northern Ireland.

A final problem with case studies lies in the intuitive nature of the selection process. Cases are usually selected to illustrate a point or confirm a theory, or perhaps they are so imposing to be self selecting; thus many cases are not representative. Information is usually not presented on the representativeness of the case. Ultimately, to maximize use of this and related studies, one must show that results from the single cases can be interrelated.²⁶ This suggests future studies, as well as qualifications and requirements for the present study.

Whether the disadvantages of the case study method outweigh its advantages depends on the specific purposes and the nature of the research investigation. Given the complexity of Northern Ireland the case study method seems to be the most flexible approach to the nature, scope, and role of revolutionary discourse in social change.

Case studies require some analytic categories to facilitate the research. In this study two complementary category systems are employed. A system by Mostafa Rejai which characterizes the condition of revolution is employed to generally describe the circumstances of Northern Ireland. A system by Havelock which characterizes rhetorical tactics

²⁶Ibid., p. 15.

and strategies is employed to ascertain the interactional patterns involved in the Northern Irish situation. To avoid duplication and maintain continuity of information, these systems are elaborated in detail in the primary chapters where they are employed.²⁷

Organization of Chapters

In Chapter II the study presents the preconditions of political revolution according to Mostafa Rejai. These preconditions provide a framework within which to provide an historical-political overview of the situation in Northern Ireland. Chapter III builds upon the categorization by Rejai to set forth the historical perspective necessary to understand his abstract categorization as revealed in the contemporary conflict of Northern Ireland. Chapter IV provides a thematic analysis of the Reverend Ian Paisley's religious discourse; in parallel fashion, Chapter V provides a thematic analysis of his political discourse. Chapter VI utilizes the categorical strategies and tactics. The final Chapter VII considers the effectiveness of Paisley's work and states the conclusions of the study.

²⁷Rejai is employed in Chapter II; Havelock is employed in Chapter VI.

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN NORTHERN IRELAND

This chapter defines political revolution and the preconditions of political revolution according to Mostafa Rejai. His categories and standards will be applied to the civil conflict in Northern Ireland. After an introductory overview of his position, the chapter considers each of the preconditions.

Mostafa Rejai provides the following components of a political revolution:

1. At the most general level, revolution is a form of change.
2. This change is relatively abrupt, stretching over a period of two or three years to two or three decades.
3. This change is striking and far-reaching. It affects the behavior patterns of significant segments of the population.
4. These foregoing components apply to all revolutions: intellectual, artistic, industrial, scientific and technological.¹

¹Mostafa Rejai, The Strategy of Political Revolution (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1975), p. 7.

Rejai adds five additional criteria an upheaval must meet to qualify as a political revolution.² First, the political revolution requires a mass movement. Although it is difficult to be precise about the meaning of "mass" the intention here is to distinguish political revolution from other forms of violent action, such as coup d'etat or peasant rebellion.

Second, the revolutionary change is aimed initially at the political-governmental machinery. In this sense, political revolution involves a power transfer, a change in the distribution of political power, a transformation of the ruling class. This power transfer aims at, or sets the stage for, broader social change. Political revolution entails an array of disruption on all fronts: political, economic, psychological, and social.³

Third, revolutionary change is illegal and extra-legal. There are no provisions for it; it is "unauthorized." Revolutionary change does not take place except through violence, a basic ingredient of political revolution, because change is resisted by the existing authorities. Rejai summarizes these points: "Political revolution refers to abrupt, illegal mass violence aimed at the overthrow of the political regime as a step toward over-all social change."⁴

²Rejai, p. 8.

³Rejai, p. 9.

⁴Ibid.

The preconditions of political revolution in Northern Ireland consist of observable economic, psychological, political and social factors. These factors have generated discontent among the Irish people and created a revolutionary environment. Once the revolutionary environment develops short term factors easily ignite a political revolution. This chapter arrays these preconditions and summarizes the precipitating factors as a preparatory stage to better understand the broader history of the conflict presented in Chapter III.

Economic Preconditions

The most important precondition is the progressive deterioration of economic conditions. This has been a factor in Northern Ireland prior to and since the Plantation Period. An early factor in deterioration of economic conditions was the potato famine which nearly wiped the Irish out as a group of people. The famine was a result of English landlords placing high taxes on property and charging high rents; in return the Irish population received nothing.⁵ Thus, the English, to a large extent, were a major cause of the poor economic conditions in Ireland. However, as a result of Partition between Northern and Southern Ireland, the Protestants began to receive a few economic benefits from England. On the other hand, most of the Catholics received

⁵A.T.Q. Stewart, The Ulster Crisis (London, England: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1967), pp. 30-35.

few economic benefits, due to Unionist Party politics.

Before Partition, there was relative economic deprivation between the prosperity in England and in Ireland. After the Partition, the economic prosperity differences were between Catholics and Protestants. Political revolutions are most likely to occur when a prolonged period of economic prosperity is followed by a brief period of sharp reversal, thus creating an intolerable gap between expected need satisfaction and actual need satisfaction.⁶

A period of change occurred in the middle 1960's when the first major protest group, The Campaign for Social Justice, marched in Northern Ireland. This group was composed mainly of Catholic professionals who had gained their relative wealth by virtue of the fact that some British firms in the growth sector were prepared not to discriminate between the religions. Their campaign was concerned mostly with middle-class aims and not directed towards the mass of Catholic population. The aims of their campaign were directed almost entirely towards the general British public, and in particular the British Labor Government. To some extent this middle professional group was separated from their own people by their profession and relative wealth; yet, because of their religion, they were not granted the professional and

⁶Ted Gurr, Why Men Rebel (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971), p. 24.

social amenities of the middle class by the Protestant community.⁷

The existence of a Labour Government was a source of increased pressure for liberalization in Ulster. This pressure could only be regarded as a threat by members of the elite Protestant group. Those reforms that the Labour Government forced out of the Ulster Government caused strong Protestant reaction which came first from the poorer sections of the Protestant community; as Elliot and Hickie explain: "The Protestant poor are denied the social power and wealth associated with the Protestant ascendancy, yet feel themselves unable, by virtue of their religion, to unite with the Catholic poor; rather, they use the Catholic poor as a scapegoat for their own disequilibrium."⁸ Although Prime Minister O'Neill met many of the Civil Rights demands regarding unemployment, housing, and equal community relations, the Catholic groups wanted a still larger scale of reform. In terms of overall reform, while the Protestant Unionists wanted limited reform, the Catholic groups, in particular the Civil Rights group, advocated a larger scale of reform. This difference between limited and large reform between Protestants and Catholics points to a danger which exists in

⁷RSP Elliott and John Hickie, Ulster: A Case Study in Conflict Theory (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1971), pp. 85-86.

⁸Elliott and Hickie, p. 86.

an unbalanced conflict. The side with the most holdings (the Protestant Unionists) feels that anything it gives away is a large offer, while the deprived groups, whose expectations tend to escalate on the basis of any success (Middle-class Catholics), are likely to spurn offers of limited reform. The Ulster Protestants feel that they have already given away too much, hence their support for Paisley who perceived the reforms as threats to the Protestant position in the community. O'Neill's attempts at justice toward the Catholics were interpreted by extremist Protestants as threats to the existence of the state of Northern Ireland, and thus their being. In contrast, the Catholics are being forced by the presence of the British Army to accept meager tokens of reform.

This relative deprivation causes a high level of frustration among the people. Whether relative deprivation explodes into actual violence is a function of two sets of intervening variables: "(1) the scope and intensity of justification for violence; and (2) the relative physical strength of the contending parties as well as their ability to provide institutionalized peaceful alternatives to violent expression of discontent."⁹ The scope and intensity of historical, cultural, and ideological justification for violence in Northern Ireland have developed over a long period of time (see Chapter III). Different perspectives

⁹Gurr, pp. 73-91.

regarding Anglo-Irish relations have produced years of discontent. This is made clear in Bernadette Devlin's maiden speech to Parliament "Fifty Years of Human Misery."¹⁰

The Unionist Party has had complete political domination for over fifty years. This powerful party did not provide peaceful alternatives for the Catholic discontent, but relied on a policy of repression. Thus, discontent was predictably channeled into violent behavior.

Psychological Preconditions

Psychological preconditions may be considered through two factors: (1) discontent and frustration; and (2) a sense of alienation or "loss of community." Discontent, anger, and rage have existed among the Irish since Cromwellian days. The Protestants, since 1690, have been frustrated as a minority religious group in a land where the Catholic religion was dominant. In addition to second class religious status, anger combined with fear and frustration when the settlers realized the British treated them as second class citizens. Eventually the Protestants were in a position to institutionalize their discontent. This was accomplished by attaining a closed political party--the Unionist Party--apparently believing that as long as they could keep the Catholics suppressed they, as Protestants, would be safe.

¹⁰Bernadette Devlin, "Fifty Years of Human Misery," Great Britain, Parliament, Parliamentary Debates (Commons), 5th Series, 802 (1969): 279-289.

The persistence of anger and the constant eruption of civil violence made the traditions sanctioning the civil violence even stronger. These beliefs and traditions receive continued legitimacy from strong Protestant leaders who remind the Protestants that their heritage is in danger as well as their civil rights.

The Protestant leader who gives these traditional beliefs legitimacy today is Reverend Ian Paisley. This strong leader aroused the sleeping Protestants in 1966, keeping alive their fears in the name of truth and God. Protestants must have felt a sense of isolation from Westminster which was diluting the powers of Protestant Stormont, furthering reforms which directly affected Catholics, permitting a resurgence of Catholic IRA activities and the "B" Specials, and disbanding the Royal Ulster Constabulary. So, fears of a big power solution being imposed from Westminster with the tables reversed and Ulster becoming a Protestant enclave in hostile Catholic territory must have contributed to the fears of Protestants. Paisley correctly perceived that changes were taking place in the government, and his talk of the need for loyal Protestants to defend themselves and to be given the necessary men and weapons were not unheeded by fellow Protestants. Thus, the Protestants once again developed an isolationist posture.

This isolationist image also extends to the

Catholic Irish. From the beginning of the Plantation Period, the Catholics felt they were aliens in their own land. As this feeling developed more strongly through the years, it seemed to increase as a result of partition. The Catholics were given inferior jobs if they had one at all, they feared the powerful, Protestant Orange Order, and they were not represented in politics. The Catholics located in the North perceived "a loss of community" from the native Catholic Irishmen in the Republic, from the hostile British, and from their fears of Protestant neighbors.

The entire community of Northern Ireland, Protestants and Catholics alike, have a sense of alienation in one form or another, a "loss of community" with those they perceive themselves to rightly belong. "When tension and uncertainty are heightened as a real or perceived loss of community, there is an insurgent appeal to recapture community through revolutionary action,"¹¹ and a revolutionary movement may emerge as well as when large numbers of people are alienated from the socio-political system.

A further dimension of alienation is psychological violence. Political violence is often intertwined with a colonial situation of a country. The colonial situation and the way in which the colonizer dehumanizes and brutalizes the natives also results in psychological violence. A psychiatrist Frantz Fanon stated, colonialism is "violence in its

¹¹Rejai, p. 25.

natural state, and it will only yield when confronted with greater violence. . . . The colonized man finds his freedom in and through violence."¹² Obviously, a colonial situation exists in Northern Ireland, although it was given official status within the United Kingdom in 1921. A colonial mentality in terms of violence still continues in that country. Much of the violence may be attributed to the earlier colonial situation of Ireland and the semi-colonial state of mind that remains in the citizens.

This colonial or semi-colonial state of mind continues in part because of the psychological violence utilized in Northern Irish prisons such as Long Kesh and Magilligan. Although terrorist activities have created serious psychological insecurity with the Northern Ireland community, the psychological violence intended to deprive others of their humanity has been more brutal.

Much of this psychological brutality has resulted because of the internment-without-trial operative in Northern Ireland. During the 1972 troubles the British Faulkner alerted the army and the Royal Ulster Constabulary to begin making lists of Catholics to be interned, as well as some Protestants. Although the Army command felt they had insufficient information, internment was ordered by Faulkner on August 9, 1972. Three hundred and forty two

¹²Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth (New York: Grove Press, 1968), pp. 41-42.

men were taken that night.¹³ The old Special Powers Act, permitting internment without trials, legalized these violations of rights. The accounts of those who were in Long Kesh Prison outside Belfast are horror stories of psychological devices bordering on, if not technically clarified, as torture.

Psychological violence was used on these prisoners. Examples were hooding of men, unusual noise, the search position, the alleged use of drugs, and unusual threats, actions considered by most persons as psychological torture. McGuffin tells of the men who were hooded: "Pat Shrivvers is a mental wreck, a man who'll never be the same again. His face is still twitching and he can't sit down or anything, and this is months after. One time they bring him up with his hands behind his back on coat hooks on the wall because he wouldn't stand up, refused to cooperate at all."¹⁴ Further, he describes twelve men hooded for seven or eight days:

The hood is a dusty, smelly old bag, so you get the impression continually that you're going to suffocate. Also it reduces the amount of oxygen to the brain, and this is one of the things like standing for long periods in the search posture and not getting any food--it reduces the sugar content to the brain. It's a technique the Russians used.¹⁵

One of the internees, Joe Diamond, described the search position used on him:

¹³W.H. VanVoris, Violence in Ulster: An Oral Documentary (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1975), pp. 198-199.

¹⁴VanVoris, p. 214.

¹⁵Ibid.

They call it the search position, but to me it was more like crucifixion. You're spread with your weight on your fingertips and your legs way out, and after a while you find it very hard to breathe because I think it sort of constricts the muscles on your chest. You lose all sense of it, and you're standing there afraid to move because there's voices coming behind you warning you if you look around you'll be batoned or shot.

Some fellows were made to stretch out and support all their weight on one finger. They allowed me to have my fingers stretched out.¹⁶

The numbers taken up in internment seemed to have overwhelmed the normal prison system in Northern Ireland. Thus, the Maidstone in Belfast harbor was used as a prison ship and two camps were hurriedly built--Long Kesh in Belfast, and Magilligan outside Londonderry. The cramped conditions were also inhumane.

Complaints about brutality resulted in the Compton Enquiry. Compton, however, was not a jurist or specialist on police work and reported he found no brutality, as he understood the term to mean brutality was physical. To most of the Catholic community of Northern Ireland the Compton Report confirmed a loss of credibility in the Government.¹⁷ The psychological violence of these internments was met with riots, gun battles, and burnings of a ferocity not seen since August 1969.¹⁸

¹⁶VanVoris, p. 205.

¹⁷VanVoris, p. 219.

¹⁸For a complete account of internment, see John McGuffin's Internment: From British Times to Present Day (Tralee, Republic of Ireland: Anvil Books, 1973).

Political Preconditions

The third precondition of a political revolution is a political one involving foreign control, governmental inefficiency, disintegration of the ruling elite, and elite intransigence.¹⁹ Any history of Ireland, regardless of the viewpoint, acknowledges that England, a foreign power, has dominated Ireland. England ruled Ireland for colonial purposes and imperial needs with little understanding of the Irish people. Exploited by the English, the Irish eventually attained sufficient courage to oppose the conditions of oppression and exploitation under which they were living. This courage led to acts designed to obtain their freedom.

Governmental inefficiency has existed in Northern Ireland, since the beginning, not only when they were a colony, but also after the partition created an independent province. The government was in bad financial and administrative straits. They had not had a period of apprenticeship in which to learn to run a government efficiently. After partition, even though they were given freedom to do as they chose, a one-party, Protestant-Unionist government, combined with the strength of Protestant Orangism, developed. Compounding political and economic problems, the taxation system in Northern Ireland was also inadequate. England collected many taxes which helped the Englishmen, but not the Irish. The administrative machinery in Ireland was out-of-date

¹⁹Rejai, p. 25.

compared to England. In addition to poor administrative policies, the bureaucracy in England was neither very open nor responsive to the Irish public demands.

Disintegration of the ruling elite is another factor of political revolution. The ruling elite has become inept and factionalized, losing its leadership and political skills. As a result of England's lack of interest in Northern Ireland, except when they needed it in a military situation, Protestants replaced the traditional ruling elite. They had little training, if any, in political governance, and their compromise efforts to govern the multiply divided community of Protestants and Catholics were inept. The Protestants may be skilled in working out political agreements to further their ends, but they are certainly not successful at working for the needs of the entire community.

The Protestant Unionist Party has dominated politics in Northern Ireland since 1921. Extreme unrest began to develop in the Unionist Cabinet about 1967; Prime Minister Terence O'Neill steadily lost face. After six years of leadership, he resigned. Major James Chichester-Clark, the next Prime Minister (1969-1971), ruled less well and resigned after two years. Brian Faulkner ruled only one year, from 1971-1972, before he resigned. Upon Faulkner's departure, the Province of Northern Ireland was placed under a temporary eleven-man Executive Committee to reconcile the various factions within the Northern Ireland community. This attempt with representatives from both communities failed;

in May, 1974, Westminster took over direct rule of Northern Ireland.²⁰ Even this brief account underscores the inability of the elite in the Unionist Party to cope with the situation.

A final political factor stems from the frustrated behavior of administration. As criticism mounts, instead of responding to the need for change, the administration rely on a policy of increasing repression, thus channeling all discontent into violent behavior.²¹ During the Civil Rights Movement in Northern Ireland, criticism of the Government mounted as Stormont remained unresponsive to housing needs of the community. The frustration was expressed at first in the form of protest marches and later it erupted into violence. Marches were often banned by the Government. These bans were interpreted by many marchers as more government repression. The display of flags and emblems is important to citizens, and when the marches were banned, it meant no display of flags and emblems as well.²²

²⁰Richard Deutsch and Vivien Magowan, Volume I, 1968-71, p. 156.

²¹Rejai, p. 25.

²²The Flags and Emblems (Display) Act (Northern Ireland) 1954, gives special protection to the occupier of land or premises who wishes to display a Union Jack. It is an offense to prevent or threaten forcibly to interfere with such display. In respect of other emblems any police officer may, if he apprehends a breach of the peace, require the person displaying the emblem to remove it, and in the event of failure to comply may enter the premises to remove and detain it. Failure to remove such emblems on police request constitutes an offense. Deutsch & Magowan, p. 153. (Source: Professor Claire Palley, Reprints, American Law Review.)

Terence O'Neill, after two months of demonstrations by Civil Rights Marchers, made more changes than previously existed in the forty-seven year history of the Unionist Party. O'Neill's efforts were blocked by the Paisleyites. The long-term good O'Neill might have accomplished for the community of Northern Ireland was temporarily, if not permanently, damaged. As he himself explained, "If Ulster does not survive, then historians may well show that it was the Protestant extremists, yearning for the days of the Protestant ascendancy, who lit the flame which blew it up."²³

Counter-demonstrations by Protestants, led by Reverend Paisley, Mr. Craig, and Major Bunting, blocked social reform within the community. Believing it was in their best interests, the Protestants refused to accept social change for the good of the community. Many Protestants, who were also Unionist, relied on a policy of increasing regression by bans on the marches; they used the power of the Orange Order, the Ulster Volunteer Association, and the Ulster Constitution Defense Committee to retain their ascendancy. Thus, all discontent, from both sides, was directed into violent behavior. As the historian J. Bowyer Bell has commented regarding the Paisleyite version of history, "As long as the Paisleyites--and Paisley is not necessarily one--believe their version of history, act out their fantasies and fears in the street, then, the people

²³O'Neill, p. 150.

in the North are doomed to repeat themselves."²⁴

Social Preconditions

The fourth precondition of a political revolution is social and encompasses ideological decay, institutional decay, social disequilibrium, and class antagonisms. In the state of ideological decay, Rejai states that the "dominant ideology (including the system of social norms and values) is in a state of decline; it is losing force and relevance; it is challenged by powerful ideologies."²⁵ In Northern Ireland the Protestant ascendancy began to lose some power when, for the first time in the history of Northern Ireland, people began to unite on a Civil Rights' ideology, rather than along sectarian and religious issues. This powerful new ideology proclaimed all citizens are entitled to fair and adequate housing, employment, and fair elections--one man, one vote, regardless of religious affiliation. Protestant extremists were challenged, as well as threatened. Civil Rights, begun by only a few in Northern Ireland, however, was a flame not to be resisted by the rest of the oppressed, once the ideology was understood.

Institutional decay develops when "practices and behavior patterns are increasingly out of joint with reality; and a rigidly ascriptive social structure prevents new classes

²⁴Bowyer Bell, "Politics in Northern Ireland," The Review of Politics, April, 1972, p. 148.

²⁵Rejai, p. 25.

and groups from advancement."²⁶ The institutional policies of the Unionist government became increasingly unable to deal with the reality of social change within the entire community of Northern Ireland. Their practices of discrimination attempted to prevent the civil rights groups, as well as the housing committees from forming.

The behavior pattern of these new groups was out-of-joint with Protestant extremists' view of reality. Because the Unionist government and Protestant extremists had in the past employed violence in civil disturbances, they encountered a problem because these new groups were non-violent. The powerful Royal Ulster Constabulary force, the armed police force of Ulster, supported by a mainly part-time force--The Ulster Special Constabulary, also known as the "B-Specials"--had the burden of repelling raids from the border as well as the maintenance of internal order. These forces had Draconian powers given by the Special Powers Act in 1922. Often, these powers were used to prevent and contain subversion. Therefore, Protestants who were in power and made up a healthy majority of the armed police forces were in a position to use violence legally on Catholics and/or non-Unionists if they were perceived as being subversive. Despite this power, one can often only justify its use as a response to power.

When the Unionist institution was confronted with the civil rights approach of non-violence, they were face to face with a weapon they could not control. As they employed their

violent methods, they found themselves exposed to the world through television. The rigid Unionist government was being exposed for what it was: a Protestant ascendancy unwilling to be flexible toward social change within the Northern Ireland community. The discrepancy between economic position and socio-political status between Catholics and Protestants could no longer be ignored by Westminster. They soon found themselves in the middle of the battle with the British troops.

Social disequilibrium is "a breakdown of synchronization between the pattern of values and the direction of socio-political change challenges the authority and legitimacy of the regime."²⁷ The authority as well as the legitimacy of the Unionist regime was openly challenged. When citizens would no longer unite merely along religious or Unionist lines, the pattern of values in the community had the beginnings of social change. Unfortunately, Paisley and his Protestant extremist followers have temporarily destroyed any real hope for constructive social change in the immediate future.

A final social factor to be considered in political revolution is class antagonism. Class antagonisms grow more intense and class distinctions are increasingly viewed as unnatural, immoral, and unjust.²⁸ Citizens began to strive for new values in contrast to the old rigid ones imposed on

²⁷Rejai, p. 26.

²⁸Ibid.

them by the Unionist Party. They viewed class distinctions as unjust, and this growing vision included both Protestants and Catholics. In fact, the Civil Rights Movement may have begun when "unfair housing" was given to a single girl nineteen-years old, because of her position as secretary to the Solicitor of the Council of Armagh. Patricia and Dr. Con McCluskey first organized the Homeless Citizens League to campaign for the fair distribution of public housing to the poor, especially Catholics.²⁹ The McCluskey's helped form the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA). The middle-class McCluskeys were indifferent to the border issues. All organizations entering the Civil Rights Movement had to agree to submerge such differences in the interest of equal rights to all citizens regardless of religion.³⁰ The McCluskeys organized "squat-ins" and "debates" in Stormont to protest the refusal of the local council to let badly housed Catholics live in empty post-war utility homes.³¹ Protestants, as well as Catholics, formed a protest march against the "unfair priority system" made by the Unionist Government. It is significant that there was enough community

²⁹VanVoris, pp. 49-50.

³⁰Cameron Report, p. 120. Specifically, the report states: "The aim of the NICRA shall be to assist in the maintenance of civil liberties, including freedom of speech, propaganda and assembly. The Association shall advance measures for the recovery and enlargement of such liberties and shall take steps as the Association deem necessary to that end. The Association shall be non-party and non-denominational."

³¹VanVoris, pp. 51-54.

consciousness in 1968-1969 to arouse people to cross religious lines in a fight for civil liberties. It marked a new pathway and vision for the community.

Conclusion

All the foregoing preconditions--economic, psychological, political and social--were met and the stage was set for the 1968-1973 revolutionary crisis in Northern Ireland. Once the necessary preliminary conditions developed, the short term factors that ignited the political revolution commenced: The Civil Rights Marches, 1968-1969 with their demands for reform; counter-revolutionary tactics of Reverend Ian Paisley and his followers; the renewed IRA terrorist activities, although they did not enter the scene until after British troops were sent in; provisional wing of the IRA; and hooligan elements. Finally, the British Army and later Marines were sent by Westminster to Northern Ireland. On the basis of these general environmentalist conditions and precipitating factors, conditions have progressively deteriorated. To comprehend these collective developments, historical perspective can assist.

CHAPTER III

HISTORIC ROOTS OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND CONFLICT

Introduction

Northern Ireland has been troubled with religious, political and social turmoil for more than three centuries. The historic roots encompass the Cromwellian conquests, the Protestant Plantation Period, The Orange Order of Ulster, Home Rule, the Ulster Covenant, the Easter Rebellion, partition, civil riots and the Civil Rights Movement. In a country of long memories and bitter hatreds, most writers prefer to begin study of Northern Ireland's civil conflicts with the Cromwellian and Protestant Plantation periods.

Historically, the civil conflicts begin with England's attempt to Anglicize Ireland. Although Wales and Scotland were united with England, in Ireland complete union failed except in part of the northeastern Province of Ulster. Military conquest was never thorough enough to be of a lasting effect; however, the impact was severe enough to leave hatred. To facilitate coverage of the several major events, the historical overview is generally divided into the more removed pre-partition period and the more contemporary partition period.

Pre-Partition Period

The Cromwellian Act of Settlement, 1652

Cromwell is a symbol of hatred and English oppression, to this day, among the Irish.¹ To Ulstermen of the Protestant tradition, Cromwell is a hero. In 1652 the Cromwellian Act of Settlement essentially gave all Ireland except the Province of Connaught to English and Scot Protestant landowners. The Irish were ordered to remove themselves to Connaught, or renounce Popery and profess Protestantism.² The conjunction between landholding and religion was made direct: the alternative to Hell or Connaught meant to the Irish what it said--choose between your religion and your land. This alternative accomplished two effects for the Irishmen: religion was connected with economics; and the choice was insufferable. It was impossible to accomplish such a mass movement of people as the Cromwellian Act demanded. Thus, the property was transferred from Irish to English owners.³

The Irish occupants lived in a land they no longer owned; the English owners owned a land in which they did not live. In the eyes of native Irish Catholics, a minority group

¹This is made clear by Ms. Bernadette Devlin's speeches to the House of Commons, Westminster.

²Patrick O'Farrell, Ireland's English Question: Anglo-Irish Relations, 1534-1970 (New York: Schocken Books, 1971), p. 37.

³O'Farrell, p. 39.

had been given their land and these Protestant landlords forced them into a position of tilling their own land in order to support themselves and their families.

The Protestant Reformation

The Protestant Reformation, one of the strongest unifying forces in England, never took hold in the greater part of Ireland.⁴ As the Catholic religion ceased to be the focus of English life, Englishmen viewed Romanism as intellectually degrading. The English felt if they repressed Romanism, industry would be encouraged. Catholicism was seen as a religion of idleness and ignorance; Protestantism was seen as a religion of wealth and prosperity.

Whereas the English came increasingly to see religion as a matter of politics, religion to the Irish was a matter of faith. The Irish looked upon the English monarch as being based on the monarchy's heresy. The English were persecuting the Irish for treason, while the latter believed they were punished for religious beliefs.

The Irish, on the other hand, underestimated the political implications of their stand. They saw everything in religious terms. As the English fitted Irish resistance into political categories, so Irish leaders fitted English activities into religious categories. The Irish saw the English as evil men engaged in rebellion against God.

⁴William Thornhill, The Modernization of British Government (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1975), p. 238.

They saw this in the Englishman's greed for land, wealth, conquest and attempts to destroy the Irishman's true religion.⁵

The Protestant Plantations

The Protestant Plantation period begins with The English Revolution of 1688-1689. William III of Orange, a Protestant, defeated James II, a Catholic, in the Battle of Boyne, 1690. When Ulstermen refer to this historic battle, they speak of it as if it occurred last month.⁶ The Williamite campaigns were revered more in Ulster than in England itself. To the Ulsterman, William III was hero and founder of civil and religious liberty. From this point in history, a limited Protestant monarchy began in England.

Plantations in Ireland were rewards given to soldiers who fought in the Battle of the Boyne and Williamite campaigns. In the Seventeenth Century large numbers of Scots and English began to settle in northeastern Ireland, or Ulster. Thousands of these men, Protestant in religion, came for the land. The British policy was more successful in Ulster than the rest of Ireland because England and Ulster shared the Protestant faith.

⁵O'Farrell, pp. 40-44.

⁶This became clear to the writer during a train ride from Belfast to Dublin, Ireland. While engaging in conversation with another train passenger, he spoke of the Battle of the Boyne and excitedly and proudly pointed to the place through the train window where the event was to have taken place.

The Protestant English and Scots became landowners and found themselves in a position to exploit the great mass of native Irish. They proceeded to do so with a Protestant ascendancy based upon ownership of property. "The Williamite settlement ended for a long time to come the possibility that a Catholic property-owning class would dominate Ireland. It established a Protestant ascendancy which proceeded to consolidate its position by enacting a penal code against Roman Catholics designed essentially not to punish Catholics for their beliefs, not to convert them to any form of Protestantism, but to prevent them from obtaining as a group property, position, influence, or power."⁷ Thus, differences of ethnicity, religion, and the circumstances of the Protestant Plantation Settlement resulted in a lasting enmity between Protestants and Catholics.

In the beginning the dividing line between the colonists (the Anglos-Scots) and the natives (native Irish) was a religious one. The religious test determined the basis of ascendancy and privilege. "The whole of the political, social and economic structure rested on the existing religious division: a tiny privileged Protestant group ruled a large excluded Catholic population. If Protestantism were spread the ascendancy would first suffer a dilution, and then the whole structure of privilege would collapse."⁸ The

⁷Liam de Paor, Divided Ulster (London, England: Cox and Wyman, Ltd., 1970), p. 17.

⁸O'Farrell, p. 45.

colonists had established division and exclusion as the fundamental principle of government, and as time progressed, the dividing line between Protestants and Catholics became increasingly political.

The Orange Order of Ulster

One of the strongest political forces, yesterday and today, is the Orange Order of Ulster. The Orange Order was founded in 1795 to commemorate William III's links with Ulster. This powerful political and social force was created with the "purpose of maintaining the laws and peace of the country and the Protestant Constitution."⁹

The Irish Government was opposed to the creation of the Orange Order for three good reasons: one political, one economic, and one moral. Politically no government can tolerate the existence of an alternate military force, which is what this alliance of landed gentry and small farmers tended to become. Economically, the spread of Orangeism outside Armagh was accompanied by a spread of Protestant atrocities in the North and counteracted by a group called the United Irishmen of the South. The basic moral issue was a religious one. If a Roman Catholic professed his faith, he often lost his property and job.¹⁰

⁹Liam de Paor, pp. 32-45.

¹⁰Constantine Fitzgibbon, Red Hand, The Ulster Colony: The Historical Context of Northern Ireland's Present Crisis (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1972), pp. 123-124.

Furthermore, this political force was inflamed with annual parades, songs, and speeches to commemorate remote events. The Glorious Twelfth of July, the annual celebration of Protestant victory at the Boyne continues to be celebrated with parades, bands, and the Lambeg drums. These annual events prevented the Orange Order from degeneration.¹¹ Thus, the influence of the Orange Order remains in Northern Ireland. As the Cameron Commission noted,

. . . there is ample evidence of reluctance by Roman Catholics to seek party membership, partly because of the impression that application for membership, would be rejected, . . . and also because of a belief (whether justified in fact or not) that there is a very close connection between the party and the Orange Order. . . . That the Orange Order does in fact exercise influence within the Unionist Party does not admit of any real doubt.¹²

Home Rule

The Irish Catholics demanded for self-government but their demands were firmly resisted by Ulster Protestants. The Protestant Churches, the farmers, gentry, business, and working classes became united in a common cause: opposition to Home Rule. This opposition and resistance created the Ulster Unionist Party in Belfast.

This conflict between Protestants and Catholics, South and North, Orangemen and United Irishmen, Home Rulers and

¹¹Fitzgibbon, p. 130.

¹²Disturbances in Northern Ireland: Report of the Cameron Commission (Belfast, Northern Ireland, Cmd., 532, September, 1969), p. 66.

Unionists, presented William E. Gladstone, the Prime Minister of Westminster, an unsolvable problem of statecraft. Gladstone had accepted office with the support of Parnell's Irish party, promising Home Rule for Ireland in return. As Prime Minister, he made a series of determined efforts to persuade Parliament that Ireland should be granted Home Rule.

Gladstone's attempts toward Irish Nationalism backfired. Irish Nationalists envisioned Home Rule as a step towards autonomy and Irish Independence. Ulster Unionists envisioned themselves as dismembered from England. Gladstone's liberalism caused the Ulster Protestants in Westminster to become Tories--and Unionists--almost to the man.¹³ Thus, membership of the Orange Order and a belief in Unionism became synonymous.

The other individual who helped solidify the Orange Order and Unionism was a main political figure. This man was Lord Randolph Churchill, Tory M.P. Churchill had been a member of the Salisbury Government which had been outvoted in the House of Commons and was determined to return Tory Party to power. In a letter to his friend James Fitzgibbon, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, Churchill was convinced the Orange Card was the one to play politically.

I decided some time ago that if Gladstone went for Home Rule, the Orange Card was the one to play.

¹³Andrew Boyd, Holy War in Belfast (Tralee, County Kerry, Republic of Ireland: Anvil Books, Ltd., 1969), pp. 119-148.

Please God, it may turn out to be the ace of trumps and not the two. . . .¹⁴

Churchill went to Belfast to incite the Orange lodges against the government (Gladstone had just accepted premiership). He convinced the Orangemen that Gladstone's Home Rule bill meant they would be ruled from Rome by the Pope. Further, Churchill urged them to use force against the lawful Government stating: "Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right!"¹⁵ His speech had the effect he had hoped to achieve. Winston Churchill wrote of his father's seditious speech in Ulster Hall:

From that moment the excitement in Belfast did not subside. Eventually dangerous riots, increasing in fury until they almost amounted to warfare, occurred in the streets between the factions of Orange and Green. Firearms were freely used by the police and combatants. Houses were sacked and men and women killed. The disturbances were savage, repeated and prolonged.¹⁶

The political tactics of Lord Randolph Churchill brought a rejection of the Home Rule Bill, despite Gladstone's pleas. No fewer than 93 Liberal MPs deserted their leader and voted with the Tories.¹⁷ It was a day of bitter disappointment for the Nationalists of Ireland, but one of rejoicing for the Unionists and Orangemen.

Despite Gladstone's failure with the Home Rule issue,

¹⁴Boyd, p. 119.

¹⁵Boyd, p. 123.

¹⁶Quoted in Boyd, p. 123.

¹⁷Boyd, p. 125.

it re-emerged in the Twentieth Century and Home Rule for Ireland was passed in April, 1912. The passage of the Home Rule Bill became of such great concern that Protestants banded together to sign the Ulster Covenant¹⁸ under the leadership of Sir Edward Carson. They pledged themselves to remain part of Britain, resist Home Rule, and create the Ulster Volunteer Force to run guns from Germany to resist the creation of an all independent Ireland. The last pledge prepared them to resist Home Rule.

Six months after the passage of the Home Rule Bill through the House of Commons, September 28, 1912 was designated as "Ulster Day." Days later the lists in Ulster Hall were closed and a total of 471,414 Ulster men and women had signed the Declaration.¹⁹ By January 1913, the Ulster Unionist Council formed a military organization of 100,000 men who had signed the Ulster Covenant.²⁰ Sir Edward Carson's leadership convinced Irish Nationalists that their dream of an all united Ireland would not work. The result was the formation of the Irish Volunteers which in due time would become the IRA.²¹

¹⁸A.T.Q. Stewart, The Ulster Crisis (London, England: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1967), pp. 61-62.

¹⁹Stewart, p. 62.

²⁰Liam de Paor, p. 70.

²¹Gary MacEoin, Northern Ireland: Captive of History (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974), pp. 50-51.

By the summer of 1914, the British Cabinet had decided that Partition was the only solution to increasing conflicts within Ireland. However, the English set aside the Irish problem as they became more deeply involved in World War II. Irishmen took advantage of the Englishmen's involvement and planned an independent break with England to gain a Republic.

Easter Rebellion, 1916

While the Great War was undecided, Patrick Pearse, James Connolly, and two hundred twenty members of the Citizens Army assembled 1,000 Irish Volunteers to create an armed rebellion against England. On Easter Monday, 1916, they seized Dublin's General Post Office and proclaimed Ireland an independent republic. The English retaliated with infantry and artillery attacks until the survivors surrendered the following Saturday.²²

The first Irish Nationalist reaction to the Easter Rebellion was negative since the majority of citizens were convinced the best way to secure self-government for Ireland was through parliamentary cooperation with the British. The British authorities decided to make an example of the men who had rebelled against the State of England. They court-martialed one man and shot the remaining top leaders of the rebellion. James Connolly was mortally wounded during the insurrection and had to be carried in a chair to face the

²²MacEoin, pp. 149-150.

firing squad. Revulsion by the Irish public was immediate.²³

Outside the narrow circle of revolutionists, the Easter Rebellion was unexpected. It was in the unexpected finality that the eventual popular success of the Rebellion lay. The 1916 leaders became viewed as martyrs.²⁴

The Easter Rebellion made it clear to Westminster that Irish Catholics were prepared to fight and die to obtain freedom from Westminster rule. It was equally clear that Ulster Protestants were prepared to fight and die to be free from Dublin rule. In 1920, Westminster's final response was to partition Ireland. The partition provided for two Parliaments and Governments: one in Belfast (Stormont) and one in Dublin. Both governments had limited powers and were subordinate to Westminster.

The Government of Ireland Act of 1920 led to a self-governing dominion within the British Empire. It was not until 1932 that the Free State of Ireland became a Republic, and in 1949 the Republic left the British Commonwealth. The Republic achieved its much desired independence; however, Northern Ireland's Parliament did not come about as a result of public approval.²⁵

Northern Ireland was created by this Act of Westminster. Under its terms, the six northeastern counties

²³MacEoin, pp. 151-152.

²⁴O'Farrell, p. 278.

²⁵Terence O'Neill, Ulster at the Crossroads (London, England: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1969), pp. 140-141.

(known as Ulster, although Ulster technically comprises nine counties) were separated from the other twenty-six counties of Ireland. The Scotch Irish accepted separate parliamentary and governmental institutions as a means of remaining within the United Kingdom. The Act also provided for a Council of Ireland consisting of representatives of each Parliament, North and South, to propose united action if they so desired.²⁶

Although the boundary line was a subject of bitter dispute, in 1925 the existing boundary line between Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State was confirmed by an agreement between the London, Dublin, and Belfast Governments.²⁷ While Southern Protestants either accepted the new government in Dublin or left; the Northern Catholics did not accept the new government of Stormont. The partition is not one merely of religion and custom, but also one of political allegiance and nationality. Thus, from the outset, the community in Northern Ireland was divided.

Civil conflicts continued between the North and the South. Ulstermen, therefore, in 1949 sought a reaffirmation of Ulster's place within the United Kingdom. Prime Minister David Lloyd George responded with the House of Commons Ireland Act which declared:

²⁶O'Neill, p. 142.

²⁷Geoffrey J. Hand, Report of the Irish Boundary Commission, 1925 (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1969), pp. vii-xx.

It is hereby declared that Northern Ireland remains part of His Majesty's dominions and of the United Kingdom and it is hereby affirmed that in no event will Northern Ireland or any part thereof cease to be part of His Majesty's dominions and of the United Kingdom without the consent of the Parliament of Northern Ireland.²⁸

Partition Period

The first part of this historical account focused on Protestant colonization, settlements, plantations, and the creation of Northern Ireland; the second part will focus on the tradition of civil riots and the impact of the Civil Rights Movement in Northern Ireland.

Each year, when the Orangemen marched, there were such outbreaks of violence that eventually Westminster passed a law, the Party Processions Act, making all party processions illegal, including the Orange processions. T. J. Campbell, who was an eyewitness of many riots, mentions the years of 1857, 1864, 1872, 1886 and 1893 as the most serious rioting. However, others have included the years 1843, 1880 and 1884.²⁹

Sectarian riots in Belfast have been traced back to 1835. The Orange celebrations that year ended in a riot in Sandy Row in which several people were sabred by the military and many people wounded. Similarly, the Catholics demonstrated with green banners and wrecked Protestant premises.³⁰ These annual events continue on July 12th

²⁸Great Britain, Parliament, Parliamentary Debates.

²⁹Boyd, p. 9.

³⁰Boyd, p. 10.

for Protestants and August 14th for the Catholics.

The story of turbulent Belfast begins in Sandy Row in 1857. Rioting between Protestants and Catholics was extremely severe that year. Preaching in the streets by such men as Dr. Henry Cooke and Hugh Hanna incited the people to riot. Before Cooke's day, sectarian riots were unknown in Belfast. He was the framer of sectarianism in Ulster politics.³¹

Dr. Cooke gathered many disciples willing to preach his doctrine of religious hate. The most notorious of these followers was Hugh Hanna, known as "Roaring Hanna." These individuals were obsessed with the conviction that the Roman Catholic Church was the "Scarlet Woman" and the Pope the "Anti-Christ." These ministers were involved in the Second Reformation Revival and the Evangelical Revival of 1859 in Ulster. These movements gave these clerical agitators unlimited scope to spread their message among the ignorant and illiterate. Their oratory often ended in riots, destruction of property, bloodshed, and murder.³² Their influence has come down to modern Northern Ireland in the form of Paisleyism.

The Civil Rights Movement in Northern Ireland and the conflict surrounding those events in 1963-1969 began with the historic meetings between Terence O'Neill and

³¹Boyd, p. 9.

³²Boyd, p. 9.

Sean Lemass. In late July 1963, de Valera's successor as Prime Minister of the Irish Republic, Sean Lemass, went some cautious way toward resolving the impasse with Northern Ireland. In a speech at Tralee, referring to Northern Ireland, Lemass recognized that "the Government and Parliament exist with the support of the majority."³³ O'Neill, the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, reiterated the Unionist view of full constitutional recognition, and ended with an appeal for a concentration on more immediate matters.

There were no dramatic developments between O'Neill and Lemass in 1963 or 1964. A favorable climate, however, had been established between the Republic and Ulster. While quiet meetings continued between the main leaders in 1965,³⁴ some people were disturbed by the meetings. O'Neill, to allay public fears, called a general election in 1965 within months of the historic meetings. The people of Northern Ireland went to the voting polls and gave O'Neill a striking endorsement of confidence.³⁵

Remarks were made in Dublin and London implying the North and South were going to be united. Thus, it became necessary to restate Ulster's firm position. The British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson, in January, 1967, at the

³³O'Neill, p. 157.

³⁴This same year a level of trust was indicated when the Nationalist Party accepted the role of official opposition at Stormont for the first time since 1921.

³⁵O'Neill, p. 159.

Council of Europe in Strasborg, was asked by the Irish Republic's delegation to comment on the possibility of Irish unity. His reply confirmed that "it remained the policy of the British Government to abide by the provisions of the 1949 Ireland Act in relation to the constitutional status of Northern Ireland."³⁶

The 1968-1969 Crisis in Northern Ireland

The semi-peaceful atmosphere created by O'Neill and Lemass did not last long before it erupted with violence during the 1968-1969 Civil Rights marches. The Ulster Protestants perceived the Civil Rights marches as a threat to the Protestant ascendancy and Stormont. The "seige mentality" arose in them once again and with it recurred the old bitter Protestant-Catholic conflicts.

O'Neill advocacy of liberal policies toward the Republic of Ireland and Catholics in housing and employment was viewed as a threat to the existence of Northern Ireland by Protestant extremists and Unionists.³⁷ Reverend Paisley, of the Protestant Free Presbyterian Church, openly challenged O'Neill's liberal policies toward Catholics.

The challenge came first from within the Protestant community . . . led by Reverend Paisley. Opponents of O'Neill accused him of undermining the regime by seeking

³⁶O'Neill, p. 160.

³⁷Richard Rose, *Governing Without Consensus; An Irish Perspective* (Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 1971), p. 100.

friendship with the Republic, and by treating Catholics as potentially loyal subjects. Dr. Paisley became prominent politically during the October 1964 Westminster general election when he organized demonstrations against a Republican candidate. In 1966, Paisley organized demonstrations against the "Romeward" trend in the Presbyterian Church. The demonstrations affronted both Presbyterian dignitaries and Belfast Catholics.³⁸

As a result of these activities, Dr. Paisley was convicted for unlawful assembly and imprisoned for three months in 1966. O'Neill denounced Paisley and his followers for using "fascist movement tactics."³⁹ Paisley retorted to O'Neill's efforts to build bridges between the Protestant and Catholic communities: "A traitor and a bridge are very much alike, for they both go over to the other side."⁴⁰

The Civil Rights demonstrations continued to protest discrimination against Catholics. After two months of demonstrations, Prime Minister O'Neill made more concessions to Catholics than had been won in forty-seven years of Northern Ireland's Unionist administration. The Civil Rights marchers were still dissatisfied. On January 1, 1969, the People's Democracy planned and began a four-day march to Derry. Harassment of the marchers began shortly after the civil protestors left Belfast. The climax of the march occurred on January 4, 1969, at Burntollet Bridge

³⁸Rose, p. 101.

³⁹Richard Deutsch and Vivien Magowan, Northern Ireland, 1968-1973, A Chronology of Events, Volume I, 1963-1971 (Belfast, Northern Ireland: Blackstall Press, 1973), p. 3.

⁴⁰"Clear Lundy's Out of Stormont, Urges Paisley," Belfast Telegraph, 16 June 1966, p. 1.

outside Derry. There the Civil Rights marchers were ambushed by a crowd of Protestant extremists waiting in ambush. In the weekend that followed, the Royal Ulster Constabulary (primarily Protestants) entered the Catholic Bogside area of Derry and batoned people in the streets.

Continued demonstrations by Civil Rights marchers produced further defensive reactions by extremist elements on both sides in Northern Ireland. Disorder continued and eventually killings began on August 12, 1969, as a result of escalated tension and the scheduled annual march of the Apprentice Boys of Derry commemorating the relief of the Siege of 1689. It is difficult to determine who fired the first shot. Max Hastings, a British journalist at the scene, described it this way:

The chaos grew as some lights were knocked out by stone, the fires grew bigger, and the engagement more and more widely spread out over an area more than a mile square. It will probably never be determined who fired the first shot.⁴¹

This disorder in Londonderry and the killings in Belfast brought yet another challenge to the community and to Stormont. A contingent of 6,000 British Army troops was sent into action in the Northern Ireland Province. A "peaceline" of corrugated iron and barbed wire was later stretched for three-quarters of a mile between Protestants and Catholics in West Belfast. Soldiers patrolled it with

⁴¹Max Hastings, Barricades in Belfast: The Fight for Civil Rights in Northern Ireland (New York: Taplinger Co., 1970), p. 145.

automatic weapons ready for use against anyone who made the first move.⁴²

Reverend Ian Paisley

Within the foregoing climate the Reverend Richard Ian Kyle Paisley first emerged to the public eye. Through the work of Reverend Paisley the writer will explore the nature and role of revolutionary discourse in social change. Therefore, background on Reverend Paisley is necessary.

Reverend Paisley is one of a significant number of Ulster extremists who adhere to strong Protestant Reformation religious convictions. Born in 1926, the son of a prominent Northern Ireland Protestant minister, Dr. Paisley trained for the ministry in the Theological Hall of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Ireland.⁴³ He began preaching when he was sixteen years old.⁴⁴ In 1946 he was ordained by his father in the presence of three unorthodox clergymen.⁴⁵ He separated from the main stream of Presbyterianism in 1951 and founded the sect of Free Presbyterianism. This sect challenges the ecumenical approach of the established Protestant churches. Paisley's group quickly gained the

⁴²Rose, p. 107.

⁴³Patrick Marrinan, Paisley: Man of Wrath (Tralee, County Kerry, Republic of Ireland: Anvil Books, Ltd., 1973), p. 12.

⁴⁴Reverend Paisley's interview with Carolyn M. Hale, taped at Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina, April 5, 1975.

⁴⁵Marrinan, p. 13.

control of rank-and-file of the powerful Orange Order.⁴⁶

Reverend Paisley soon acquired a reputation as the "Bible-thumping pastor of the dockland slums."⁴⁷ His sphere of influence steadily increased and pockets of Orangeism welcomed his revivalist sermons. With approximately two hundred disciples and an abundance of self-confidence, he launched a course that was to lead to fame and ultimately he would have in his direction the destiny of thousands of his fellow citizens.

The fiery preacher of the Gospel and staunch defender of the Protestant faith eventually built the Martyrs Memorial Free Presbyterian Church of Belfast in 1967. In 1970, his congregation numbered about 50,000 members from his thirty churches throughout the Province and the collections totaled 76,200 pounds. This number of churches represents a growth of approximately two and a half times larger than in 1961 when the Church had only twelve churches scattered throughout the Province and was credited with 1,093 members in the 1961 census as contrasted with 50,000 members in 1971.⁴⁸

Reverend Paisley's Martyrs Memorial Free Presbyterian Church of Belfast is the largest Protestant Church in the United Kingdom. According to Reverend Paisley the branches of the main church in Belfast as well as attendance increased

⁴⁶Marrinan, p. 14.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Rose, p. 254.

by April, 1975:

The Church has over 40 congregations in Northern Ireland and one in the South of Ireland. As far as attendance is concerned, my own church will average 1500 on a Sunday morning and a good Sunday night it will be over 2,000 and before the trouble well up to 3,000, but then, a lot of people will not go out on Sunday evening. Yes, they are afraid.⁴⁹

These figures represent his religious followers and do not include all his followers many of whom are not on the church records.

Reverend Paisley's Free Presbyterian Church represents a viewpoint of substantial historical significance in Ulster. Its significance comes from Paisley's desire to maintain the connection between religion and politics. He does this by advocating political values and combining Protestant fundamentalist values which he argues are as relevant today as when Martin Luther nailed his 95 Theses to the church door in Wittenberg in the year 1517. In one sermon he states: "The Word of God is just as relevant today as it was in the 16th Century. Reformation came about when men obeyed the Word of God. Oh, for an obedience baptism to the Word of God."⁵⁰ Additionally, he maintains that other churches have gone astray:

The other churches have all gone wrong. They have departed from the Word of God. I preach every night and

⁴⁹Reverend Ian Paisley, interview with Carolyn M. Hale, taped at Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina, April 5, 1975.

⁵⁰Taped sermon by the Reverend Ian Paisley, Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina, April 2, 1975.

on Sundays three, often five times. Preaching the Gospel was the mission of the great men of the Reformation: Calvin, Luther, Knox. I preach as they did, to save souls. Jesus Christ was not a sissy. . . . He denounced the whited sepulchers.⁵¹

Reverend Paisley affirms that his preaching is within the continuing Protestant tradition of Ulster.

Northern Ireland politics are intricately bound up with religious questions. Not because the religious field has intruded into the political or even political has intruded into the religious, but simply because by an accident of history Ulster as we colonists see it, really is England's first colony. It was colonized by Scotch Presbyterians, and as a result this group of Protestants with the religious convictions of John Knox found themselves in an Island which had a majority Roman Catholic population. And naturally, the whole culture of the Ulster Protestant--his religious outlook, also his political outlook have been moving through that and we look upon our future as the future of the United Kingdom. We look upon our future in the United Kingdom context, rather than in an Irish context. Therefore, we're opposed to a united Ireland and want to remain a part of the United Kingdom. It might be a long way of saying it, but Protestant preachers have had a very important part to play in the political field because of this. Naturally, the Protestant people look to leadership--to their clergy. And we have had in history men like George Walker and McKenzie of Londonderry who were Presbyterian Episcopal ministers at the time of the siege. We have had such men as Henry Cooke who was a great Presbyterian leader and Hanna also--"Roaring Hanna." And also we have had in more modern days men like James Little of Castereigh Presbyterian Church. So, it's not an unusual thing for a Protestant preacher to be involved in the political situation in Northern Ireland. I believe that I fall squarely within the Protestant Ulster tradition of ministers.⁵²

Reverend Paisley's passionate crusade consists of a mixture

⁵¹Anthony Carthew, "The Rebel in Armagh Jail, The Hater in The Pulpit," The New York Time Magazine (August 9, 1970), p. 24.

⁵²Reverend Ian Paisley. Interview with Carolyn M. Hale, taped at Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina, April 5, 1975.

of fundamentalist religious principles, traditional Ulster politics, and fear. This combination does not fit the modern recipe for religion; however, the mixture is familiar to any student of the religion of the Reformation. He voiced opinions long found among the Ulster Protestant status quo.

Looking on Northern Ireland from the secular world of the 1970's, Reverend Paisley may seem on the eccentric edge of society. However, if he is considered in light of the Protestant history and status quo discourse in Northern Ireland, he is within the Protestant tradition of Ulster.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the historic roots of the Northern Ireland conflict. This historical account focused on Protestant colonization and the creation of Northern Ireland by the British Parliament. The second major emphasis of the chapter focused on the tradition of civil riots in that country, along with the crisis of the riots produced by the Civil Rights Movements in 1969-1972. Within this climate Reverend Ian Paisley emerged as a significant religious and political figure.

CHAPTER IV

REVEREND PAISLEY'S RELIGIOUS DISCOURSE

Reverend Paisley's rhetorical strategies employ six major religious themes which represent a formidable potential for disruption among citizens of Northern Ireland. Paisley pursued religious, as well as political, themes that led inevitably to confrontation between Protestants and Catholics, Protestants and their Government, Protestants and the British Army. A thematic analysis can assist to understand Paisley's impact in Northern Ireland. This chapter examines his religious discourse; the following considers his political discourse and its interrelation with the religious.

The religious themes may be classified into six general categories: (1) resurgence of Romanism, (2) constitutional freedom as Protestant freedom, (3) ecumenicalism, (4) government betrayal of Protestants, loyalties of Protestants and Catholics, (5) Orangism as a religious force, and (6) the evils of media.

Resurgence of Romanism

The first theme includes these main points: (1) the Catholic Church and popery are enemies of the truth, (2) Rome

and the Catholic Church are the anti-Christ, (3) Rome wants to rule the world, and (4) Northern Ireland is the last great bastion in the struggle against the world-wide conspiracy of Rome. The proof and elaboration of these arguments is crucial.

First, the Catholic Church and popery are enemies of the truth. Paisley believes the main factor in the Ulster conflict is "Protestantism versus Popery."¹ He believes that the times we live in are evil, and the Church is desolate. To combat this evil he thinks that God has given the Free Presbyterian Church of Northern Ireland the task to preserve the truth: "We believe that God has called the Free Presbyterian Church of Ulster to the Kingdom for such a time as this. Three great forces are arrayed against us: (1) the resurgence of Romanism, (2) the expansion of ecumenism, and (3) the curse of compromise."²

Rome and the Catholic Church are seen as the anti-Christ. Paisley affirms there is no other head of the Church but Christ; thus, the Pope cannot be the head of Christ's Church. Romanism stands for everything Protestantism is not. One is darkness and evil; the other is light and good. The anti-Christ is spearheading a conspiracy to take over the Protestant Churches.

¹Ian Paisley, "Who Is Our Enemy?" The Protestant Telegraph, 28 June 1974, p. 1.

²Ian Paisley, "The Challenge of 1966," The Revivalist, January 1966, p. 1.

Reverend Paisley believes that this world-wide conspiracy must be fought with the truth as he sees it. His truth is based in fundamental Reformational theology. A basic tenet of which is that the Catholic Church and Pope are in error. He argues that the Protestant fundamentalist values are as relevant today as they were when Martin Luther nailed his ninety-five theses to the church door in Wittenberg in 1517. "The war in Ulster is a war of survival between the opposing forces of Truth and Error, and the principles of the Reformation are as relevant today in Ulster as they were . . . in the sixteenth century."³ As a minister Paisley believes that he has a solemn obligation to defend the truth of God from the anti-Christ. To combat the evil in the world, he often preaches that we need to save denominations gone astray by restoring their proper orientation: "They have departed from the Word of God. I preach every night and on Sundays three, often five times. Preaching the gospel was the mission of great men of the Reformation: Calvin, Luther, Knox. I preach as they did, to save souls."⁴

Defense of the truth meant actively working against the Jesuits since Paisley believed they were spearheading Rome's battle. He protested the preaching of a Roman

³Ian Paisley, "Who Is Our Enemy?" The Protestant Telegraph, 28 June 1974, p. 1.

⁴Anthony Carthew, "The Rebel in Armagh Jail, The Hater in The Pulpit," The New York Times Magazine, August 9, 1970, p. 23.

Catholic priest, Thomas Corbishley, in Westminster Abbey. Corbishley was a member and former superior of Rome's Order of the Jesuits. Since the Jesuits were formed by Ignatius Loyola to combat the Reformation, Paisley thought a member of that religious order should not be in Westminster Abbey, a Protestant stronghold. He sent a personal telegram to the Queen of England protesting a Roman Catholic Priest in Westminster Abbey: "This visit constitutes a grave violation of the terms of your Coronation Oath, is contrary to the Bill of Rights and the Articles of Religion, and is an insult to the martyrs whom Rome burned. As Protestants, we reaffirm that the Pope of Rome has no jurisdiction in this realm."⁵ Convinced that the Jesuits were acting against Protestants, Paisley held a service in Ulster Hall to inform Protestants of the take over plot. He addressed over 4,000 people on "The Jesuits," warning that the ecumenical movements of the Jesuits was an attempt to destroy Protestants.⁶

This anti-Catholic theme and its component arguments are probably the most significant in Paisley's position, because the rest of his themes are closely related to them. His genuine belief that the Catholic Church is the anti-Christ rationalizes his battles, identifies his enemies,

⁵Ian Paisley, "Telegram of Protest to The Queen," The Revivalist, February 1966, p. 9.

⁶Ian Paisley, "Jesuits Spearhead Rome's Takeover of The Protestant Churches," The Revivalist, February 1966, pp. 5-8.

and channels much of his leadership. He is sincere in his belief that he is doing the will of God, that he has a part to play in Northern Ireland, and that he is doing it well: "I believe that every man in the economy of God has a place and a part to play. Whether it is a prominent part or a lesser part it is just as important in the will of God to that man and to the Almighty. And I certainly believe that I am doing God's will. But if you're saying 'Do I think I am some sort of a Messiah or Prophet?' I don't think that at all."⁷

Constitutional Freedom as Protestant Freedom

The second theme is Reverend Paisley's defense of the British Constitution, which he publicly reinforces at every opportunity. Historically, England has advocated Protestantism. The Archbishop of Canterbury is seen as one of the figureheads of Protestantism. Therefore, when Dr. Ramsey, Archbishop of Canterbury, made a visit to the Pope and the Vatican Paisley interpreted this event as a threat not only to Protestants, but also to the British Constitution which gave them their religious freedom. He traveled to Rome with an entourage to personally protest the Archbishop's visit. The BBC interviewed him upon his return from Rome with the question: "Why are you against the visit of the Archbishop to the Pope?"⁸ He gave four reasons for his protest:

⁷Ian Paisley's interview with Carolyn M. Hale. Taped at Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina, April 5, 1975.

⁸Ian Paisley, "Why We Protested," The Revivalist, April 1966, pp. 3-4.

(1) The Constitution of our land is against the visit of the Archbishop to the Pope; (2) The Articles of the Queen's Religion are against it, (Article 37 of the 39 Articles of the Church of England states: 'The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this Realm of England'); (3) History is against it; and (4) The Bible is against it. The most important of all.⁹

These four reasons comprise the primary lines of argument for Ian Paisley's defense of constitutional freedom as Protestant freedom.

Constitutional Position of Northern Ireland

Since laws are put into effect by the majority, the Constitution cannot be changed without the approval of the Protestants. Practically speaking, the laws are for the benefit of Protestants. This section elaborates the implications of this condition.

The Government of Ireland Act of 1920 created Northern Ireland and the partition in the country. The purpose of the Act was to establish two subordinate parliaments in Ireland, one for the North and one for the South. Both were to exist within the framework of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, as established by the Union with Ireland Act, 1800.¹⁰

Northern Ireland is represented in the House of Commons by twelve members. They have no representation in the House of Lords. A further Parliament was established

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ The Cameron Report, p. 101, Appendix III.

in Belfast. "By Section 1, 13, 14 and the third, fourth, and fifth Schedules a Parliament was established in Belfast with a House of Commons consisting of the Lord Mayor of Belfast, the Mayor of Londonderry and twenty-four Senators to be elected by the House of Commons."¹¹ The main legislative power is with the Parliament of the United Kingdom; however, Section 5 "contains restrictions upon the power to interfere with religion or religious bodies."¹²

Later the Ireland Act 1949 reaffirmed the position of Northern Ireland in the United Kingdom: "It is hereby declared that Northern Ireland remains part of His Majesty's dominions and of the United Kingdom and it is hereby affirmed that in no event will Northern Ireland or any part thereof cease to be part of . . . the United Kingdom without the consent of the Parliament of Northern Ireland."¹³ Although the Parliament of Northern Ireland performs many parliamentary functions in that country, nevertheless it does occupy constitutionally a subordinate position in the United Kingdom. The Constitution does not specifically mention a Protestant position within the community of Northern Ireland, but Paisley consistently refers to the wishes of the majority in Northern Ireland which is Protestant.

The Protestant Telegraph runs a column which prints

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.

statements from old Protestant loyal and constitutional publications. He states that the "country which faces the future forgetful of the lessons of its past is committing national suicide. We cannot, we dare not, we will not be unfaithful to our glorious past."¹⁴ One such document is Ulster's Solemn League and Covenant; Protestant in orientation, it was signed by Northern Ireland's forebears:

Being convinced in our consciences that Home Rule would be disastrous to the material well-being of Ulster as well as of the whole of Ireland, subversive of our civil and religious freedom, destructive of our citizenship and perilous to the unity of the Empire, we, whose names are underwritten, men of Ulster, loyal subjects of His Gracious . . . George V, humbly relying on the God whom our fathers in days of stress and trial confidently trusted, do hereby pledge ourselves in solemn Covenant . . . to stand by one another in defending for ourselves and our children our cherished position of equal citizenship in the United Kingdom and in using all means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland.

And in the event of such a Parliament being forced upon us we further solemnly and mutually pledge ourselves to refuse to recognize its authority.¹⁵

This document gained acceptance through the strong leadership of Sir Edward Carson, a lawyer who fought for the exclusion of the six counties of Northern Ireland from Irish Home Rule, with the slogan "Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right."¹⁶ Home Rule almost passed Parliament. Outside Parliament,

¹⁴Ian Paisley, "I Believe It," The Protestant Telegraph, 28 May, 1966, p. 3.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Maire and Conor Cruise O'Brien, A Concise History of Ireland (London, England: Jarrold and Sons, Ltd., 1972), pp. 132-133.

however, opposition to Home Rule was fundamentally opposed by the Ulster Protestants. For them, "Home Rule" meant "Rome Rule" and the above Covenant must be understood within that context.

The issues of "Rome Rule" surfaced again when Prime Minister O'Neill began talks with Sean Lemass, President of the Irish Republic. Paisley led the battle-cry of "O'Neill Must Go!"¹⁷ He interpreted the Prime Minister's intentions as treacherous policies which would lead to the destruction of Ulster through destruction of the Constitution. Paisley believed the task of all loyalists was to dedicate themselves to O'Neill's removal from office and never surrender their Protestant principles: "The principles of Protestantism are too precious to Ulster to be sacrificed on the altar of political appeasement. These principles Ulster Protestants will NEVER, NEVER SURRENDER!"¹⁸

The stance of "No Surrender" becomes stronger for the Ulsterman when he opposes Article 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of Ireland. This article lays claim to the territory of Northern Ireland: "The national territory consists of the whole island of Ireland, its islands, and the territorial seas."¹⁹ To a loyal Ulsterman such a

¹⁷Ian Paisley, "O'Neill Must Go!" The Protestant Telegraph, 2 July 1966, p. 1.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Great Britain, Parliament, Parliamentary Debates (Commons), 5th series, 846 (1972): 97.

statement means that the Republic is out to control him and his country. The Ulster Protestants perceive such language as a sure road to religious dictatorship by the Government of the Irish Republic. Since the Republic is 95% Catholic, the Protestants would automatically be the minority group. Paisley perceived O'Neill's talks with Lemass as a papist conspiracy and a betrayal of Reformation principles. "War has been declared against the Protestants and their rights . . . a war in which O'Neill is to use the police for support of a religious dictatorship. As the Protestants are vilified and planned against, the Papist savages of the markets are both excused and exonerated."²⁰

Paisley perceived further repression when the British Parliament removed the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) and the B-Specials. The most essential of all their powers was lost: control of law enforcement, or the control "of the state's apparatus of coercion."²¹ When Parliament intervened in the internal affairs of Northern Ireland, they were breaking a convention of a "hands-off policy" established for decades. When the British Army crushed Protestant riots and searched their homes for arms, the Protestants experienced some of the conditions Catholics had known for so long: being governed against their will. Paisley protested this act of interference by the British Government. "The

²⁰ Ian Paisley, "R.C.s Savagely Attack Protestant Parade," The Protestant Telegraph, 18 June 1966, p. 1.

²¹ Conor Cruise O'Brien, States of Ireland (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), p. 182.

Government disbanded the Ulster Special Constabulary. Therefore, the Government has a duty to put something in the place of the armed police."²²

RUC originally was formed by legislation to preserve peace in Northern Ireland. The Special Powers Act of 1922 gave the police vast powers. The Protestants through their strong political regime used this police force to quell Catholic riots or any person who acted seditiously against the newly formed state. Catholics, for the most part, never accepted the new state.

During the crisis of 1968-1969, the Government removed the Special Powers Act. Paisley accused the Government of lack of citizen protection. "Ulstermen would like to be entrusted with the defense of their property. For years RUC and the 'B-Specials' have had this responsibility. The answer to civil disobedience and terrorism is a localized police force . . . in taking away our local government (Stormont), this House caused a change in local government and civil disobedience."²³ Since some sections of the community received no protection from the lawless element of society, the protection of Parliament was even more important.

²²Great Britain, Parliament, Parliamentary Debates (Commons), 5th series, 823 (1971): 282.

²³The Cameron Report, p. 104, Appendix III. Briefly this gives the Minister of Home Affairs powers "to take all such steps and issue all such orders as may be necessary for preserving the peace and maintaining the order. . . ."

The Catholic citizens complained that they were discriminated against by the RUC since the force was only Protestants. Paisley concurred: "The Royal Ulster Constabulary cannot become an across the spectrum police force including Protestants and Catholics."²⁴ He centered his arguments around the oath the Royal Ulster Constabulary members must take. It is a potential irritant to the Catholic because he must swear allegiance to the British Crown. Protestants easily declare their loyalty; Catholics will not take the oath because Britain is a foreign power. Therefore, Protestants feel Catholics cannot be part of the police force.²⁵ This is significant because Paisley seems to be saying "not everyone deserves protection." All citizens who are loyal deserve protection. Protestants are loyal; therefore, they deserve protection. The citizens who support The Republic are not loyal; they deserve no protection.

Reverend Paisley's argument from the Constitution is a strong one: Northern Ireland is part of the United Kingdom by majority choice--Protestant majority; Ulster's Covenant is Protestant; the Royal Ulster Constabulary is Protestant created for the protection of loyal citizens--Protestants; and the Special Powers Act was created to keep peace in the community--peace that only Protestants were willing to keep.

²⁴Great Britain, Parliament, Parliamentary Debates (Commons) 5th series, 855 (1973): 432.

²⁵Ibid.

Bill of Rights

Reverend Paisley also bases his protests on England's Bill of Rights. Every Protestant, he contends, should be conversant with its terms. Its essence is that the Protestant British Kingdom cannot be ruled by a popish King or Queen and those who profess the Catholic religion, or marry a papist are excluded from the rights of the Crown and the Government of the United Kingdom. Further, Protestants are absolved of all allegiance to the Crown if it becomes Catholic.²⁶

The head of the Church of England is the Queen. The Clerical Head is the Archbishop of Canterbury. When the Archbishop visited the Pope, Paisley viewed the visit as the first vital step to unite the Church of England and the Catholic Church of Rome. If this occurred then the Queen of England would be papist, and the entire Protestant Constitution would be in danger. "The Archbishop is a traitor--a traitor to the Constitution--and I charge him and indict him of high-treason against this realm."²⁷

For Paisley, the Bill of Rights was the great result of the advent of William III, Prince of Orange, to England and the keystone of the Glorious Revolution Settlement. He believes this to be all Protestants' heritage and they should

²⁶Ian Paisley, "Why We Protested," The Revivalist, April 1966, p. 3.

²⁷Ibid.

"contend to death for it."²⁸ Although some critics accuse Reverend Paisley of being just a politician, the evidence indicates he is fighting a religious battle even if his opponents are fighting a political one.

Reverend Paisley assumes that if the Pope is welcomed in England it will be the end of Britain as a Protestant nation. Article 37 of the 39 Articles of the Church of England and Ireland states: "The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England."²⁹ Not only does Paisley believe the Romanists are attempting to destroy the Protestant throne but also attempting to violate the Coronation Oath. The violation is especially obvious in the ecumenical conferences between Anglicans and Romanists. Paisley affirmed that these conferences contribute an attempt to destroy the Coronation Oath. The Coronation Oath which safeguards the Protestant Throne of Britain was placed in jeopardy, according to Paisley, when the Vatican announced that "preliminary talks aimed at uniting the world's 550,000,000 Roman Catholics and 45,000,000 Anglicans will be held in Italy next January. . . ."³⁰

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ian Paisley, "Plot to Destroy Coronation Oath," The Protestant Telegraph, 19 November 1966, p. 1.

Argument from History

Paisley's historical arguments are rooted in the actions of the religious leaders of the Protestant Reformation when Martin Luther was excommunicated from the Catholic Church. He often quotes the voices of the Protestant martyrs from history; for example, he uses the famous speech at the Stake of Thomas Cranmer, the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury: "And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefore: for, may I come to the fire, it shall be first burned; and as for the Pope, I refuse him Christ's enemy and AntiChrist with all his false doctrines."³¹

The historic struggle between Catholics and Protestants is clear in Reverend Paisley's book The Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Specifically, the book reminds the world of the "struggle between Protestants and Rome." In this struggle over 70,000 Protestants were massacred by Catholics. Paisley thus demonstrates that association with Catholics brings destruction and that the price of Protestant liberty is "incalculable and that to preserve it there must always be eternal vigilance."³² In 1966 Paisley claimed Protestants must never surrender because liberty flows from Protestantism, while tyranny reigns where popery rules.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ian Paisley, The Massacre of St. Bartholomew (Belfast, Northern Ireland: Puritan Printing Co., Ltd., 1972), p. xi.

Thus Protestantism and popery cannot be reconciled.³³ Ten years later in 1976 he still equated Romanism with tyranny and satanic sin. He states: "that behind Romanism and Communism, and ecumenicalism and the New Evangelicalism, and the Neo-Pentacostalism of our day . . . there lies the satanics' kind of sin. We're not wrestling against flesh and blood. We're wrestling against principalities and powers. We've got a fight on our hands."³⁴ His pulpit messages are constant reminders that the Protestants are still wrestling a religious battle for their rights.

The heroes of the religious battle are Martin Luther, John Knox, John Calvin, and William Tyndale. They took a strong stand for biblical inspiration of the Scriptures and for separation from the apostasy of the Catholic Church. Paisley thinks these men should be imitated; and he is the first example as he prays the prayer of the reformers: "May God make us all reformers."³⁵

Historically, Paisley's arguments are filled with references to Protestant battles. The Battle of the Boyne is repeatedly mentioned in his messages, and he intertwines the political battle cries of 1690 with religion.

³³Ian Paisley, "Protestant Viewpoint," Protestant Telegraph, 28 May, 1966, p. 1.

³⁴Ian Paisley, "The Works of The Devil," Tape #25, 1976 Bible Conference, Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina.

The Battle Cries of 1690 are as relevant today; time has not altered our beliefs nor has it removed our eternal enemy--the system of Romanism. We are living in a crisis hour and more battles lie ahead. May we be fully equipped to meet the enemy--read Ephesians Chapter 6--and may all Ulster's Loyal sons be prepared for the eternity that lies ahead.

We salute, William's Glorious, Pious, and Immortal Memory.³⁶

One of the ironies of Reverend Paisley's esteem of William III of Orange as a Protestant defender is that historians, contrarily, believe William III's primary interest was power, and not religion. One of the primary scholars of the Revolution of 1688, Maurice Ashley, has written that William of Orange came to England to redress the balance of power and that he was "neither the friend of popular liberties nor the champion of the Protestant religion. His enterprize was directed against France, and it had the approval of Spain, the Pope, and the emperor."³⁷ No less personage than Sir Winston Churchill affirms that William's concerns were politics and power, not religion. His statesmanship was two-sided: Protestant and Catholic, but for political reasons, not religious ones. Churchill affirms that William displayed philosophic impartiality. Protestants, Catholics,

³⁵ Ian Paisley, "The Protestant Reformers: Martin Luther, John Knox, Volume I," Sermon Classics. Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina: Unusual Records, 1972.

³⁶ Ian Paisley, "Remember 1690," The Protestant Telegraph, 12 July 1975, p. 1.

³⁷ Maurice Ashley, "King James II and The Revolution of 1688: Some Reflections on The Historiography," Historical Essays, 1600-1750 Presented to David Ogg (London: Adam and Charles Black, n.d.: reprint ed., edited by H. E. Bell and R. L. Ollard, 1963), p. 197.

Jews, and infidels were all the same to him. "He dreaded and hated Gallican Catholicism less because it was to him idolatrous than because it was French. He employed Catholic officers without hesitation when they would serve his purpose. . . . he beat the Protestant drum in England and Ireland, he had potent influence with the Pope. . . ." ³⁸

But despite scholarly contention, Paisley reminds his audience of Rome's hatred toward Protestants by citing various years of the Glorious Twelfth when popists allegedly attacked them. He illustrates the opposition their Protestant forebearers encountered by recalling the place and date: "Lurgan, 1796; Stewartstown, 1797; Coleraine, 1801; Bandon, 1809; Dublin, 1822; County Tyrone, 1829; Maghera and Castledawson, 1830; Belfast, 1835; Dolly's Brae, 1849; and Belfast, 1935." ³⁹

The Glorious Twelfth, commemorating the Battle of the Boyne, is the major triumphal rite among a number of lesser parades and ceremonies. After this massive parade and pageant goes on the following day at Scarva Castle in Northern Ireland. Here the annual Battle of the Boyne is reenacted in full costume. ⁴⁰ Such an annual event held by

³⁸Winston S. Churchill, A History of The English-Speaking Peoples; vol. 3: The Age of Revolution (New York: Bantam Books, 1974), pp. 3-4.

³⁹Ian Paisley, "Rome's Hatred of The Glorious Twelfth," The Protestant Telegraph, 6 July 1968, p. 11.

⁴⁰Jill and Leon Uris, Ireland: A Terrible Beauty (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1975), pp. 186-190.

Protestants would affect them even as children. A mock battle would live in the child's memory plus the honor of eventually participating in "The Battle." This event keeps alive old hatreds and bitter memories.

A parade of equal importance to Protestants is held in Londonderry (known to Catholics as Derry): The Apprentice Boys Parade on August 12th. Londonderry is more than a city, it is a symbol of the spirit of Protestant Ulster. The long siege of Londonderry by King James II Catholic Army and the relief brought to Protestants by King William's Protestant Fleet in 1689 are at the center of Ulster Protestant religion and patriotism along with the Battle of the Boyne. Historian O'Brien sees the city as a holy place for Protestants much as the Jews look upon Jerusalem as a holy city. "Northern Ireland itself lives in siege: the image of besieged Derry, with the promise of its deliverance, is a far more poignant symbol for it than the wilted glory of the Boyne."⁴¹

Londonderry's seventeenth-century walls still stand, and with them the siege symbolism is part of the city's contemporary life. The small area within the walls is Protestant. The majority of the citizens, Catholics, are outside the walls in the Bogside ghetto. Each year when the Protestants parade on August 12th, they parade triumphantly atop the walls looking down on Catholics who were the

⁴¹O'Brien, pp. 176-177.

unsuccessful besiegers from long ago. Parading and singing inflammatory songs, the heat of ancient battles is kept alive. The standard of the following lyrics gives some idea of just how far the people go in their righteous wrath:

The Protestant Boys

The Protestant boys are loyal and true,
Stout-hearted in battle, and stout-handed to:
The Protestant boys are true to the last,
And faithful and peaceful when danger has passed.

Derry's Walls

. . . For blood did flow in crimson streams,
On many a winter's night.
They knew the Lord was on their side,
To help them in the fight.

. . . At last, at last with one broadside
Kind heaven sent them aid. . . .

A Rope, A Rope To Hang The Pope

A rope, a rope
Tae hang the Pope!
A pennyworth o' cheese
Tae choke him!
A pint o' lamp oil
Tae wrench it down
And a big hot give
Tae roast him!

When I was sick,
And very, very sick,
And very near a dying,
The only thing that raised me up
Was to see
The old whore frying.⁴²

Or consider some of the poetry as well as the songs:

Scarlet Church of all uncleanness,
Sink thou to deep abyss,
To the orgies of obscenity
Where the hell-bound furies hiss;
Where thy father Satan's eye
May hail thee, blood-stained Papacy!

⁴²Uris and Uris, p. 180.

Harlot: Cease thy midnight rambles,
 Prowling for the life of saints,
 Henceforth sit in hellish shambles
 Where the scent of murder taints
 Every gale that passeth by,
 Ogre, ghoul of Papacy!⁴³

Thus, Paisley uses the following points of history in his messages: (1) Protestants reformers, particularly Luther, Knox, Calvin, and Tyndale; and (2) Protestant battles, especially the Battle of the Boyne and the Apprentice Siege of Londonderry.

The most important historical proof is from the Bible. Paisley believes that the entire Protestant heritage is centered on the proof of the Holy Scriptures: "The charter foundation of our Protestant Heritage is the Bible--the impregnable, imperishable Word of the living God."⁴⁴ Opposition to God's Word is evil, Satan ridden, and has its origin in Hell. The papacy has an anti-Bible history and attempts to destroy the true, inspired Word of God--the Bible.

The Bible states clearly that Christ offered one full, final, and never-to-be-repeated sacrifice for our sins forever, and that salvation is not through the Romish sacrament of the Mass, but through the redeeming sacrifice of the Mediator.⁴⁵

In summary of this section, Reverend Paisley's defense of constitutional freedom centered around three main topics:

⁴³Ibid., p. 181.

⁴⁴Ian Paisley, "Our Protestant Heritage," The Protestant Telegraph, 17 December 1966, p. 3.

⁴⁵Ian Paisley, "Why We Protested," The Revivalist, April 1966, p. 4.

(1) the Constitutional position of Northern Ireland; (2) the Bill of Rights; and (3) history. This second general theme and its subordinate arguments are closely tied to the first general theme, Romanism and the papacy. He defends anti-Romanism on constitutional principles, and these principles are rooted in Protestantism and the theology of the Reformation from his perspective. The message induces fears which create unrest and awaken an old spectre to the Protestant: Rome will destroy him as an individual and his free society as well. The inarticulate Ulsterman then looks gratefully to Reverend Paisley to articulate his fears, his threats, and his demands.

Ecumenicalism

The third theme is ecumenicalism, what Paisley believes is the curse of compromise in the twentieth century. Reverend Paisley thinks if one follows the Ecumenical Movement, then all roads of compromise lead to Rome. These areas of compromise are identified by Paisley: (1) Archbishop Ramsey is the first compromiser of the great apostasy; (2) the Reverend Billy Graham is a papal agent spearheading the Protestant Ecumenical Movement; (3) the Bible is compromised by using other translations than the King James Version; and (4) the World Council of Churches aims to unify with Rome. Before looking at the compromises, the Ecumenical Movement deserves a closer look.

The history of the Christian Church has constantly

been marked by two major drives, toward expansion and toward integration. In the nineteenth century, the theme of expansion was dominant among the Protestant world. The twentieth century saw movements toward consolidation. The term "Ecumenical Movement" is a generic one which refers to a whole range of movements and tendencies toward reunion, not all of them wholly consistent with each other."⁴⁶ Of greatest importance in Protestant affairs, the Ecumenical Movement has also involved a number of the Eastern Orthodox Churches. The Roman Catholic Church, however, took no official part in ecumenical discussion or action. This uncompromising attitude kept the door to Catholic participation closed. Recently there was a change because of the Decree on Ecumenism at Vatican II. The Decree is remarkable because the focus is more on a "pilgrim Church moving toward Christ than on a movement of return to the Catholic Church."⁴⁷ This is the first Catholic document to speak of "non-Catholic Christians."

Everywhere, large numbers have felt the impulse of this grace, and among our separated brethren also there increases from day to day a movement, fostered by the grace of the Holy Spirit, for the restoration of unity among all Christians. Taking part in this movement, which is called ecumenical, are those who invoke the Triune God and confess Jesus as Lord and Savior.⁴⁸

⁴⁶Williston Walker, A History of The Christian Church, revised edition (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959), p. 538.

⁴⁷Walter M. Abbott, S. J., editor, The Documents of Vatican II (New York: The American Press, 1966), pp. 336-366.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 342.

Among other things, the Council made a remarkable admission of guilt on both sides. Article 3 states this:

But in subsequent centuries more widespread disagreements appeared and quite large Communities became separated from full communion with the Catholic Church--developments for which at times, men of both sides were to blame. . . . one cannot impute the sin of separation to those who at present are born into these Communities and are instilled therein with Christ's faith. The Catholic Church accepts them with respect and affection as brothers. For men who believe in Christ and have been properly baptized are brought into a certain, though imperfect, communion with the Catholic Church.⁴⁹

Since the Decree is more concerned with a movement toward Christ than Rome, from a Protestant angle this is a fresh orientation of the highest consequence. It allows for creative possibilities between Protestants and Catholics.

The Ecumenical Movement has reflected the new theological moods and, in turn, has served as a transmitter of them. Reverend Paisley opposes the group as the great compromiser. Archbishop Ramsey's visit to Pope Paul VI was interpreted as the beginning of the great apostasy foretold in the Scripture: "From now on it can be said that the purpose of the Ecumenical Movement is to bring the Protestant Churches back to Rome."⁵⁰

The next major compromiser seen is the Reverend Billy Graham. Paisley has written a book called: Billy Graham and the Church of Rome: A Startling Exposure. He accuses Graham

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 345.

⁵⁰ Ian Paisley, "Dr. Ramsey: The Modern Judas," The Revivalist, April 1966, p. 8.

of being a papal agent and consorting with the Catholic Church. Although Graham was once a true fundamentalist, Paisley believes he has now departed from the true faith. "The book is a record of a tragedy--the tragedy of a great preacher of the Holy Gospel who has been side tracked into the by-path meadow of compromise and declension."⁵¹

Paisley also infers that the Reverend Billy Graham's departure from the Bible prepared the way for his cooperation and fellowship with the Church of Rome. He believes that Graham's willingness to cooperate with the Church of Rome makes him the ideal candidate to head Rome's takeover of the world.

His (Rev. Graham) declared policy of not emphasizing the Blood of Christ as the Only Way of Salvation makes him more than acceptable to Rome with her system of continual masses.

His sending his converts back to Mother Church makes him an able tool of the Jesuits.

His declaration that the gospel he preaches is the same as Rome's gospel identifies him fully with the system of the papacy.

His endorsement and support of the false ecumenical movement make him an ideal front man for the spearheading of Rome's ultimate Unity programme.⁵²

Underlying this message, to Paisley, is Graham's biblical error. To these Ian Paisley speaks at length. Since Graham is more well known than other Protestant ministers, Paisley's attack of Graham certainly brings not only Paisley's

⁵¹Ian Paisley, Billy Graham and The Church of Rome: A Startling Exposure (Belfast, Northern Ireland: Martyrs Free Presbyterian Church, 1970), p. ii.

⁵²Ibid., pp. 59-60.

message to a larger audience but also direct personal attention to himself. Also it is important the Reverend Graham graduated with an undergraduate degree from Bob Jones University--the university which supports Paisley. The more he discredits Graham's errors, the larger audience he gains as the primary preacher of truth.

The third compromise seen by Reverend Paisley is the use of any Bible translation but the King James Version. His attack is directed at The Common Bible, Revised Standard Version. He affirms that The Common Bible is a result of ecumenicalism; consequently there are additions, omissions, and alterations to the true Word of God.⁵³ The object of The Common Bible is to sponsor and further the aims of the ecumenical leaders and advance to the One World Church. Paisley writes:

As the object of the World Council of Churches is to reverse the Reformation and bring in the Pope as the Head of a new Unity Church Council and eventually have Union with Rome the publication of The Common Bible is one of the most important and epoch-making steps to that end.⁵⁴

Even more strongly Paisley believes this version to be the Bible of the Antichrist.

When I call The Common Bible Ecumenical Edition (C.B.) Revised Standard Version (R.S.V.) the Bible of the Antichrist I am asserting that it is the Book preeminately

⁵³Ian Paisley, The Bible of The Antichrist (Belfast, Northern Ireland: Martyrs Memorial Productions, 1973), pp. 6-8.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 12.

of the system and strategy of the Antichrist, his rule of faith and practice.

I use this in the sense it has been used by the great body of Protestant interpreters as depicting one who pretends to the authority and acts as the Vicar (i.e., substitute) of Christ. In this sense it applies to the Pope of Rome or the papal system as sustained in the Roman Catholic Church.⁵⁵

Versions other than the King James Version of the Bible are probably threatening to Paisley's thinking because if there is an alternate way of thinking about Scripture interpretation, might there not also be alternate ways of thinking about other religious issues. Since he is a self-confessed evangelical, his position would be weakened if he accepted another version. One survey indicates that nearly 80 percent of the Protestant people believe the Bible literally and that 85-90 percent go to church regularly.⁵⁶ These people believe the Bible is the divinely spoken Word of God. Those who believe it and the man who preaches its message will live eternally; those who do not believe it will be condemned eternally. Since Paisley and his audience believe the Bible literally, his influence has a spin-off effect into other areas.

Compromise in Biblical Protestantism is significant because without constant reminders of the Protestant forefathers who exalted the Scriptures, his contemporary audience

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 1.

⁵⁶Richard Rose, Governing Without Consensus: An Irish Perspective (Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 1971), pp. 100-110.

might compromise some of the Protestant Ulster heritage. A willingness on the part of many Protestants to compromise with Catholics would not only mean a weakening of the Protestant religion but also Protestant power in every sphere of society. Paisley has convinced his co-religionists that Northern Ireland is the last bastion of Protestantism in Europe and that the Free Presbyterian Church of Ulster has been chosen to lead the battle against the evils of the day: Romanism, compromise, and ecumenism.

October is the month in which we remember the sacrifice paid by the Reformers when they were martyred for the Faith, and the heritage that they secured we now possess today in Ulster--the last bastion of Biblical Protestantism in Europe.

Leading the Fundamental Churches in Ulster in the Battle for Reformation Truths is our own Free Church, and this same month marks the first anniversary of the Moderator's Church--the Martyrs Memorial.⁵⁷

The World Council of Churches' decision to fellowship with Rome was seen as the final compromise. He states that the Council's aim is to unify with the Church of Rome. Paisley equates the spirit of Ecumenicalism with the spirit of the Inquisition. Reverend Paisley refers to the World Council of Churches as "Apostate Denominationalism."⁵⁸

⁵⁷Ian Paisley, "20th Century Reformation," The Revivalist, October 1970, p. 1.

⁵⁸Ian Paisley, "Apostate Denominationalism," Protestant Telegraph, 13 December, 1975, p. 3. Paisley condemns these groups: Baptist Union of Great Britain & Ireland, Churches of Christ in Great Britain, Union of Welsh Independents, United Reformed Church of England & Wales, The Salvation Army, Presbyterian Church of Wales, Presbyterian Church in Ireland, Congregational Union of Scotland, Church of England, Church of Scotland, Church of Wales, Methodist Church, Moravian Union, Methodist Church in Ireland, and Episcopal Church in Scotland.

He believes when the aim of the WCC is accomplished, the Age of the Inquisition via the Catholic Church would reign in the twenty-first century.⁵⁹

The International Council of Christian Churches, of which Reverend Paisley is the Vice President, challenged the "Apostasy" by formation of the British Council of Protestant Christian Churches. In addition to upholding the principles of Reformation Faith, anti-ecumenicalism is one of their main tenets.⁶⁰ This group defends Paisley's religious protests. They are in agreement with him that fundamental Biblical Protestantism must be defended as the martyr faith. "Protestantism is the martyr faith and a faith that can stand up to the fire is the faith indeed."⁶¹

In summary, Reverend Paisley's discourse defines the Curse of Compromise: Ecumenicalism is the greatest enemy of the Protestant faith because it applies to self-confessed Christians who do not take the Scriptures literally.

Government Betrayal of Protestants

The fourth theme is betrayal of Protestants by the Government of Northern Ireland. As early as 1966 Reverend Paisley was making pronouncements that the Protestants were

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ian Paisley, "British Council of Protestant Christian Churches Formed," The Revivalist, May 1966, p. 1.

⁶¹ Ian Paisley, "This We Will Maintain," The Protestant Telegraph, 19 November 1966, p. 4.

betrayed by its leaders. Accusations of betrayal were directed toward certain people: Prime Minister O'Neill of Northern Ireland; Dr. Ramsey, The Archbishop of Canterbury; Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip; and the British Government.

Paisley's cry of "Betrayal" began first with Terence O'Neill because he met secretly with the President of the Irish Republic Sean Lemass. Although the two leaders discussed similar economic possibilities for the benefit of the whole of Ireland, north or south, it was seen by the status quo rhetoric of Paisley as betrayal of constitutional principles:

The Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, Captain O'Neill has gone back on the principle of the Unionist Party and broke his own pledge to Ulster that Mr. Lemass would get nowhere with him until he recognized the constitution of our province. Mr. Lemass, the would-be destroyer of our country, the harbourer of the I.R.A. murderers and the puppet of the Rome Catholic hierarchy, has been secretly welcomed to Stormont by . . . O'Neill.⁶²

Paisley interlinked O'Neill's efforts at economic compromise with political and religious betrayal. Elected representatives would have no voice in the important decisions that affected their lives. Once again, Paisley found the root of the problem to be ecumenical.

It is . . . evident that the Ecumenists, both political and ecclesiastical, are selling us. Every Ulster Protestant must . . . resist these leaders and let it be known that they will not sit by while these modern

⁶²Ian Paisley, "The Great Betrayal," The Revivalist, February-March 1965, p. 1.

Lundies pursue their political treachery. Ulster expects every Protestant in his hour of crisis to do his duty. Let Rome take notice that she may have the traitors or her friends but that the rank and file will never bow the knee to her Priests, Politicians, or Pope.⁶³

This national betrayal of Protestants, as seen by Reverend Paisley, deepened when Dr. Ramsey not only visited the Pope, but publicly embraced him. Of this act, Paisley commented: "This embrace is called by official Vatican sources 'the embrace of peace.' Arch-traitor Ramsey is thus publicly to repudiate the war which the martyred bishops declared on Rome and to capitulate to the supremacy of the Anti-Christ."⁶⁴

Undaunted, Paisley wrote a series of protest letters to the Queen and Prince Philip. One letter to Prince Philip protests the Prince's statement that "man has made himself independent of God."⁶⁵ Paisley challenged this statement by affirming that the people of the British Isles did believe in God and the infallibility of the Holy Scriptures. He added the statement was "blasphemous," and concluded with "Our nation has fallen low enough without Her Majesty's Consort advocating a philosophy which is so forthrightly condemned in the second Psalm."⁶⁶

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Ian Paisley, "Archbishop of Canterbury Publicly to Give Pope Embrace of Peace in Rome," Revivalist, March 1966, p. 1.

⁶⁵Ian Paisley, "The Protest Letter," Revivalist, 25 July 1968, p. 2.

⁶⁶Ibid.

Further betrayal was seen when Queen Elizabeth made preparations to receive Cardinal Marty, the Roman Catholic Primate of France. Paisley and members of the British Council of Protestant Christian Churches protested the Queen's action at Buckingham Palace. The protest was concluded when Paisley handed in the following petition to the Queen:

Your Majesty,

The British Council of Protestant Christian Churches learned with alarm of the proposal by your advisors to associate Your Majesty with the ecumenical movement and its grave and sad betrayals of the revolution settlement, by which your throne was established. The Book of Common Prayer of the Protestant and Reformed Church of England, of which you are the head, states clearly that the Pope of Rome has no jurisdiction in this realm. The visit of Cardinal Marty to Your Majesty, in what has been publicly called an ecumenical exercise, is but a further attempt by the ecumenists and Romanists of this country to destroy the foundations of your . . . throne.

.....
In defense . . . of the revolution settlement, the Bill of Rights and our glorious Reformation heritage, we submit this petition and call for the cancellation of Cardinal Marty's visit, so that your Protestant subjects may not be outraged by Jesuitry.⁶⁷

The final betrayal was the royal patronage of major discussions between the Church of England and the Church of Rome. These unity talks were to take place in the Royal Chapel of Saint George at Windsor. Reverend Paisley described this event as a black beginning for the decade of the 1970's.

Ever since the Reformation, Rome has set her sights upon the recovery of Britain to the Papal fold. Until recently she made . . . little progress. . . . However,

⁶⁷Ian Paisley, "Queen to Receive Roman Cardinal," Revivalist, February 1970, p. 1.

in our times the ecumenical movement has sought to betray the land--once a citadel of Protestant liberty--into the hands of her unchanging foe. There is every reason to believe that Jesuit infiltrators have wormed their way into positions of prominence in the ecumenical movement, especially in the Church of England, and have been largely instrumental in the sellout of Protestantism.⁶⁸

In addition to concessions given to Rome, Paisley believes that the British Government has also given concessions to the Irish Republican Army. An unusual mixture results when Paisley creates the interlinkage of British Government, ecumenists, and the I.R.A.

There are only two ways in which an end to violence can come in our Province: (1) by the defeat, disarming, and destruction of the IRA terrorists; and (2) by a series of concessions to the IRA leading to negotiations between the IRA and the British Government which can only lead to the further betrayal of Ulster loyalists and the long term achievement of the IRA's objective--a United Ireland.

The ecumenical clergy have rejected the first and are now spearheading the implementation of the second.⁶⁹

Paisley interlocks these seemingly irreconcilable groups with the Roman Catholic Church. The tie that binds is the objective of the IRA and the Catholic Church: a united Catholic Ireland. "The Cardinal's objectives and the IRA objectives are one and the same, a Roman Catholic controlled United Ireland. The Church of Rome is quite happy in Ireland to support the IRA terrorists and to harvest any results which

⁶⁸Ian Paisley, "Royal Patronage of Romanist Plot," Revivalist, January 1970, p. 1.

⁶⁹Ian Paisley, "Statement of the Presbytery of Ulster of the Free Presbyterian Church," Revivalist, January 1975, p. 1.

may come from their reign of terror."⁷⁰

Paisley repeatedly advocates total integration of Northern Ireland into the United Kingdom. He affirms that every loyalist resents efforts to be placed in an all United Republic. He particularly condemns Article 44 of the Constitution of the Republic which recognizes: "The special position of the Holy Apostolic and Roman Church as the guardian of the Faith professed by the great majority of the citizens."⁷¹ It would be difficult to find an article more likely to stiffen the backs and minds of Ulster Protestants.

The present Constitution of the Republic is repugnant to Protestants, and most would not approve it. Reverend Paisley's comments in regard to Article 44 reflect the Protestant position.

There is no use in changing Article 44 of the Irish Republic Constitution for it only states a fact: that the vast majority of citizens of southern Ireland are Roman Catholics. If they want to write that into the Constitution, they are entitled to do so. But if they vote Article 44 out of existence, they should not think that the people of Northern Ireland will then be taken into the South, for they will not. The people of Northern Ireland will still want to go on their own road. As long as they have the majority the real safeguard for the people of Northern Ireland is not the border poll or any resolution passed in this House, but their own majority.⁷²

Paisley gives evidence that it is the Catholics who

⁷⁰Ian Paisley, "Statement of the Presbytery of Ulster of the Free Presbyterian Church," The Revivalist, December 1974, p. 15.

⁷¹O'Brien, p. 120.

⁷²Great Britain, Parliament, Parliamentary Debates (Commons), 5th series, 846 (1972): 1132.

have benefitted more from the British Government than the Protestants. The plight of the poor class of Protestants is worse than that of the Catholics. The Roman Catholics have their own schools. "The Government of Northern Ireland paid 80 percent of their land to build, own, and have for schooling. In the field of Education 100 percent of the Nuns and Christian Brothers salaries have been paid by Northern Ireland's Government and it was given to the Catholic Church. The Catholics have not been mistreated. The worst housing is in Sandy Row--a Protestant area."⁷³

The significance of the betrayal theme is that Reverend Paisley has a very real vested interest in preserving things the way they are. Prime Minister O'Neill's modest reforms toward the Catholics might result in a major reform or, worse, be employed in a significant government position. This would upset the Protestant majority--a Protestant might even vote for a Catholic. Dr. Ramsey's fellowship with the Pope might set an example for other Christians. And if Protestants and Catholics fellowshipped with one another religiously, then the social is not far behind. In Northern Ireland religious groups do not mix socially. If that came about the community would be more open to change. British conciliatory efforts toward the IRA and the World Council of Churches could result in support for a United

⁷³ Ian Paisley, "Situation in Northern Ireland," Tape, 21 April 1972, Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina.

Ireland. In each instance Reverend Paisley's refuge is threatened. To compromise on a religious or political level in Northern Ireland is to weaken the Protestant fortress. Therefore, Reverend Paisley's self-interest is to preserve the status quo.

Loyalties of Protestants and Catholics

The fifth theme is Protestants are loyal to the British Government and heritage, but Catholics are not loyal. In spite of their loyalty, Paisley states they have been rebuffed by their Government. Although the Protestants have been rejected by their own Government, Paisley affirms the Protestant position must be held at all costs--even unto death. He wants to preserve the Protestant heritage and way of life in Ulster: "It is to that great end I am using my influence and my party is dedicated to at the present time. If we can save the union with Great Britain, then I believe we shall be able to preserve our heritage and have the freedom to preach the Gospel and practice Gospel Liberty. . . ." ⁷⁴

Further, the loyalist position is closely tied to the Protestant Monarchy. If the loyalists gave up their position it would mean the end of the Throne of England for the Protestants. "The Ulster loyalists were considered bigots when they stated that they believed in a Protestant Monarchy and

⁷⁴Ian Paisley, "Situation in Northern Ireland," Tape, 21 April 1972, Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina.

to have a Roman Catholic on the throne of England would be the end of Reformed Protestantism officially as far as the United Kingdom was concerned."⁷⁵

The significance of Paisley's loyalist statements is that if Protestantism is not supported, Northern Ireland will lose its heritage and place within the British State. Eventually Catholics will rule in Northern Ireland under Rome's leadership. The appeals in these messages are to the Northern Irishman's sense of patriotism: preserve, protect, and defend the land of our forefathers.

Orangism as a Religious Force

The sixth theme is Orangism as a religious force. In this section the following will be considered: (1) linkage with the Unionist Party, (2) linkage with the police force, (3) Paisley and the Orange Society, and (4) the Grand Master of the Orange Order, Reverend Martin Smyth.

Formally and informally the Orange Order is linked in a number of ways to the Unionist Party. This Orange umbrella embraces the Protestants of all classes and has an assured majority on most of the local councils. Voting patterns are so rigid and election results so predictable that up to 70 percent of all seats have never been contested at a

⁷⁵Ian Paisley, "Warning Against the World Council of Churches," The Revivalist, August 1974, p. 1.

general election.⁷⁶

The control of local councils is important because they control housing and thus religious areas of the towns to a large extent. The councils build and own about a third of all houses and have a large say in the location of the remaining two-thirds. They are "in a position to control the size and religious composition of electoral wards, and can encourage Protestant settlement and Catholic emigration."⁷⁷ Discrimination in the allocation of jobs at the local level is rampant. The County Councils are in charge of health, education, and welfare service. They directly or indirectly appoint everyone from the hospital surgeon to the school bus driver. In addition they control public works such as road building. Thus they can regulate unemployment.⁷⁸

Linkage with the Police Force

The control of the Orange Order at the local level is also evident in public protection. The special forces of

⁷⁶ Anders Boserup, Who Is the Principal Enemy? (London, England: Independent Labour Party, 197 Kings Cross Road, 1972), p. 8.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 9.

⁷⁸ Ibid. Boserup gives these figures of unemployment between Catholics and Protestants: In Londonderry male unemployment averages 20% and in Strabane 25%. Among Catholics and unskilled (most of whom are Catholics) it is . . . higher. Unemployment figures broken down by religion are not available, but in one town surveyed in which there are equal numbers of Catholics and Protestants, the former were found to constitute 90% of all unemployed.

the police--the B-Specials--were recruited mainly through the Orange Order. This provided part-time work and extra income for the more fanatic loyalists in the lower and middle working classes. "With a troop strength nearing 10,000 in a province with 40,000 unemployed it is clear that the B-Specials served not only to protect the state against IRA terrorism and to intimidate Catholic dissenters . . . but that an equally important effect was to reward militant loyalism among lower class Protestants."⁷⁹

As the preceding discussion implies, the control of local government is an essential element of the Orange Order. It allows corruption, patronage and discrimination to go on unchecked. In order to continue like this, the Orange Order's control has been total and unrelated to specific electoral demands. Thus the electoral system was rigged to assure Unionist majorities on all councils. They limited the franchise, redrew the boundaries of constituencies, and in some cases committed electoral fraud. Once electoral boundaries were gerry-mandered, housing and employment discrimination continued to maintain the voting pattern.⁸⁰

With a permanent majority in the councils, the opposition serve only as window-dressing. Thus a one party system developed. Catholic opposition is forced into the streets, since they have no way to address their grievances

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 8.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 9.

and be heard. Protestant opposition is forced into the Unionist and Orange organizations. In effect, the Unionists have become the political arm of the Orange Order, able to apply the kinds of pressure that resulted in a history of British appeasement to Ulster.

Paisley and the Orange Order

Reverend Paisley's introduction to the Orange Order began through family tradition. Within this strong Protestant tradition he was "Orange to the marrow of his bones and had progressed from 'Junior Orangeman' to the fully-fledged species."⁸¹ As a young man, Paisley made a strong impression on his Orange brethren by his anti-Popery and Catholicism stand. As an evangelist, Paisley's founding of the Free Presbyterian sect not only challenged the established Protestant Churches but also was giving him much control of the rank and file of the all powerful Orange Order.⁸² His early contacts with shipyard workers and dockers of limited education and strong Orange prejudices gave him a vast industrial reserve through which to maintain the fear of Catholic integration. The Orange Order could be relied upon to indoctrinate their membership with anti-Popish propaganda; thus his early missionary years allowed him to combine politics with his religious views. Although

⁸¹Marrinan, p. 13.

⁸²Ibid.

most of the dockland members were nominally Protestant, nearly all of them were strong Orangemen. Paisley used the situation to begin his violent denunciatory speeches. He began to attract many of the working class and extremists of the Unionist Party.⁸³ This early nucleus would later serve for a far greater following of people.

By 1965 Paisley's messages linked major Orangemen such as Sir George Clark, Orange Grand Master of Ireland's Orangemen with ecumenism. Clark spoke of the hope of Roman Catholics, by their participation in the Ecumenical Council, to move toward a better understanding of those in the Christian faith.

We must recognize that the Roman Catholic Church is moving, through the Ecumenical Council, to consideration of many aspects of their faith, which, if implemented in due course, must lead to a better understanding between the peoples of both religious beliefs.

We in the Orange Institution are determined to maintain the Protestant way of life. And I would like to think that some of the freedoms we enjoy may soon be shared by others who are of the Christian faith.⁸⁴

For Paisley this statement was a red flag of ecumenicalism. He accuses Sir George Clark of becoming an ardent Romish propagandist.

Sir George Clark is preaching ecumenism of the Romish brand. First of all he praises the Vatican Council. He speaks as if the Church of Rome has changed. He utters the . . . falsehood that Rome is moving nearer to

⁸³Ibid., p. 22.

⁸⁴Ian Paisley, "Sir George Clark, Orange Grand Master Parrots Ecumenism at Finaghy," The Revivalist, August 1965, p. 1.

Protestantism while all the time a degenerate Protestantism is moving nearer to Rome. How the papists must rejoice while the Head of the Orange Institution becomes their ardent propagandist.⁸⁵

Thus Paisley views Sir George Clark as destroying the whole basis of the Reformation Protest by "describing the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches as different interpretations of the Christian belief."⁸⁶

Sir George Clark engaged in private discussion with Senator James Lennon, the Leader of the Nationalist Party in the Senate and Vice President of the Ancient Order of Hibernians (the Irish Catholic equivalent of the Protestant Orange Order). As leaders they decided to discuss matters relating to the goodwill of the Ulster people. Paisley accused Clark of a complete betrayal of true Orange principles. Although the outcome of the Orange-Green talks came to nothing, Paisley's exchanges with the leaders of the Orange Order resulted in his resignation from his Orange Lodge--Shankill Lodge No. 1069. He formed his own Independent Loyal Orange Order. Instead of the traditional Orange sash of the Old Order, his sash became white with a red and blue border.⁸⁷

Protestant anger was now very much on the march. In his Protestant Telegraph, August 1, 1970, Paisley outlined

⁸⁵Ibid.

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷Marrinan, pp. 72-73.

clearly his "Independent Loyal Orange Institution Resolutions." This article affirms steadfast loyalty to the British Sovereign, a determination to remain part of the United Kingdom, dedication to Reformation principles, the maintenance of civil and religious liberties, opposition to the Reomward trend in the W.C.C., and independence from all political parties.⁸⁸

Reverend Paisley's actions against the Orange Order brought forth a statement by Mr. Aiken McClelland, Secretary of the Orange Lodge of Research that said: "Paisleyism was the greatest threat to Orangeism. In general, Orange leaders were opposed to it, but the rank and file were in many cases attracted to it."⁸⁹ Lodge members opposed McClelland's statement; thus, he was forced to withdraw his comment. Paisley replied:

He (Aiken McClelland) claims that the Paisleyites are keen to see the link broken between the Orange Order and the official Unionist Party.

We now reveal that Aiken McClelland, and not "Paisleyites" had put forward a proposition in the Carryduff Unionist Association to have terminated Orange delegates to the Party. It is he who wants to break the links. Due to intense opposition, he was forced to withdraw his devious suggestion on Saturday.⁹⁰

A careful reading of the Independent Loyal Orange Institution Resolutions states the opposite: that Paisley advocates

⁸⁸Ian Paisley, "Independent Loyal Orange Institution Resolutions," Protestant Telegraph, 1 August 1970, p. 5.

⁸⁹Deutsch and Magowan, Volume I, p. 88.

⁹⁰Ian Paisley, "Orange Hypocrite Exposed," Protestant Telegraph, 16 January, 1971, p. 1.

separation of the Orange Institution from all political parties:

As an organization wholly Protestant dominated by no political party, we again reiterate our principle that the Orange Institution should be independent from all political parties and reaffirm our resolution to support and defend the right Sovereign. . . .⁹¹

The Grand Master of the Orange Order:
Reverend Martin Smyth

Orangism in Northern Ireland is not complete without a look at the Reverend Martin Smyth, the Grand Master of the Orange Order. He personifies the kind of preacher who gained entrance to the Orange Order's high councils and for whom it has to rehabilitate its shattered image. Some of the credibility of the Orange Order declined when the Province of Northern Ireland found itself in the spotlight as a result of the televised 1968-1969 crisis. As groups within the Order splintered and realigned, a measure of their credibility declined.

Smyth's personal credo places him on the right-hand of the far right. He believes that godliness manifests itself through industriousness. Therefore, the Protestant community is godly and the Catholics are ungodly. He believes Catholics have had the better of it in Ulster employment, education, housing, and social services, and they have terrorized Protestants for almost fifty years.⁹²

⁹¹Ian Paisley, "Independent Loyal Orange Institution Resolutions," Protestant Telegraph, 1 August, 1970, p. 5.

⁹²Uris and Uris, p. 182.

Smyth maintains the idea of a papal takeover. He believes the Pope and his agents have the real, total control over the Catholic population; the Pope's wishes and not those of the people would be made to decide Northern Ireland's future. The man is an uncomplex bigot. "He will look you squarely in the eye and tell you that nowhere are Catholics better treated in Northern Ireland, and what is more, he believes it."⁹³

This thinking stems directly from the Reformation and Counter Reformation of the sixteenth century. If the issue of the papal takeover were not kept alive by the Orange Order, then the anti-Catholic ideas would no longer have a valid reason to exist. Not only is the idea kept alive through annual Orange celebrations commemorating Protestant victories over Catholic, but also it is dramatically reinforced with the Glorious Twelfth parade and the mock battle at Scarva.⁹⁴ In preaching anti-Catholicism and hatred of popery, the Orange Order and Reverend Paisley are agreed. To qualify as an Orangeman the Scriptures must be upheld, believed to be divine, and the individual must pledge to work to oppose an act or ceremony of Popish worship.⁹⁵

⁹³Ibid., p. 183.

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 186.

⁹⁵To answer the possible question: "Is Reverend Smyth in Paisley's camp?" We cannot locate stated documentation that he is not. However based on the similarities of their respective positions on anti-popery, opposition to the Republic, and emphasis on law and order the two men at least

The Evils of Media

The seventh theme is the media are evil. Filled with modernism, most of what they report is untruth; therefore, the media are an enemy of truth and must be exposed by messengers of truth. Reverend Paisley considers himself to be the messenger of Truth and thus is anti-press, radio, and television.

Reverend Paisley accused The Irish News, Newsletter, and Belfast Telegraph of "yelling hate and screaming falsehood,"⁹⁶ and The Irish News as a papal instrument.

The Irish News, in their usual Papist manner, sought to minimize the U.C.D.C. protest. Realising its effectiveness, they did their very best to ignore it. Unable however to do this, they lied about its numerical strength, placing it around 200. Although the official police figure of the students' march was over 700

have grounds of commonality. On the other hand, each is the leader of Orange Lodges, each has comprised his own volunteers trained and disciplined to defend Ulster, each heads a newspaper, each heads many rallies and parades; and at one time both supported the Unionist Council. Paisley eventually withdrew his support and formed his own political party. It is difficult to see either man giving full support to the other because of possible conflict in leadership.

The Chronology indicates several strong areas of leadership under Reverend Martin Smyth. First he was Deputy Leader of Ulster Vanguard and a member of the Unionist Party. He has since resigned The Vanguard. He was elected Grand Master of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland (Vol. 2, p. 250). As Grand Master of the Orange Order, Smyth announced the launching of the Order's first newspaper The Orange Standard. The paper is a monthly forum for Orange opinion. Second, Smyth was appointed Imperial Grand Master of the Imperial Grand Orange Council of the World at the Council's conference in Liverpool on Friday, July 20, 1973. (p. 263)

⁹⁶Ian Paisley, "The Mad Quintet, Yelling Hate and Screaming Falsehood," Protestant Telegraph, 25 November, 1967, p. 1.

The Irish News had it well over the thousand. They did not tell their readers that many of the marchers did not belong to Queen's at all.

So much for the Papist Irish News!⁹⁷

The Belfast Telegraph received an equal share of negative criticism from Reverend Paisley. This newspaper was seen as a defense of papist subversion.

Sayers (editor) propaganda sheet, The Belfast Telegraph, screamed to high heaven with hate and falsehood. In their lying stupor they had the crowd at the City Hall twice the size of that at Shaftesbury Square. The Belfast Telegraph's figure of 500 at Shaftesbury Square was contradicted by the radio. . . . Of course, any lie is good enough for The Belfast Telegraph to spread about Protestants.

It praised the students, and was, in reality, a defense of Papist subversion and a scurrilous attack on the loyalists of Ulster.⁹⁸

In the same vitriolic vein, Paisley attacked The Newsletter:

. . . The Newsletter not to be outdone by The Belfast Telegraph treated its readers to another frenzied attack on the U.C.D.C. It starts off with an anonymous Unionist M.P. slandering Paisley. (The slime pit of anonymith is the home of such official Unionist toads).⁹⁹

Paisley's own newspaper, The Protestant Telegraph, was first printed as a reaction to The Belfast Telegraph's refusal to print one of his letters in full. This newspaper had printed a letter from an Irish Presbyterian, Reverend T. Craig which made negative comments about Paisley's demonstrations of anti-ecumenicalism.¹⁰⁰ Paisley's defense of

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ian Paisley, "Telegraph Denies Rev. Ian Paisley Right to Reply," Protestant Telegraph, 28 May 1966, p. 9.

Protestantism is made clear in the newspaper's purpose:

To the task of combating the combined forces of Tyranny in our Province, this paper had dedicated itself. Not with tongue in cheek, nor with kid gloves will we fight this battle. Giving no quarter and begging for none, we enter the conflict confident that the God of battles will enable us to defend the Right.¹⁰¹

Reverend Ian Paisley's religious messages often admonish his audience to beware of the press and its evil influence:

"Don't believe the Press, but trust in God and God will help you and me in this great battle for liberty and truth."¹⁰²

Reverend Paisley's criticism extends not only to the press but also to radio and television. He thinks that the BBC has been discriminatory on two counts: (1) World Council of Churches is given more air time than the Protestant Church; and (2) Catholic community views are heard more frequently than Protestant community views. Paisley's comments brought this reply from the Chairman of the BBC:

In a letter to Mr. Maudling, Lord Hill of Luton, Chairman of the BBC, said that the corporation had a duty to be impartial between the two warring communities in Northern Ireland just as it had between the Government and Opposition at Westminster. But between the Army and the gunmen it was not and could not be impartial.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹Ian Paisley, "Protestant Viewpoint," Protestant Telegraph, 28 May 1966, p. 2.

¹⁰²Ian Paisley, "Situation in Northern Ireland," Tape, 21 April 1972, Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina. At the end of this tape the President of Bob Jones University wholeheartedly supports Paisley's view of the press in this comment: "I would like to emphasize what Dr. Paisley said to you: 'Don't believe the press! You don't ever believe anything you read about a strong fundamentalist when it's printed in the press. We know not to believe those who go against God's word and his people.'"

¹⁰³Deutsch and Magowan, Vol. I, p. 140.

The Reverend Paisley and Mr. William Craig threatened to seek a High Court injunction against both ITV and BBC after they had refused to appear with other political leaders and journalists on a special election programme on BBC. In a joint statement, they said: "The Democratic Unionist Party and Vanguard Unionist Progressive Party have learned with dismay and shock that the BBC and ITV have deprived the major political parties of their rights to party political broadcasts."¹⁰⁴

The conflict between Reverend Paisley and the media has caused a number of Paisley's supporters to be hostile toward the press and television representatives to the point of injury. One BBC television reporter's camera was broken and he was injured. Later, Paisleyites sang "The Sash" and shouted, "Craig in," and "No Pope here" as they paraded around the mall.¹⁰⁵

The significance of this theme is that attack of the media, particularly television, gained Reverend Paisley wide attention. In addition to attack of the media itself, his ability for continued nit-picking and demand for argument over trivial details kept him in the limelight. He continued to stir the pot and keep it boiling, and the Protestants loved him for it. He understood the motivations of this audience.

¹⁰⁴Deutsch and Magowan, Vol. II, p. 307.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 13.

Conclusion

This chapter presented a thematic analysis of Reverend Ian Paisley's religious discourse. These religious themes are: (1) resurgence of Romanism, (2) constitutional freedom as Protestant freedom, (3) ecumenicalism, (4) government betrayal of Protestants, loyalties of Protestants and Catholics, (5) Orangism as a religious force, and (6) the evils of media. These themes provide a base for Paisley's political activities and provide much of the substance of his rhetorical strategies and tactics. Subsequent chapters address these concerns.

CHAPTER V

REVEREND PAISLEY'S POLITICAL DISCOURSE

Reverend Paisley's rhetorical strategies employ several major political themes. The political themes are perhaps as important as the religious themes, because they are interdependent for the Protestant ascendancy to sustain itself in Northern Ireland. As a spokesman for the status quo, Paisley's political themes accentuate the Protestant tradition and government.

The political themes of Reverend Paisley's status quo discourse may be divided into the following categories: (1) betrayal of Orangemen, (2) the Irish Republican Army terrorists, (3) government political betrayal, (4) Protestant loyalty punished, (5) preservation of Ulster heritage, and (6) unification of Ulster loyalists.

Betrayal of Orangemen

The first political theme is that Orangemen have been betrayed. In the preceding chapter the treatment of Orangism established a religious connection with the Orange lodges, as well as demonstrated that Paisley became highly threatened when some Orange leaders extended a compromising

attitude toward Catholics. Here the Orange theme demonstrates the direct influence of Orangism in the political realm. This section examines more closely the qualifications of Orangemen: the government refusal to ban rebel parades of 1916 celebrations; the advocacy of ecumenicalism by the Grand Orange Master; and the beginning of commemorations of Ulster heritage.

The key to understanding the political situation in Northern Ireland is intertwined with the Loyal Orange Lodge, the Orange Order, and the way they have come to group different class interests under the Protestant loyalist banner.¹ Before a candidate may qualify to become an Orangeman he must profess a steadfast faith in Jesus Christ, cultivate truth and justice, study the Holy Scriptures and love, uphold and defend the Protestant religion, and "he should strenuously oppose the fatal errors and doctrines of the Church of Rome, and avoid . . . any act or ceremony of Popish worship; he should, by all lawful means, resist the ascendancy of that Church, . . . , and the extension of its power. . . ."²

Faithful Protestants and Orangemen are expected to practice the four great facts of their faith: fidelity, spirituality, loyalty, and service. When these characteristics are observed to be betrayed by an individual, he is

¹Anders Boserup, "The Politics of Protracted Conflict," Transaction, March 1970, n. vol., pp. 22-31.

²Uris and Uris, p. 190.

dismissed from the Grand Lodge. Deutsch and Magowan give evidence that Phelim O'Neill was expelled because he attended a Catholic Church. "The grounds for his expulsion were that he failed to recognize 'higher lodge authority' when he attended a community service in a Catholic Church in Ballymoney two years previously."³ This act shows clearly that the Orange Order is opposed to Catholic integration.

The Country Grand Lodge held a meeting where a majority vote was passed of "a no confidence in the Government."⁴ This vote occurred because the Government had failed to administer law and order equitably. These circumstances centered around commemorations of Protestants and commemorations of Catholics.

Reverend Paisley accused Prime Minister O'Neill of rejecting Orangism by allowing the soil of Ulster to be desecrated with 1916 Celebrations. He thought that permission to have parades celebrating the Easter Uprising of the Republic was tantamount to the Northern Ireland Government capitulating to the rebels. Paisley was enraged further when the resolution of the Grand Lodge of Fermanagh to ban the 1916 Celebrations was rejected by O'Neill. Although O'Neill's rejection was in the long range interest of peace, Paisley did not accept the Prime Minister's good intentions.

³Deutsch and Magowan, Vol. I, p. 8.

⁴Ian Paisley, "No Orange Confidence in Government," Protestant Telegraph, 5 December 1970, p. 3.

O'Neill saw other factors that needed to be considered: the effect of public opinion, further outbreaks of disorder, the general security of the Province, the danger of Irish Republican Army attacks, and the fact that such outbreaks would be attributed to the Northern Ireland police force.⁵

The rejection of the 1916 Celebrations of the Easter Rising was the headline and cover story of Reverend Paisley's first issue of The Protestant Telegraph. To him, these celebrations were symbolic of the hatred of the Republic towards the Northern Ireland Government and Protestantism. Government refusal to ban these parades meant unfairness in administering the law and capitulation to Rome. Therefore, as a defender of the true Protestant faith, Reverend Paisley set himself "to the task of combating the combined forces of Tyranny in our Province. . . ."⁶

Orange leaders were accused of sabotage when they abandoned a celebration of Ulster Jubilee involving commemorations to Carson and Craigavon. Paisley stated the rank and file of Orangemen had been betrayed, but "plans have been set in motion for the LOYAL Orangemen to march to celebrate Ulster's 50 years. These brethren will also see to it that the traitors in Grand Lodge . . . will be removed from

⁵Ian Paisley, "Orange Call for 1916 Celebrations' Ban Rejected by O'Neill," The Protestant Telegraph, 28 May 1966, p. 1.

⁶Ibid., p. 2.

the ranks."⁷

More specifically, Paisley thought the Grand Orange Master, Sir George Clark, to be guilty of betrayal. Clark advocated mild steps toward acceptance of Catholics. In turn Paisley saw the move as one toward the Roman Catholic Church as a cause for deep alarm.

First of all he praises the Vatican Council. He speaks as if the Church of Rome has changed. He utters the colossal falsehood that Rome is moving nearer to Protestantism, while all the time a degenerate Protestantism is moving nearer to Rome. How the papists must rejoice while the Head of the Orange Institution becomes their ardent propagandist!⁸

Next Paisley points out that Clark accepts the Church of Rome as a Christian Church. He avows that Romanists are not of the Christian Faith, because they repudiate the whole Reformation. If Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches are merely different interpretations of the Christian belief, then Clark repudiates the whole basis of the Reformation Protest. Paisley states it is not only a matter of interpretation, rather it is a matter of Clark's association with the Church of the Anti-Christ.⁹

The foregoing events resulted in Reverend Paisley's address to thousands of Orangemen to urge recall of their Protestant past, principles, privileges, and perils. He

⁷Ian Paisley, "Orange Leaders Sabotage Parade," The Protestant Telegraph.

⁸Ian Paisley, "Sir George Clark, Orange Grand Master Parrots Ecumenism at Finaghy," Revivalist, 1965, p. 1.

⁹Ibid. .

warns that the Pope should not be welcomed in England; and that for Orangemen to build bridges with the Catholic community as O'Neill suggests is to return to the Dark Ages: "The Prime Minister in his stupidity and folly can preach about 'bridge-building.' Where are we going to build the bridge to? Are we going to build them back to darkness, back to Romanism, back to the tyranny and superstition of the Dark Ages?"¹⁰

The significance of this theme is fear. If the Catholics become Orangemen or begin to interact socially with Orangemen, they could control the Protestant state, and, as we have seen, the Orange Lodge is the right arm of the Unionist Party. Although the Catholics might retain their religious beliefs in a Protestant state, their political allegiance was another matter. The political regime, mainly Protestant, saw that the political allegiance of Catholics was neither given to a lawfully constituted Parliament in Stormont or Westminster. Rather their allegiance was with a foreign country: the Republic of Ireland. As a community Paisley believes Catholics aim at the overthrow of the Government. He misinterprets their violence for civil action to be a violent overthrow of the existing order.

Given these circumstances it is easy to see that the Protestant proponents of the status quo in Northern Ireland

¹⁰Ian Paisley, "Protestant Remember," Protestant Telegraph, 16 July 1966, p. 3.

believe they could not trust the Catholic community, at least on political grounds. Therefore, Reverend Paisley felt justified in taking whatever action was necessary to preserve the status quo.

Irish Republican Army Terrorists

The second theme centers on the defeat of the Irish Republican Army. The arguments discussed in this section are: (1) Civil Rights Movement is an IRA plot to destroy Ulster; (2) terrorism in Northern Ireland is the result of IRA actions; and the IRA and the law; (3) a military initiative must be taken against the IRA, and the RUC reinstated.

Civil Rights Movement

The Irish Republican Army (IRA) is a secret army with one dream: to attain an all United Ireland. The forerunner of this secret army was the Irish Republican Brotherhood formed in 1866. Their original aim was to unite the men of little property into united Irishmen to break connection with Great Britain. But it was not until the Easter Rising in 1916 that it ceased to be an amorphous movement.

The new Republic of Ireland was floundering as well as the army. The army was invisible, clumsy peasants and clerks with few weapons and little training. Once independence was declared and Eamon de Valera became President, Michael Collins emerged as the giant of the military people. He and Cathal Brugha took over the expanding Volunteers and

turned them into the IRA. Although they hoped to be officially recognized by the new government, they were forced to go underground when the Northern Ireland Act partitioned Ireland. They dedicated themselves to reuniting Ireland through a continued repudiation of the Treaty. Although the IRA was briefly needed in the 1930s and 1940s, in the 1950s and 1960s the movement muddled along in backrooms and alleys. The situation that brought the IRA onto the scene again was the Civil Rights Movement in Northern Ireland.¹¹

The Civil Rights Movement which resulted in mob action, riots, police thuggery, and British Army brutality against the Catholics caused IRA units to spring up in the Catholic ghettos of Belfast and Derry. The IRA met violence head on with violence and counterviolence.

No guerilla force can function without the support of its own population, and no Catholic in Belfast will ever again throw himself on the tender mercy of the Royal Ulster Constabulary or the British Army. The IRA came back into being at the end of the sixties because of recent decades and past centuries of degradation of the Catholics.¹²

Although the Catholic community welcomed the IRA, the Protestant community led by Reverend Paisley saw the Civil Rights Movement as the first phase of the IRA plot to destroy Northern Ireland.

¹¹J. Bowyer Bell, The Secret Army: A History of the I.R.A., 1916-1970 (London, England: Hutchinson and Co., 1952), pp. 27-70.

¹²Uris and Uris, p. 156.

The campaign by the press and television to whitewash the student marchers has failed. Letters in the press signed by nonentities and pseudonyms cannot cover over the real intention of this Republican front pseudo-student organization.

At the so-called "sit-in" in Linenhall Street, Belfast, on Wed., October 9, the proposal to attack the police, break the barricade and use violence was overwhelmingly carried on a show of hands.

The real leader of this whole attempt to cause a riot in Belfast is Roy McShane--ardent leader and supporter of the outlawed Republican Club, the offspring of a noted republican and IRA connection.¹³

Paisley defines the second phase of the IRA plot as one of civil disobedience. He maintains that their plans were uncovered in an I.R.A. document.

This document uncovered the plan of the I.R.A. for the destruction of Ulster's Constitution. The plan revealed that the I.R.A. would sponsor civil unrest in Ulster and as a first step institute rioting and destruction of property. This first phase would continue until an air of uncertainty and fear would permeate the whole Province. The I.R.A. has been the chosen instrument for this particular phase.¹⁴

Paisley sees the IRA successfully using the weakness of Prime Minister O'Neill to gain advantage. "The weakness of O'Neill is being exploited . . . by the I.R.A. His encouragement of the I.R.A. and his sacking of Mr. William Craig have made him the greatest asset the I.R.A. ever had."¹⁵

The final phase of the IRA was total destruction of Northern Ireland. Paisley believed that the subversive

¹³Ian Paisley, "Students Vote for Violence," Protestant Telegraph, 19 October 1968, p. 1.

¹⁴Ian Paisley, "I.R.A. Plot Unfolds the Second Phase: Civil Disobedience," Protestant Telegraph, 22 March 1969, p. 1.

¹⁵Ibid.

plot of the IRA came into the open when Cathal Goulding, the leader of the IRA, on Tyne-Tees Television stated that the use of violence was the only avenue open to the IRA; subsequently Paisley's newspaper headlines read: "I.R.A. DECLARES WAR!"¹⁶

Terrorism in Northern Ireland

The state of Northern Ireland was gravely endangered as IRA attacks increased. Victims of the attacks were civilians, soldiers, and property. Violence was evident in both Protestant and Catholic communities. Reverend Paisley, however, lay the blame on the Irish Republican Army in his speech to the House of Commons: ". . . and there is no doubt that there has been violence by both sections of the community--but that situation has come about because of the actions and attacks of the Irish Republican Army and the tortures its members have inflicted."¹⁷

As the IRA became increasingly bold, Protestants became more frightened and Paisley anticipated a Protestant slaughter by the IRA. "Ulster is being prepared for a slaughter, and the IRA are willing to carry out the execution so IRA terrorism must be matched by a British Army free of political dictatorship, a fully armed and equipped R.U.C.

¹⁶Ian Paisley, "I.R.A. DECLARES WAR!" Protestant Telegraph, 10 October 1970, p. 1.

¹⁷Great Britain, Parliament, Parliamentary Debates (Commons), 5th series, 846 (1972): 96.

and a Protestant Militia for local observation and defense purposes."¹⁸ As the bombing increased in Londonderry and Belfast, Paisley continued to emphasize the seriousness of the terrorism to Parliament: "No one could over emphasize the seriousness of the present situation, the escalation of murders of a most brutal and dastardly nature, and the continuation by the IRA of its campaign of bombing, shooting, killing, and maiming."¹⁹

More Protestants were driven to Reverend Paisley's leadership as the Irish Republican Army continued their campaign of terror. The Sydenham Defense Association stated that Paisley was the only consistent politician in Northern Ireland: "It was Paisley who awakened the loyalists of Ulster to the betrayal of O'Neill's so-called bridge-building policies, Paisley who forced O'Neill out of office, who spoke of no-go areas as far back as 1969, who exposed incompetence of Chichester-Clark, who warned that the B-Specials would be disbanded while Faulkner said they would stay. It was Paisley who told that direct rule was on the way while press and politicians scorned such a suggestion."²⁰

One of Paisley's strong arguments is that justice

¹⁸Ian Paisley, "Ready for the Kill," Protestant Telegraph, 16 October 1971, p. 1.

¹⁹Great Britain, Parliament, Parliamentary Debates (Commons), 5th series, 848 (1972): 72.

²⁰Sydenham Defense Association, "Dr. Paisley Ulster's Voice," Protestant Telegraph, 1 July 1972, p. 5.

should apply to every individual in the community, including IRA members. He believes that if the law had operated fairly, much of the terrorism would have been stopped and there would have been no need for internment. "Law and order had not broken down when internment was introduced. If the law of the land had been operated properly, fairly, and rigorously, there would have been no need for the introduction of internment."²¹

Paisley is adamant in his position that the only way to stop the IRA terrorists is that they must be made to feel the full enforcement of the law. As he stated to a press conference:

No country can exist when parts of it are under the rule of the terrorists. Parts of the city of Londonderry are completely ruled by the IRA. The police cannot go in, they are dropped from the sky by helicopters. That situation is intolerable; therefore, those enclaves, those "No-Go" areas must be cleaned up. And that necessitates a military operation.²²

Military Initiative and RUC

Reverend Paisley believes that the only way to stop the IRA and its objective is to take a military initiative: "There must be a military initiative to deal with terrorists, to find the bomb maker and bomb planters and to stop the gelignite trail from the South of Ireland to the North."²³

²¹Great Britain, Parliament, Parliamentary Debates (Commons), 5th series, 855 (1973): 344.

²²Ian Paisley, "Press Conference," Greenville, South Carolina, 18 April, 1972, tape.

²³Great Britain, Parliament, Parliamentary Debates (Commons), 5th series, 833 (1973): 1131.

Moreover, Paisley charges the IRA and the Eire Government of warmongering, and the British Government of selling out Protestants by allowing two laws to operate in the United Kingdom: one for Ulstermen and one for the rest of the United Kingdom. "A different law operates in Northern Ireland. The Secretary of State here has no intention whatever of either rejecting the objectives of the IRA, a United Ireland, or of destroying them as a terrorist force."²⁴ As the laws continued to operate unfairly from Paisley's perspective, and sections of the Protestant community were burned, his ultimate headline in regard to the IRA was to "Declare War Now!" "So what should be done? Immediately the Border should be closed and a permanent garrison posted. Immediately the British Army should DECLARE WAR on the IRA," ²⁵

In addition to failure to maintain the law and order in Northern Ireland, Paisley thinks the Government failed by disarming the Royal Ulster Constabulary and their special force called the B-Specials.²⁶ One of Paisley's first calls was to rearm the RUC and bring back the special forces. He told his audiences that the safety of the country depended

²⁴Ian Paisley, "IT'S A SELL OUT, SAYS PAISLEY," Protestant Telegraph, 4 January 1975, p. 1.

²⁵Ian Paisley, "Declare War Now!" Protestant Telegraph, 10 January 1976, p. 1.

²⁶Great Britain, Parliament, Parliamentary Debates (Commons), 5th series, 823 (1971): 282.

on immediately rearming the RUC.²⁷ Paisley's cry continued to be one of restoration. For the true, loyal Protestant there could be no turning back or compromising with a weak Government. Since the Government had allowed neither the RUC nor the British Army to put the rebellion down, the loyalists with Paisley at the lead were determined in the face of the odds to fight any attempt to lessen their right to government.

In summary of Paisley's position on the IRA, we may say he opposes them because they continue to claim jurisdiction over the six counties of Northern Ireland, press for a united Ireland, are lawless citizens who commit acts without reprehension, and continue their trail of terrorism.

The significance of this theme is that once the police force was removed in Northern Ireland the Protestants had no protection from the lawless IRA element in society. The vehement opposition to the disarming of the police, the disbandment of the B-Specials, and the government's gradual surrender of power to Britain is logical if seen from this perspective. This surrender of power began from the moment troops were assigned in August 1969 to the direct rule from Westminster in March 1972. Paisley is correct when he says the state of Northern Ireland is in grave danger because Britain has been unreliable as an ally in this emergency.

²⁷Ian Paisley, "Rearm the R.U.C., Bring Back the Specials," Protestant Telegraph, 9 May 1970, p. 1.

In fact, Britain would be happy to have Ulster go into the Republic and wash their hands of the problem. Without police forces Northern Ireland becomes defenseless. Without allies, it is no surprise that defense organizations arise such as Paisley's Ulster Constitution Defense Committee. With their world in danger of crumbling, and enemies pressing from all sides, Paisley and other Protestants are correct in their belief that every concession they make will eventually be used against them.

Government Political Betrayal

The third theme centers on political betrayal of Protestants by their government. Reverend Paisley specifically attacks three individuals who were the successive Prime Ministers of Northern Ireland: (1) Terence O'Neill, (2) James Chichester Clark, and (3) Brian Faulkner. He accused all three Prime Ministers of being traitors to Ulster's best interest; therefore, he sought to bring the Government leaders down.

Terence O'Neill

The Sean Lemass-Terence O'Neill fraternization in 1965 was the basis of Paisley's attacks against Prime Minister O'Neill. Although Lemass-O'Neill met on the basis of economic cooperation and friendly relations for the North and South, there was a deeper question at stake. This question involved the internal equilibrium between the

communities inside Northern Ireland. Their meetings began to change this equilibrium, but with opposite results than they desired.

The feelings of the two Northern Ireland communities for the respective leaders were volatile. On one hand, the Catholics who had long felt themselves to be prisoners in a Protestant state reacted to the Lemass-O'Neill meetings like a final abandonment from Dublin. Even though prior political exchange had centered on anti-partition from Dublin, it had not done the Northern Catholics any good. But, in small measure the anti-partition issue had encouraged the Catholics that Dublin would somehow manage to come to their aid. With the Lemass-O'Neill meetings this small hope was dimmed. The Catholic attitude toward the Protestant is clear in the following passage:

There was one man, . . . a local chieftain in a remote village in a desolate hilly part of Sough Amagh who made no reply at all to my message. He was sitting in front of his little shop and looking out across the glen in the stillness of the summer evening. Uneasily, to break the silence, I asked him whether there were many Protestants in the district. Then he spoke quietly: "There's only one Protestant in this townland, and with the help of God, we'll have him out of it by Christmas."²⁸

On the other hand, the Protestant's initial reaction seemed to say that the Irish Republic was no longer a threat. This reaction was short lived. It became negative when the Republic celebrated its fifty year anniversary of the 1916 Easter Rising. These celebrations included the reminder

²⁸O'Brien, p. 148.

that the objective for which the men of 1916 sacrificed their lives--a free and United Ireland--had still not been achieved. The Protestants who were commemorating the Battle of the Somme, when the Ulster Division was destroyed, viewed the Dublin celebrations of 1916 as a celebration of treachery and a threat to Ulster.²⁹

The leader of the status quo, Ian Paisley, began a political barrage against O'Neill that began in May of 1966 and continued until his government was crippled; O'Neill resigned in April of 1969. Paisley began the attack by speaking of O'Neill's "treacherous policies which can only lead to the destruction of Ulster."³⁰ Further, he linked O'Neill with the ecumenical movement and Rome: "Those who wouldn't go with his policies and the ecumenical movement for union with Rome in the Churches he labeled as 'fascists and Nazis' employing the 'techniques of gangsterism.' At the height of IRA terrorism, when policemen were . . . murdered, no such strong words of condemnation came from O'Neill's lips."³¹ Within a short time Paisley accused him of shrinking Ulster and increasing the bondage of dictatorship by denying Ulstermen their liberties.³²

²⁹Ibid., pp. 149-151.

³⁰Ian Paisley, "O'Neill Must Go!" Protestant Telegraph, 2 July 1966, p. 1.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ian Paisley, "Shrinking Ulster--The New Ulster of O'Neill," Protestant Telegraph, 27 August 1966, p. 1.

Paisley questions whether O'Neill had directed a deliberate campaign of hate against him through innocent children. Children who belonged to the Free Presbyterian Church were singled out for abuse by some teachers. Paisley connected this abuse to O'Neill: "Is the political philosophy of O'Neillism with its hatred of Protestantism to be drilled into children?"³³

Reverend Paisley seriously damaged O'Neill's credibility by accusing him of a subversion plot in which O'Neill allegedly reduced the police force, attacked the constitution, and removed constitutionalists from office. "Captain O'Neill, in sacking Mr. Craig, has capitulated to the Romanists and Republicans, the anarchists, the Civil Rights agitators, and the Communists--the evil alliance against Ulster's Constitution."³⁴

Paisley's headlines alone indicate his persistent battle against O'Neill over a three year period until the Prime Minister resigned. "Orange Call for 1916 Celebrations' Ban Rejected by O'Neill (Northern Ireland Government Capitulates to the Rebels)," "O'Neill Must Go," "Civil and Religious Liberty Denied to Protestants (O'Neill Bans Protestant Parades but Allows Hibernians to March)," "Shrinking Ulster--The New Ulster of O'Neill," "The Fears of O'Neill,"

³³Ian Paisley, "Shoot Paisley," Protestant Telegraph, 24 June 1967, p. 1.

³⁴Ian Paisley, "O'Neill's Subversion Plot," Protestant Telegraph, 24 March 1969, p. 1.

"Blasphemer O'Neill," "Unionist Resolution Opposes Lynch-O'Neill Dialogue," "O'Neill DOUBLE TALK EXPOSED," "O'Neill, Ramsey, Fitt: THE ARCH-TRAITORS," "O'Neill's Pack Foiled," "Orangemen's No Confidence in O'Neill," "De-Protestantising Orangism," "O'Neill Welcomes Ulster's Would Be Destroyer (Jack Lynch)," "O'Neill's Blatant Hypocrisy," "O'Neill's Subversion Plot," "O'Neill's Sell-Out Halted!," "Can We Trust O'Neill at 10 Downing Street?" "O'Neill's Plan to Wreck Ulster," "O'Neill Resign Post," "O'NEILL DOOMED!," "Requiem for O'Neill."³⁵

After Prime Minister O'Neill resigned, Reverend Paisley made his final remarks: "Deluded O'Neill believes that Roman Catholics are loyal to the Crown, and accordingly they should unite politically and religiously to form O'Neill's Utopia. There is not, and cannot be, any common ground for Protestants to unite with those who ravaged the towns and cities of Ulster. . . . There can be no union with a system that insists on revolution in order to secure for itself a domineering position, and that creates violence and hides IRA murderers."³⁶ Thus, Paisley's aggressive attacks not only turned the majority against Prime Minister O'Neill and damaged Government loyalty, but ended O'Neill's political career as well.

³⁵Ian Paisley, "Headlines," Protestant Telegraph, 28 May 1966 to 3 May 1969, inclusive.

³⁶Ian Paisley, "Requiem for O'Neill," Protestant Telegraph, 13 May 1969, p. 1.

James Chichester-Clark
and Brian Faulkner

The compromise candidate who replaced O'Neill was James Chichester Clark. It was not long until Paisley viewed the second Prime Minister in similar perspective to O'Neill. His accusations of Clark focused on continued terrorism in the Province: "Several deaths a week, and many explosions each day, testify to the fact that there is no effective control by Stormont. . . ." ³⁷ He also accuses Clark of defending the Catholics, but attacking Protestants: "Clark is now defending the 'protection' of the Army over lawless Roman Catholic areas--the Bogside and the Falls--and is supporting them as they mount unwarranted attacks on Protestant Churchgoers." ³⁸

Clark's period of service as Government Prime Minister was brief. After his twenty-four months, Brian Faulkner became Prime Minister of Northern Ireland for twelve months. Paisley states Faulkner will be perpetuating the policies of Clark and O'Neill because he is leaving "the RUC . . . unarmed and unprotected." ³⁹ Faulkner is linked with the Irish Republic: "We remember him for his enthusiasm for cross-border talks. We know that he has had . . . talks with

³⁷ Ian Paisley, "Clark's Sell-Out," Protestant Telegraph, 13 March 1971, p. 1.

³⁸ Ian Paisley, "Army Attacks Protestant Churchgoers," Protestant Telegraph, 11 October 1969, p. 1.

³⁹ Ian Paisley, "It's Faulkner, But for How Long?" Protestant Telegraph, 29 May 1971, p. 1.

Cardinal Conway. We know that Faulkner is keen on establishing greater links with the Republic."⁴⁰ When Faulkner declares that he has the IRA on the run, Paisley replies that he is "out of touch. . . . There is no evidence for Faulkner's argument, and the facts point to a bold and barbarous campaign. This is a battle for Ulster's survival, and we are not going to stand by and see our country raped and ravaged by the rebels."⁴¹

Inevitably, Reverend Paisley places pressure for Brian Faulkner to be removed from the position of Prime Minister of Northern Ireland. He states that Faulkner's treachery tolerated the IRA, rather than put them where they belong--in jail:

There's an old saying: "It might pass Westminster but it will not pass Portadown and it was, no doubt, with the same resolute mind that 6,000 loyalists in that town said "Get Out Faulkner." . . . A rally which was addressed by Dr. Paisley, passed a resolution calling on the Prime Minister to resign, and saying that all lawful means will be used to get rid of him.

Faulkner has permitted the intolerable I.R.A. to exist; he must go--to be replaced by a Premier who will deal with rebels.⁴²

Reverend Paisley finally accuses Prime Minister Faulkner of changing position on the following issues: Orangism,

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Ian Paisley, "Faulkner, 'Optimistic' While I.R.A. Savages Rape Ulster," Protestant Telegraph, 29 May 1971, p. 1.

⁴²Ian Paisley, "Get Out--Faulkner," Protestant Telegraph, 2 October 1971, p. 1.

Protestantism, loyalists, taking office, "B-Specials," IRA, and internment.⁴³ On each of these issues Paisley states that the Protestants have been betrayed and that Faulkner has gone back on his word. The final sell-out comes when Faulkner schedules talks with Jack Lynch of the Irish Republic on Covenant Day: "One of the days scheduled for talks is Covenant or Ulster Day the 28th (September)--what further proof need we of Faulkner's disregard for the well-being of Ulster."⁴⁴

In summary Paisley found the policies of O'Neill, Clark, and Faulkner to be fatal for Northern Ireland. In particular he accused them of consorting with the Republic of Ireland and allowing IRA violence to continue. He sought to oust the Prime Ministers from leadership, and he did succeed.

The significance of this theme is that Reverend Paisley finds Northern Ireland in a perilous state of betrayal by its leaders. Examples of this are the words and phrases in these messages: "Arch-traitors," "Sell-out," "Civil and Religious Liberty Denied," "techniques of gangsterism," "ministers are brutally suppressed and threatened," "bondage of dictatorship," "would be-destroyer of Old Ulster," "its hatred of Protestantism," "plot of subversion," "alliance

⁴³Ian Paisley, "The Truth about Brian Faulkner," Protestant Telegraph, 18 March 1972, p. 3.

⁴⁴Ian Paisley, "Tripartite Treachery," Protestant Telegraph, 18 September 1971, p. 1.

against Ulster's Constitution," "Ulster's plight," "system that insists on revolution in order to secure for itself a domineering position, and that creates violence," "there is no effective control by Stormont," "as Prime Minister he will prove to be demanding and dictatorial," "establishing greater links with the Republic," "bold and barbarous killer campaign," and "if Ulster is to survive." In his betrayal messages there are reminders that the new government is not the old one or the old Ulster. Examples are: "This new Ulster is not the Ulster for which our fathers died," "old gospel," "old Bible," "old liberties," "old processions," "old flag," and "attacked traditional Unionism." Reverend Paisley's choice of words reflect the position of a man who wants to preserve the status quo.

Protestant Loyalty Punished

The fourth political theme in Reverend Paisley's messages is that Protestants are punished for their loyalty. The punishment theme entails four major lines of argument: (1) punishment for IRA crimes, (2) punishment by loss of life and property, and (3) punishment by silencing the Protestant voice in British Government, and (4) punishment in Protestant prisons.

Punishment for IRA Crimes

Reverend Paisley finds that Protestants are punished for crimes while trying to defend themselves, and IRA gunmen

openly flaunt their weapons and remain free.

The IRA cannot and must not be conciliated. They must be militarily defeated, disarmed, and destroyed. Any talk about conciliating or negotiating with these men is in stark reality talk of betrayal and surrender to the enemies.

Failure to do this will tighten the grip of the IRA on an already terrorized section of the Roman Catholic population, and must . . . lead to a drastic and terrible reaction from the long suffering Protestant community. Protestants accused of trading in arms are arrested, and brought to trial. IRA terrorists openly sporting guns and boasting of their use of the same are assured that the British Army is not going to have a confrontation with them. Except this situation is remedied immediately Ulster is bound to drift into the most bloody of civil wars.⁴⁵

Paisley also notes that IRA gunmen have taken a Land-Rover owned by the Castlereagh Rural District Council at gunpoint. "Armed members of the Official IRA patrolling a Belfast 'No-Go' area--Army style. The Land-Rover is owned by Castlereagh Rural District Council and was hijacked at gunpoint a few weeks ago on the Springfield Road. Since then it has been used by the IRA to patrol Andersontown and Ballymurphy and has been seen in the 'No-Go' areas of Londonderry."⁴⁶ Here Paisley is saying the Protestants have been loyal in heritage and religion. Even so, Catholics who are disloyal to the Protestant state are often not punished when they defy the state--particularly members of the Irish Republican Army.

⁴⁵ Ian Paisley, "No-Go Areas Must Go!" Protestant Telegraph, 20 May 1972, p. 1.

⁴⁶ Ian Paisley, "Protestants Lifted While These Thugs GO FREE!" Protestant Telegraph, 5 May 1972, p. 3.

Punishment by Loss of Life
and Property

Reverend Paisley denies Phil Curran's statement that Catholics have suffered more than Protestants. He states the opposite is true: mostly Protestants have suffered.

Curran's silence over the Protestant deaths and the IRA's general disregard for human life speaks eloquent volumes. One hundred and forty-four people in the service of the Crown, 103 soldiers, 14 RUC, 3 Reservists and 24 U.D.R.--mostly PROTESTANTS have been slaughtered. The majority of civilians killed in bombings have been PROTESTANTS. The vast majority of the 680 total were PROTESTANTS so it ill behooves Curran and his Provisional IRA type clad outfit to shout about persecution.⁴⁷

In addition to loss of life, Reverend Paisley gives account for property destruction among the Protestant community. He records that much property has been damaged, in particular sixty-eight churches including five which were totally destroyed.

Mr. Paisley asked how many cases of attacks on Protestant church property in Northern Ireland there had been since and including 1969. The amazing answer from Mr. Peter Mills--"The information is not available in that precise year, but between September 1968, and 15th April, 1973, Sixty-Eight Protestant Churches have been damaged including Five destroyed."⁴⁸

Paisley accuses the British Government of often not upholding the common law in such instances. He advocated strong emergency legislation and emergency courts to handle

⁴⁷Ian Paisley, "Why Curran Should Be Lifted," Protestant Telegraph, 6 January 1973, p. 1.

⁴⁸Ian Paisley, "Protestant Churches Attacked," Protestant Telegraph, 12 May 1973, p. 9.

the increased wave of crime catalyzed by Northern Ireland's riots.

I have always stood for absolutely no trifling with the common law in the common law courts. The common law must be upheld in these courts. But in view of the wave of crime aimed at overthrowing the state I have advocated both emergency legislation and emergency courts. This is in no way either a change in the common law courts or a watering down of common law principles. The special crimes and special courts I have advocated would be for the emergency only, and renewable by affirmative resolution every thirty days.⁴⁹

He makes it clear that criminals should be dealt with by the State: ". . . if these people are wanted for crimes against the State--whether they be Unionist or Republican Alliance or Liberal--the State must move in and deal with them like any other criminal."⁵⁰

Punishment by Political Silence

A further punishment and insult to the Protestant loyalists were attempts to silence them from Government participation. Reverend Paisley writes: "Of course it is all right for British politicians to engage in such scenes but Ulster loyalist representatives are expected to bow to dictatorship so that the Heath-Wilson plan to sell Ulster out to a united Ireland may take place."⁵¹ Paisley comments

⁴⁹ Ian Paisley, "Unionist Review Reviewed: Ian Paisley Answers His Critics," Protestant Telegraph, 21 October 1972, p. 5.

⁵⁰ Great Britain, Parliament, Parliamentary Debates (Commons), 5th series, 856 (1973): 1170.

⁵¹ Ian Paisley, "Loyalists Establish the Right to Speak--Whitelaw's Assembly Gag Smashed," Protestant Telegraph, 4 August 1973, pp. 1-2.

that he will not be intimidated by Westminster leaders, or cease from speaking on Ulster issues on the behalf of Protestants.

"After talking to Mr. Wilson, Mr. Fitt threatens a hot reception for me at Westminster. If Mr. Wilson threatened this, it is a pity he was not man enough to make it himself. As for Mr. Fitt I treat him with the contempt he deserves. Neither Mr. Wilson nor Mr. Fitt will intimidate me by their threats or deter me from speaking up for Ulster."⁵²

Paisley points out that while attempts are made to silence Protestants on matters that are crucial to their welfare, Catholics whose purpose it is to overthrow the state are allowed to speak in Parliament.

The vast majority of the Roman Catholic people have stated over and over again through their elected representatives that their aim is a united Ireland. I am not saying that all Roman Catholics want to have Ireland by force. That does not enter into the argument. The point which has to be made is that the vast majority of Roman Catholics have supported parties whose aim is a united Ireland. So far as their M.P.'s are concerned, this Parliament is to be used only for its own destruction; the purpose of their attendance has been to undermine its authority.⁵³

Punishment in Prisons

Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Rt. Hon. Merlyn Rees, MP, is accused of punishing Protestants for crimes they did not commit and forcing them to live in

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Ian Paisley, "REFERENDUM: Before Changes in the Constitution," Protestant Telegraph, 4 March 1973, p. 9.

deplorable prison conditions.

The British Government, which has taken part in expensive and massive relief operations all over the world, has, because of its hatred of Ulster Protestants, done practically nothing to relieve the Protestant prisoners at the Maze Prison.

After three weeks the Protestant prisoners, through no fault of their own, are still being forced to live in sub-human conditions. . . . The deplorable conditions (defended by Rees) prevailing amongst the Protestants, who took no part in the burning of the prison, amount to a form of punishing them for the crimes of the IRA.⁵⁴

In summary Reverend Paisley believes that Protestants are punished for their unswerving loyalty to the British Constitution and Union. To him, the Protestants have been punished for IRA crimes, by the loss of life and property, by the destruction of church property, by a lack of voice in Parliament, by allowing Roman Catholics in Parliament whose purpose is to undermine the State, and by inhumane prison conditions.

The significance of this theme is that Reverend Paisley is appealing not only to the Protestant sense of self-preservation but also to their sense of patriotism in emphasizing their loyalty and devotion. Closely tied to the sense of self-preservation is that the oppressor, Parliament, is allowing their enemy privileges not given to them. His messages are filled with the words "Protestant," "Hatred of Ulster Protestants," and "The Majority are Protestants," thereby constantly reminding the people that they have been

⁵⁴Ian Paisley, "Rees Punishes Protestants for IRA Crimes," Protestant Telegraph, 16 November 1974, p. 1.

punished in spite of their religion, in spite of their majority, and in spite of their loyalty to Britain.

Preservation of Ulster Heritage

The fifth political theme is the preservation of the Ulster Protestant British heritage. Reverend Paisley's messages state that Protestant heritage can be preserved if Ulster Protestants do the following things: (1) retain Ulster's heritage; (2) sustain Ulster's union with Britain; and (3) remain loyal to the Protestant British Throne.

As leader of the Ulster Democratic Unionist Party, Reverend Paisley makes it clear that the Protestant heritage must be preserved. "My aim and objective is simple and can be spelt out in a few words. I want to preserve for Ulster its Protestant heritage and the Protestant way of life.

. . . this is ALL IMPORTANT . . . and all other considerations no matter how traditional and dearly held, must be subservient to that all important end."⁵⁵ He defines "Protestant Way of Life" as a Protestant position which gives "civil and religious liberty to all men."⁵⁶ He adds that Protestants will not deny to Catholics what Catholics have denied to Protestants in the Irish Republic:

What we ask for ourselves we will not deny to others.
This vital principle has been denied in the Irish

⁵⁵Ian Paisley, "Preserving Our Ulster Heritage," Protestant Telegraph, 9 February 1974, p. 1.

⁵⁶Ibid.

Republic over and over again. Because of that the Protestant population has been squeezed almost out of existence in the South. That decrease voices a solemn warning to the Protestants of the North to beware of a Roman Catholic State.⁵⁷

To Paisley, the important aspect that makes Ulster's heritage important is its legacy from the Great Protestant Reformation. He believes that Protestantism made Ulster and that same religion will be Ulster's salvation. "This Protestantism is not the Protestantism of political or party shibbolith, but the Protestantism of a powerful salvation. Ulster became what she was by the preaching of the Doctrines of Free and Sovereign Grace and she can be delivered from what she now is by the preaching of the same message."⁵⁸ The Province of Northern Ireland is great because its heritage excludes "tyranny of priestcraft, and chains of popery." Moreover, its grandeur is seen in what Protestants are delivered to: "the liberty of the gospel and the freedom of the Sons of God."⁵⁹

To sustain its heritage Ulster must maintain a firm tie with England. Ulster stands for one flag, one kingdom, one people, and one Queen.⁶⁰ The reason Protestant Unionists

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Ian Paisley, "Ulster Must Not Yield," Protestant Telegraph, 12 July 1972, p. 1.

⁵⁹Ian Paisley, "Our Protestant Heritage," Protestant Telegraph, 7 October 1972, p. 3.

⁶⁰Ian Paisley, "Ulster Must Not Yield," Protestant Telegraph, 12 July, 1972, p. 1.

desire to remain integrated with England is because the British heritage is the Protestant heritage, and the British Constitution permits them to remain Protestants. In one press conference he made these points clear:

First of all, our heritage is a British heritage. Ulster's history really goes back to the Plantation Settlement when under the reign of James I, Northern Ireland was colonized. So, into Northern Ireland there was grafted a population of Protestant people with Protestant ideals and Protestant traditions, and with a British heritage. And as these people, their descendants are a million and the Roman Catholic population is a half million; therefore, two-thirds of the people still desire to keep this heritage.

I would not be prepared to suggest that a million Protestants should become subject to a foreign power because the Irish Republic is a foreign country for Britain, and subject to a foreign way of life, where individual human freedom is denied under the constitution.⁶¹

Loyalty, for Paisley, is linked to the Orange Institution and Protestantism. He believes members of the Unionist Party have used Orange loyalty to their own ends without understanding the basis of that loyalty. Its basis is Protestantism and support and loyalty to the English Throne.

The Institution is composed of Protestants, united and resolved to the utmost of their power to support and defend the rightful Sovereign, the Protestant Religion, the Laws of the Realm, and the Succession to the Throne in the House of Windsor, BEING PROTESTANT; and united for the defense of their own Persons and Properties and the maintenance of the public peace. It is exclusively an association of those who are attached to the religion of the Reformation. . . .⁶²

⁶¹Ian Paisley, Press Conference, Greenville, South Carolina, 18 April 1972.

⁶²Ian Paisley, "Ulster Must Not Yield," Protestant Telegraph, 12 July 1972, p. 1.

In summary Paisley affirms that the heritage of Reformation Protestantism, union with Great Britain, and Loyalty to Queen Elizabeth II are fundamentals of the Protestant way of life and must be preserved. Without this union their religious and political freedoms would be lost.

The significance of this theme is that without adherence to the British tradition, customs, and heritage Ulster would not have reason to remain Protestant. Without this link bloodshed would probably be worse, and Dublin would be in a position to dictate to Ulster. Their Protestant freedoms are safer in London than in Dublin. To preserve Ulster heritage is to preserve Protestant security.

Unification of Ulster Loyalists

The sixth and final political theme is that loyalists must unite in order to protect themselves. This unification falls under four categories: (1) Ulster Constitution Defense Committee; (2) Ulster Democratic Unionist Party; (3) the United Loyalist Coalition; and (4) the United Ulster Unionist Council.

Ulster Constitution Defense Committee

Reverend Paisley made the ultimate pleas to his fellow loyalists to expel the enemy and "fight for our lives and our national identity."⁶³ In the same address Paisley

⁶³Ian Paisley, "A Call to the Protestants of Ulster," Protestant Telegraph, 1 February 1975, p. 3.

calls them to battle to defend their heritage.

The time has come when all those willing to defend our Province must be called together and an overall plan devised for the protection of our homes, the defense of our Province and the preservation of our heritage. The British Government, the Republic, the IRA, and the next of traitors in our midst must see that we are determined men and will not stand idly by and see our heritage slowly but surely destroyed.⁶⁴

The first organized effort for protection of citizens was the Ulster Constitution Defense Committee formed in April 1966. This committee is the governing body of the Ulster Protestant Volunteers Division. Paisley is the chairperson of the executive committee. They have pledged themselves as "one united society of Protestant patriots pledged by all lawful methods to uphold and maintain the Constitution of Northern Ireland as an integral part of the United Kingdom as long as the United Kingdom maintains a Protestant Monarchy and the terms of the Revolution Settlement."⁶⁵

This organization is extremely important to Reverend Paisley because of the obvious power he exercises over it. "No one who has ever been a Roman Catholic is eligible for membership. Only those who have been born Protestants are eligible for membership."⁶⁶ In addition to eliminating Catholics from membership, the executive is the only policy

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Disturbances in Northern Ireland: Report of the Cameron Commission (Belfast, Northern Ireland), Cmd. 532, Appendix IX.

⁶⁶Ibid.

making body. The power, therefore, resides with Reverend Paisley. The following must have approval of the executive:

(1) no statement of policy can be issued to the press until the executive gives approval; (2) election candidates must be approved by the executive; (3) emergency situations for which the Chairman can act authoritatively for the whole body. Any member who is subversive or lawless may be expelled by the Chairman. Meetings must be opened with a reading from the Authorized Version of the Bible and each member must be prepared to pledge his first loyalty to the Society even when its operations are at variance with any political party to which the member belongs.⁶⁷

Finally the group pledges to maintain the Constitution at all costs: "When the authorities act contrary to the Constitution the body will take whatever steps it thinks fit to expose such unconstitutional acts."⁶⁸ An example of this occurred in 1966 when Easter parades were held by Catholics to celebrate the Easter Rising in the Republic. The U.C.D.C. planned rival parades to protest Catholics being given permission to celebrate allegiance to a foreign state.

Easter parades and celebrations by Republicans of the 1916 Easter Rising were held on April 17 in various centers throughout Northern Ireland. In Belfast a Republican parade and procession organized by Reverend Ian Paisley passed within 200 yards of each other. Police held a line between the two parades and no trouble occurred during the weekend.⁶⁹

Another example of Paisley's ability to use the U.C.D.C. to his advantage was the arrangements to contest O'Neillism. Paisley placed Protestant loyalist candidates

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Deutsch and Magowan, Vol. I, p. 4.

"in the field in as many constituencies as possible."⁷⁰ By fighting seats both at Stormont and at Westminster Paisley began a political shake down of the Unionist Party.

Ulster Democratic Unionist Party

The second main line of political Protestant defense by Reverend Paisley was the formation of his own political party. Paisley's Party submitted the following outline of approval to Her Majesty's Government:

Any proposals concerning good Government in Northern Ireland must first be founded on two vital conditions: (1) we are an integral part of the United Kingdom and no settlement which does not recognize this can hope to succeed; and (2) any government which hopes to succeed must be totally democratic, accepted by and acceptable to the vast majority of people in Northern Ireland.⁷¹

Next the Ulster Democratic Unionist Party called for a referendum to see the total number of people who wanted to remain in the United Kingdom. Then Paisley's Party advocated that the British Government must set up priorities and that the first task "is to defeat the I.R.A. terrorists, stop the escalation of violence, and restore law and order to every part of our Province."⁷²

⁷⁰Ian Paisley, "Protestants to Contest Westminster and Stormont Seats: Statement by The Ulster Constitution Defense Committee," Protestant Telegraph, 17 February 1968, p. 4.

⁷¹Ian Paisley, "Outline of Some Proposals of the Ulster Democratic Unionist Party," Protestant Telegraph, 4 November 1972, p. 5.

⁷²Ibid.

Perhaps the biggest question of the UDUP was the "Border Question." Paisley put out an appeal for all loyalists to consolidate opinion on this issue. In a speech at Westminster, Paisley made it clear the border poll was his original suggestion.

I want the border poll to take place. I advocated it before direct rule came about. It should have taken place along time ago. I want it carried out in such a way that there can be no objections from any side after it is over. I want the poll to be conducted in accordance with the best British traditions.⁷³

A poll was held on the 8th of March, 1973, on the "Border Question." Paisley defined the questions of the poll as follows:

1. Do you want Northern Ireland to remain part of the United Kingdom?
 2. Do you want Northern Ireland to be joined with the Republic of Ireland, outside the United Kingdom?
- It is of utmost importance that loyalists unite on this issue and if possible for there to be joint cooperation at the booths.⁷⁴

The cooperation surrounding the border issue laid the ground work for Paisley's third approach to protect Ulster: The United Loyalist Coalition.

The United Loyalist Coalition

The Coalition outlined four main points which were put to Whitelaw and upon which future action was to be taken. Paraphrased, the points are: (1) No political rearrangement

⁷³ Ian Paisley, "Dr. Paisley's Speech at Westminster or Border Poll," Protestant Telegraph, 3 February 1973, p. 9.

⁷⁴ Ian Paisley, "Loyalists Unite on Border Poll!" Protestant Telegraph, 3 February 1973, p. 1.

of Northern Ireland's governmental structure will satisfy the IRA terrorists; therefore, they must be defeated. (2) A Council of Ireland will be unacceptable until the Irish Republic recognizes the Constitutional position of Northern Ireland. (3) Northern Ireland should have full parliamentary representation either by full integration or by a restoration of the Parliament of Northern Ireland. (4) The administration of the Royal Ulster Constabulary should be firmly in the hands of locally elected people.⁷⁵

The Coalition included the following loyalist groups: Ulster Democratic Unionist Party, The Vanguard Party, The United Loyalist Council, and The Orange Order. The Loyalist Coalition has worked together to do the following: (1) refused backing to "Official Unionist," (2) rejected the constitution proposed in the White Paper, (3) worked together to achieve an acceptable Constitution for Northern Ireland. The Loyalist Coalition has a tremendous amount of political power with the control of forty seats.⁷⁶

In summary Reverend Paisley's accomplishment of this coalition is remarkable. They agreed to take no further encroachment from the Republic of Ireland and no Government in Northern Ireland other than the way the rest of the United Kingdom was governed. Paisley's leadership in the

⁷⁵Ian Paisley, "United Loyalist Action Group to Fight White Paper," Protestant Telegraph, 31 March 1973, p. 3.

⁷⁶Ian Paisley, "No to Official Unionist," Protestant Telegraph, 12 May 1973, p. 1.

Coalition stands for the following: Loyalists dedicated to the Protestant Cause must untie for Ulster. United we stand--divided we fall.

The United Ulster
Unionist Council

The Loyalist Coalition was streamlined into the United Ulster Unionist Council. Protestant unity was achieved before the election and confirmed when it took place by returning twelve Loyalists to Parliament.

Never has the Ulster Electorate returned the Leaders of Ulster's Loyalist Institutions with such a resounding vote and a clear mandate. Harry West, leader of the Official Unionists; Bill Craig, leader of the Vanguard Unionists; Dr. Paisley of the Democratic Unionists; and Jim Molyneaux, head of the Royal Black Institution--all were returned.

By the hand of God, a solid, faithful and determined team has been sent to Westminster to present and defend the Ulster Cause.⁷⁷

The UUUC succeeded in bringing together the main political parties and their support. This achievement was endorsed in the February General Election. Thus, the loyalists at long last, primarily under Paisley's leadership, secured an increased representation. The UUUC manifesto was endorsed by Ulster people with 46 out of 78 seats. This victory returned the politicians to the House of Stormont.⁷⁸

⁷⁷Ian Paisley, "Unity At Last," Protestant Telegraph, 9 March 1974, p. 1.

⁷⁸Ian Paisley, "UUUC Victory: RETURN TO STORMONT," Protestant Telegraph, 10 May 1975, p. 1. (Cf.) Deutsch and Magowan, Vol. II, p. 363. "In the House of Commons at Westminster the Northern Ireland Constitution (Amendment) Bill was passed by 79 votes to 6. It provided for an administration

The foregoing section illustrates Reverend Paisley's theme that Ulster Loyalists must unite for protection of themselves and Ulster. His strong leadership resulted not only in the formation of his own political party but also the formation of several parties into one: The United Ulster Unionist Council. Finally the Council was given the backing of the Ulster Army Council that would not tolerate harassment by security forces against the Loyalists.⁷⁹ Once again Reverend Paisley had won the day.

Interrelationships between Religious and Political Themes

Reverend Paisley's religious and political themes are interwoven. His political message is that the religious truths must be enshrined forever in Ulster's political structures. Reforms which would end discrimination against Catholics would be a betrayal.

Reverend Ian Paisley's religious and political themes are frequently interrelated. Areas of commonality are: legalities of Protestants, government betrayal, and Orangism. His religious and political messages reveal that he considers the Ecumenical Movement to an instrument of Romanism and a danger to both the religious and political areas in Northern Ireland. On the religious scene the Ecumenical Movement is

of 15 and reduced the maximum number of seats in the Executive. A Devolution Order to end Direct Rule and to devolve power to the N.I. Assembly to take effect on January 1, 1974, was passed."

⁷⁹Deutsch and Magowan, Vol. II, pp. 362-363.

perceived as the great apostate movement in this century where all Protestant churches will become one and then join the Roman Catholic Church. Paisley, as we have seen earlier, observes the Catholic Church as the Anti-Christ; therefore, ecumenicalism, apostasy, and popery are related components. The great confederacy of evil that is expanding ecumenicalism is the World Council of Churches.

Corruption has also taken place on the political front because the spirit of ecumenism is operative in the Government, and lawless individuals have gone unpunished. Ecumenical tyranny manifests itself in the Government by encouragement of anarchists, especially the IRA and the harassment of Protestant loyalists in Northern Ireland. Government leaders possess Romeward trends because they advocate toleration, charity, and equal legal reforms to Catholics. Protestants see such moderation as a stepping stone in the Ecumenical Movement. When Government leaders such as Prime Minister O'Neill advocated "bridge-building" between the Protestant and Catholic community, he was seen as attempting to build roads back to "darkness, back to Romanism, and back to the tyranny and superstition of the Dark Ages."⁸⁰

Reverend Paisley's repeated emphasis on remembrance of the Protestant heritage is crucial because the Protestant society is built on it. A basic tenet of the Protestant

⁸⁰Ian Paisley, "Protestants Remember," Protestant Telegraph, 16 July 1966, p. 3.

Reformation, from Paisley's perspective, is that they have the Truth. The Bible is the center of their theology, not the Catholic Church. Each individual is capable of reaching God through faith, not works or penances through the Church of Rome. Wherever Rome rules, tyranny rules.

As Protestants, we must remember the past. What happened when Rome ruled supreme? Was there peace? Was there light among the nations? Did the forces of civilization march forward to victory? Nay, the very historians, both Roman and Reformed, call this period "The Dark Ages."

Yes, the lands of Europe were held in this darkness until the very Popes started to sell to the degraded people the right to sin. "Pay me," cried the Pope's Indulgence Seller Tetzel, "and you can sin freely."⁸¹

The Bible is the great imperishable Protestant rock. It is the words of Martin Luther from the past saying with conviction: "Here I take my stand, I can do no otherwise. God help me, Amen."⁸² Paisley refers to the great German Reformer stating that nothing else but the Holy Scriptures can be the basis for the Protestant life.

I would make these historic words of the great German Reformer the expression of my own confession. It is upon this Book that we as Protestants must always and ever and only take our stand. As the renowned Chillingworth said: "The Bible, the Bible only, the religion of Protestants."⁸³

Another interrelated area is the theme of loyal Protestants who have been betrayed or punished. The

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³Ian Paisley, "The Protestant Reformers: Martin Luther," Sermon Classics, Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina, Unusual Records, 1972.

Protestants are the religious aspect of the theme whereas the political overlap is through Government activities. The Government has punished the Protestants by disbanding the "B-Specials" who were primarily Protestants, as well as the Royal Ulster Constabulary. They are punished further if they do or do not break the law while mobsters such as the IRA are allowed freedom. Ulstermen were loyal to the Crown during W.W. II, now the Crown is disloyal to Protestants by denying them protection.

Not only have the Protestants been punished, Paisley tells us they have been betrayed as well. The Church of England has allowed Jesuits in Westminster, Mass in the Church of England, and an English Archbishop to visit the Pope. All these events have been encouraged by the Ecumenical Movement. The Unionist Government is to blame since they have failed to stop the cancerous growth of Catholicism, Irish Nationalism, and ecumenism.

The main political leaders have betrayed Protestants: O'Neill, Chichester-Clark, and Brian Faulkner. Not only have they allowed Catholics reforms, they also began to give them equality and power. Betrayal was seen by Protestants in the following acts: political discussion with the Republic--particularly Sean Lemass and Jack Lynch; allowing 1916 Easter Rising parades; removal of the RUC; internment without trial; abandonment of certain aspects of Orangism; allowing IRA members not only to go free but also to sit

at the conference tables in London when they were not allowed to do so.

As unlikely a topic as the IRA has both religious and political connotations for Reverend Paisley. He finds political concessions towards the IRA as subversive maneuvering by the Ecumenical Movement and Rome. The British Government is helping the IRA achieve its aim: a United Ireland. One of the ways the infiltration has taken place is the placement of churchmen in governmental positions. Government leaders have met with members of the World Council of Churches, ecumenical in orientation, and have influenced world leaders toward this movement and Rome. Paisley reasons that since Britain has long been a citadel of Protestant liberty, the Catholic hierarchy has set sights on returning England to the papal fold through ecumenism.

A further interrelationship is that of Orangism. The Protestant Church, the Unionist Party, and Orangism have been the holy trinity in Ulster for nearly sixty years. Their main principles are allegiance to the Crown, upholding the Protestant Ascendancy, and hatred of the Roman Catholic Church. The Orange Order has upheld the fortress of Protestantism for years, but Paisley believes it was endangered when political leaders, who were also well known Orangemen, began to encourage a more liberal attitude toward Catholics. Tolerant attitudes toward Catholics from the Unionist Party leaders was a real political danger. These two in turn were a threat to the Protestant religion in Ulster.

Conclusion

This and the preceding chapter provided a thematic analysis of Ian Paisley's discourse. The present chapter examined six areas of political concerns and summarized their close relationships to the areas of religious concerns addressed in the preceding chapter. These themes reveal the substance of Paisley's rhetorical strategies and tactics, the primary concerns of the following chapter.

CHAPTER VI

RHETORICAL TACTICS IN REVEREND PAISLEY'S STATUS QUO DISCOURSE

Introduction

The two preceding chapters focused on the religious and political content of Reverend Paisley's discourse through thematic analysis. Although content of his discourse is important, it is equally important to understand how Reverend Paisley uses rhetorical tactics to interact with the various conflicting groups in Northern Ireland. The tactics he employs in status quo discourse, within a revolutionary context, will be analyzed through the categories provided by Ronald G. Havelock, et al.

The categories utilized by Havelock and others to classify the discourse are: linkage, the number, variety, and mutuality of resources system-user system contacts, degree of interrelatedness, and collaborative relationships; structure, the degree of systematic organization and coordination of (a) the resource system, (b) the user system, (c) the dissemination-utilization strategy; capacity, the capability to retrieve and marshall diverse resources; and

highly correlated with this factor are wealth, power, size, centrality, intelligence, education, experience, mobility, and the number and diversity of existing linkages; reward, the frequency, immediacy, amount, mutuality, planning and structuring of positive reinforcements; proximity, the nearness in time, place, and context; synergy, the number, variety, frequency, and persistence of forces that can be mobilized to provide a knowledge utilization effect; and openness, the belief that change is desirable and possible, a willingness and readiness to accept outside help, to listen to the needs of others, and to give help.¹ This process is interpreted at four levels: the individual system, the interpersonal system, the organizational system, and the social system. Linkage is a series of two-way interaction processes which connect user systems with various resource systems. Senders and receivers can achieve successful linkage only if they exchange messages in two-way interaction and continuously make the effort to simulate each other's problem solving behavior.

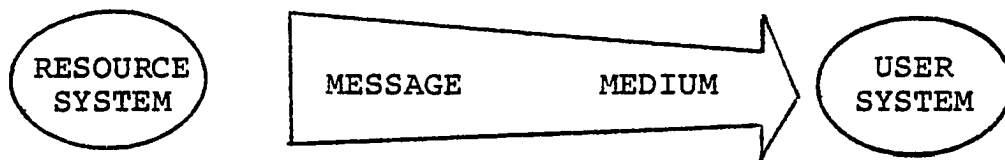
These categories are used and adopted to clarify Reverend Paisley's tactics. This means that the categories will be modified as is necessary for utilization in the present investigation. In one way or another Paisley

¹Ronald G. Havelock, et al., Planning for Innovation: A Comparative Study of the Literature on the Dissemination and Utilization of Scientific Knowledge (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Center for Research of Utilization of Scientific Knowledge Institute for Social Research, 1969), p. v.

utilizes positively six of the above categories. A seventh category, openness, is negatively employed in his work. The negative closedness dramatizes the nature of status quo discourse and demonstrates how Reverend Paisley may be overall so effective.

Guidelines to Understand the Process

To understand the operation of the foregoing categories requires identification of the elements of Paisley's activities. The simple scheme of the communication process which posits a "sender," "a receiver," "a message," and a "medium" broadens the sender and receiver to a resource system and a user system. Otherwise these four ingredients are preserved in the category system used to describe the rhetorical tactics. The four presumed ingredients are graphically arrayed below:



In these basic ingredients, who or what is the resource system? The resource system primarily is Reverend Paisley.

Who is the "user," i.e., the client, consumer, audience or target group? The members of Paisley's church groups, political supporters, and sympathizers who support him are the primary users. Relevant others in the user's social environment are family members, opinion leaders, reference

groups, influential people, and defenders. For example, Reverend Paisley's wife is a City Councilor, thus giving him a direct route to city affairs. Opinion leaders in religious and political groups back Paisley. Reference groups such as the Ulster Constitution Defense Committee, the City Council of Christian Churches, and the Apprentice Boys are examples of this category. Influential people include Parliamentary supporters, administrators of Bob Jones University, and members of supporting church groups throughout the Province. Particular defenders are Paisleyites, President and Board of Bob Jones University, Ulster Constitution Defense Committee, and the ICCC.

What is the "message?" Reverend Paisley's message is both political and religious. He argues that the political system must be preserved because within it are religious truths which must be enshrined forever. Among these truths are that the Roman Catholic Church must not be allowed to gain a foothold in Northern Ireland; and this Province is one of the last strongholds of Protestantism; and ecumenism is the work of the Anti-Christ, the Catholic Church of Rome.

What is the medium? Reverend Paisley's main mediums are the Free Presbyterian Church Pulpit of Northern Ireland, the British Parliament's House of Commons, and the newspaper The Protestant Telegraph. His secondary mediums consist of radio, television, books, rallies, assemblies, protest marches, personal telegrams, phone calls, posters, visitations,

lobbying, and tours.

What are the general strategies used? The strategies are power, persuasion, confrontation, and violence. Reverend Paisley exercises power through his political and religious authority. He uses persuasion of moral and emotional appeals in his newspaper and speeches, along with inflexible lines of argument. Confrontation is one of Paisley's more effective strategies. His organized protest marches openly confronted student marchers, Civil Rights marchers, groups advocating a united Ireland, and ecumenism. Although Paisley has not personally used violence, his strategies performed by his followers frequently result in violence. He can excite and inflame his followers into extreme actions just by talking to them. According to The Cameron Report, many of his followers, called Paisleyites, have committed violent physical acts.

Building upon the essential communication ingredients one can now utilize Havelock's categories to describe the diverse tactics Ian Paisley employed to implement his strategies and secure his goals. By examining his comprehensive network for the dissemination of his position, one more readily discerns the panoramic view of social interaction among diverse groups of Northern Ireland.

Dissemination and Utilization Factor 1: Linkage

Linkage specifies the degree of interpersonal or intergroup connection, or the extent to which mutual

communication relations exist among two or more parties. The more linkages there are and the stronger these linkages are, the more effective will be the day-to-day contact and exchange of information. Hence, the mutual utilization of knowledge will be greater. Most importantly, "the greater the number of overlapping linkages throughout the macrosystem of knowledge production and dissemination, the more frequent and the more effective will be the knowledge utilization."²

In order to be effective as a disseminator, "the resource system needs to develop a reciprocal and collaborative relationship not only with a variety of potential users, but also with a large and diverse group of other resource systems."³ The response system leader in this study, Reverend Ian Paisley, is a disseminator of information to both individuals and diverse groups.

Interpersonal Level: Linkage

At the interpersonal level one considers the primary individuals with whom Reverend Ian Paisley has linkage. These individuals include: Eileen Paisley, Reverend John Wylie, Reverend T. Foster, Reverend William Beattie, Dr. Bob Jones III, Dr. Carl McIntyre, Brian Green, Desmond Boal, and Major Ronald Bunting.

²Ibid., pp. 11-22.

³Ibid., pp. 11-21.

Reverend Paisley's closest link is his wife, Eileen Paisley, who is a totally dedicated follower. In addition to serving as his secretary, she serves as a City Councilor in Belfast. She often makes appearances for her husband if he cannot be there, or sometimes speaks on his behalf. An example of the latter was her personal leadership of a march protesting her husband's imprisonment. As one observer noted, "Mrs. Eileen Paisley led 6,000 Protestants on a march through the streets of Belfast calling for the release of her husband; and in some Roman Catholic areas of the city, police were engaged in sporadic action with petrol bomb throwers."⁴

An equally strong link is with Reverend Paisley's two associate pastors: Reverends John Wylie and Ivan T. Foster. Not only did they assist him in ministry, but they were also his fellow prisoners. He had daily interaction with them and the linkage between the three men was strong. Another important figure in Paisley's linkage system is a young minister Reverend William Beattie. This man officiated in Reverend Paisley's prison absence and communicated frequently by letter and by visits. The religious link extended to the political arena as well. When Paisley ran on the Protestant Unionist ticket so did Beattie and John Wylie. They were with him in protest marches and rallies held throughout

⁴Max Hastings, Barricades in Belfast: The Fight for Civil Rights in Northern Ireland (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1970), p. 109.

the Province. Should anything happen to Reverend Paisley, William Beattie would become an excellent replacement.

A further important religious linkage is Reverend Paisley's interpersonal relationship with Dr. Bob Jones, III, the President of Bob Jones University. There is a close personal tie between the two men. Each year Reverend Paisley accepts the Bible Lectureship at Bob Jones University as a main speaker for a week. Dr. Jones reciprocates as a guest speaker to the Free Presbyterian Church in Belfast. The Bob Jones University Board of Trustees awarded Paisley the honorary Doctor of Theology degree for his "staunch defense of Protestant fundamentalism," and his book An Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans. Dr. Jones' commendation of Reverend Paisley is clear in his preface to the book where he comments that Paisley belongs to the Age of the Reformation:

I thank God daily for his life and ministry, for his spiritual insight, his warm and kindly humour, his physical and moral courage, his deep devotion to Christ, his love for Truth, and his burden for souls. I cannot help thinking of him as a man of another century, born as it were "out of season." Somehow Ian Paisley seems to belong to the Age of Reformation. Yet he is, in my opinion, exactly what God's Man--the minister of the Living Word--should be in every generation, in any century; and God knows how much this apostate twentieth century of ours needs men like this Irish pulpiteer and prophet who fears no man's censure and craves no man's applause.⁵

Another strong link with international ramifications is Dr. Carl McIntyre, President of the International Council

⁵ Ian Paisley, An Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans (Greenville, South Carolina: Bob Jones University Press, 1968), p. 7.

of Christian Churches. Dr. McIntyre was close enough friend to lay one of the eight foundation stones at the opening of the Martyrs' Memorial Church. Since Paisley has served as Vice President of that organization, he would have the opportunity for a higher number of interpersonal interactions with Dr. McIntyre as well as the members.

Still another close associate is Brian Green, the Secretary of the British Council of Protestant Churches. This fundamentalist organization provides support for Reverend Paisley. Green was one of the men who flew to Rome with Paisley to protest the Archbishop's visit to the Pope. He also laid one of the foundation stones of Reverend Paisley's church building.

Politically, Paisley had some direct personal links that were useful. One was Desmond Bell, M.P., who helped Paisley with political and legal strategy. The other was the bizarre figure of Major Bunting, a forty-five year old mathematics lecturer at the Belfast College of Technology. At one time Bunting was well known for his progressive socialist views, but then he was converted by Reverend Paisley. After his religious conversion he played lieutenant for Paisley with an unquestioning obedience and total devotion that silenced any doubts other Paisleyites might cast on his loyalties. He was the Commandant of an uncertainly defined body of Paisleyite supporters known as the Ulster

Protestant Volunteers.⁶

Additionally, Reverend Paisley has a direct interpersonal linkage with the 3,000 members of his congregation in Belfast. He officiates at baptisms, marriages, and funerals and provides the members of his congregation with personal and religious guidance. All of these events allow him an opportunity to interact with individuals on a familiar basis.

In summary, the primary individuals Reverend Paisley used to assist the dissemination of information for his cause are: Eileen Paisley, Revs. John Wylie, T. Foster, William Beattie, Dr. Bob Jones III, Dr. Carl McIntyre, Brian Green, Desmond Boal, and Major Ronald Bunting. These individual links were strong because of the high level of information exchange, frequency of contact, and close interpersonal relationships.

Intergroup Level: Linkage

Reverend Paisley has many linkages at the intergroup level. He is very effective in his use of diverse groups to disseminate his message. The strongest group is the Martyrs Memorial Free Presbyterian Church. Having gone from fifty members at his ordination to over 3,000 in membership is no small growth. As the preceding section noted, within this group the interpersonal linkage is also

⁶The Cameron Commission, p. 88, cf. Hastings, p. 72.

great because of Paisley's preaching, prayers, and service input. Interaction among the membership and through the intergroup potential are furthered because of frequent, regularly attended services.

Additionally, he was elected Moderator of the thirty-six congregations of his religious group throughout the Province. The ministers of these various congregations respect Paisley and think he gets the task accomplished; otherwise they would not elect him as head of the office. This office makes him the direct link with the head minister and elders of various congregations. Paisley's high level of participation in the International Council of Christian Churches also gives him the resources and stamp of approval of that group. They finance his tours abroad, including travel to the USA, Canada, and Australia.

Finally, his strong religious leadership may be seen in the Christian Workers Training Institute in Belfast, Northern Ireland, in which young men are prepared for the ministry. This is one more of Paisley's links by which he directly disseminates his messages. These young men are not only filling some pulpits now and assisting Reverend Paisley, but when he is gone some of these young people may follow in his footsteps with similar messages.

Politically, Reverend Paisley has a number of group linkages through associations with Members of Parliament, both at Stormont and at Westminster. He is able to use

various members in collaborative relationships to achieve his goals. Out of many political contacts Paisley was later to form not only his own political party, The Ulster Democratic Unionist Party, but also launched the powerful United Ulster Unionist Council. The latter proved so successful that any politician who valued his career would join it. Political contacts were used to form negotiation teams or create effective boycotts against the Republic.

Further, Reverend Paisley has direct linkages with groups known to be militant. The Ulster Constitution Defense Committee which is a committed loyalist organization has links with the Ulster Protestant Volunteers.⁷ Often this group participated in threat squads, or created violent acts which resulted in riots. Among these militant groups were found members of the "B-Specials." Since this team was a special division of the local police force, citizens found this deplorable. These groups, in turn, had connections with local groups such as the local Orange Lodges or Apprentice Boys. Frequently members of one group were found to be members of another group. Their gathering often ended in skirmishes, fights, or violence.

Briefly, the primary groups through which Reverend Paisley disseminated his message are Martyrs Memorial Free Presbyterian Church membership, churches throughout the Province, International Council of Christian Churches, Bob

⁷The Cameron Report, Appendix III, p. 119.

Jones University, Christian Workers Training Institute, Houses of Parliament at Stormont and Westminster, Ulster Constitution Defense Committee, Ulster Protestant Volunteers, "B-Specials," and local militant groups. In each group Reverend Paisley also has direct interpersonal links and often creates the successful internal linkage among the membership. Hastings comments:

His influence could not be overrated, nor the strength of his organizations. What they lacked in brain power-- . . . they made up in total devotion. If Paisley sent out that there was work to be done--of any kind--in defending Ulster's Constitution, the "loyalists" would be right behind him.⁸

The Cameron Report gives concrete evidence of Reverend Paisley's linkage between the U.C.D.C. and Ulster Protestant Volunteers under the leadership of Major Bunting. There is no real doubt that Paisley organized and controlled counter-demonstrations. "The ambush of the marchers at Burntollet Bridge, the arrangements for providing missiles of all kinds at the place . . . all point to a carefully planned and pre-arranged operation, and, of course, Major Bunting himself, was there also and had an active part in the affair."⁹

In terms of user adaptation effective users need to develop reciprocal relationships with a variety of resource systems. For optimum utilization in a user social system there also has to be a considerable degree of linkage among

⁸Hastings, p. 72.

⁹The Cameron Report, pp. 88-89.

individual members. Innovators need to be linked to opinion leaders, and opinion leaders need to be linked to a large number and variety of followers who can pass the word to the remote corners of the community.¹⁰

The users are the clients or audience of the resource system. The individual users in this situation are many. There are both positive and negative users of the messages from the resource system. First the receivers of Paisley's messages who are affected negatively will be considered. Northern Ireland's Prime Ministers Terence O'Neill, James Chichester-Clark and Brian Faulkner all interacted with Paisley. They used Paisley's messages in that each responded to him. He bombarded them with his messages until he undermined their respective political cabinets. Further negative links are interactions with Mrs. Patricia McCluskey and Dr. McCluskey who were early workers in the Civil Rights Movement; Kevin Agnew, Noel Harris and Paddy Devlin of the Northern Ireland Labour Party; Kevin Boyle, Michael O'Kane, and Bernadette Devlin of the People's Democracy Party;¹¹ and the President of the Irish Republic, Jack Lynch. These individuals are associated with the various groups that use the information negatively: Stormont and Westminster, Department of Home Affairs, Campaign for Social Justice, Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, The People's

¹⁰Havelock, et al., pp. 11-21.

¹¹The Cameron Report, Appendix I, p. 97.

Democracy, Fianna Fail Cabinet of the Republic, and the IRA.

The people who are positive users of Paisley's information are his fellow ministers and church members, a college president, politicians, and his wife. The positive consumers include the entire membership and associate congregations throughout the Province, Bob Jones University, U.C.D.C., Ulster Protestant Volunteers, Ulster Defense Association, and some members of the "B-Specials."

"Linkage" in the message means relevance, first and foremost, i.e., "relevance and relatedness to the user and to the user's need."¹² "A second meaning is 'internal linkage within the message or relatedness of one part of the message to another.' A third meaning is 'relatedness to other messages that have been directed to the user in the past; the message which the user can mentally connect to past messages will stand a better chance of acceptance.'"¹³

Reverend Paisley's messages are carefully related to the user's needs. In most instances his audiences are Protestants and/or loyalists. His messages of anti-popery, anti-Catholicism, anti-ecumenicalism are relevant to their needs. A Protestant audience afraid of Catholic domination would be responsive to Paisley's messages. Since the message of anti-ecumenicalism ultimately disapprove of union

¹²Havelock, et al., pp. 11-21.

¹³Ibid.

with Rome, Paisley's audience would be receptive.

The loyalist element of Paisley's audiences are receptive to his messages of anti-unification with the Republic of Ireland. The loyalist element prefers to remain within the United Kingdom. Paisley states that: "The Unionist Party believes that none of our plans for the future make any sense unless we continue to play a positive part in the United Kingdom."¹⁴ Paisley's message that Northern Ireland ministers were flirting with the South in regard to constitutional issues appealed to audiences who had been reassured by O'Neill that he would not negotiate with the Republic.

Paisley understands the motivations of his audiences, and especially of Ulster Protestants. He knows how to stir their deepest fears and apprehensions--those that relate to losing religion, country, and life. Their security was threatened. His messages articulated their fears and gave them a route to follow. This route was union and militancy if necessary to defend religion, home, and country. He could be more convincing than most because he does not show fear of the consequences of his actions.

"Linkage" in the medium means a connection between the sender and the receiver "in the sense that it should be

¹⁴Ian Paisley, "Situation in Northern Ireland," Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina, Tape, April 21, 1972.

compatible with their experience and style."¹⁵ Most of the channels Reverend Paisley uses are direct. Most of the messages he sends are responded to in some form. Mass media channels are used frequently by Reverend Paisley: newspapers, radio, television, posters, and books. He has appeared on the BBC, NBC, CBS, Eire, ABC. As Havelock, et al., point out, most forms of writing and television "presuppose effective sender-receiver linkage or at least a receiver who is 'cognitively tuned' to the message and the medium."¹⁶

Certain media such as personal contact and informal group discussions are also significant in developing initial linkage between sender and receiver. Paisley is also effective in this area. His direct personal influence channels may be seen in mass meetings in the form of political rallies, revival meetings, demonstrations, and protest marches.

Paisley uses several highly personalized communication forms such as lobbying in Stormont, Westminster, and Canterbury Cathedral. He places personal phone calls to government officials, personal telegrams to government and religious leaders, and the Queen, personal preaching tours in England, Canada, USA, Europe, personal mail letters, and personal productions from Martyrs Memorial Productions such as filming masses to prove the Catholics are in error.

Use of the small group is one of Paisley's most

¹⁵Havelock, et al., pp. 11-23.

¹⁶Ibid.

effective strategies. The Ulster Constitution Defense Committee began as a small group which he controls as well as the threat squads growing out of it. Personal negotiation teams with various agencies and the police force were often in his control. For example, Paisley was often asked to use his influence to control riots or prevent certain demonstrations.¹⁷ Undoubtedly, small groups are used in his church work with such things as personal visitations, rallies, or membership drives.

In addition to power and persuasive strategies, Paisley utilizes educational strategies. One of the most valuable ones is conducting his own training school for young ministers. He gives them the messages he wishes for them to operate with in the ministry. His religious sermons repeatedly refer to Reformation principles. He educates his congregation, and young ministers in Reformation concepts. Not only his speeches, but also his written literature is heavily oriented to Reformation issues. Certainly his training school for young men and lectures to college students at Bob Jones University are full of the Reformational ideals and fundamentalism faith. One example of his ability to inspire young people is autographing their personal Bibles with Ephesians 6: 19-20. The scripture is: "And pray for me, that I may be granted the right words when I open my

¹⁷ Ian Paisley, "Press Conference," Greenville, South Carolina, 18 April 1972.

mouth, and may boldly and freely make known his hidden purpose, for which I am an ambassador--in chains. Pray that I may speak of it boldly, as it is my duty to speak."¹⁸ Certainly being asked to pray for a famous preacher could have a positive effect on a young person. And as he autographed their Bibles, Reverend Paisley took time to speak to each one.¹⁹

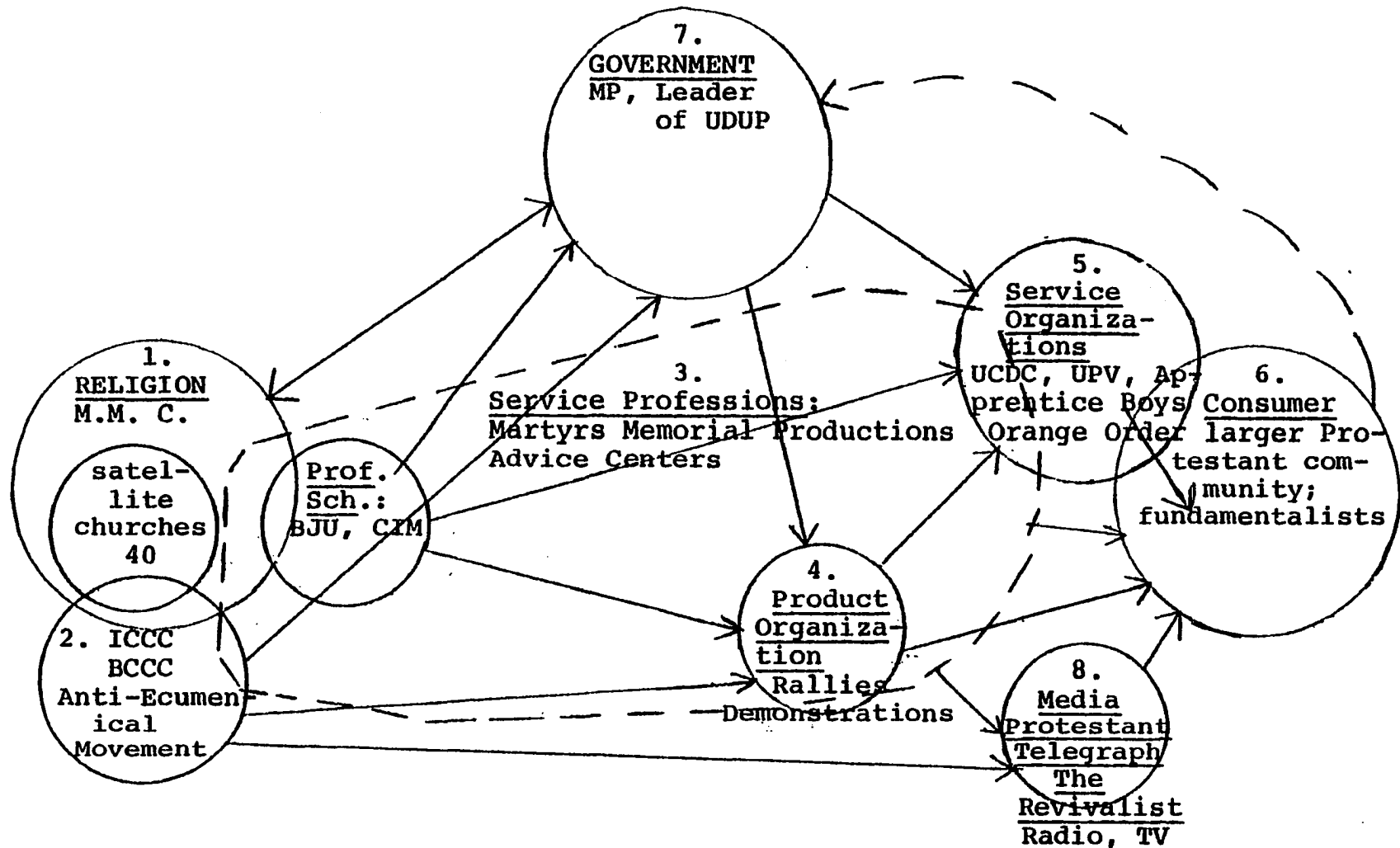
What tactics did Reverend Paisley work to oust government officials? He made use of both the written and spoken word to achieve his goal of disrupting the government. Speeches given at organized rallies, parades, and the House of Commons presented viewpoints to change public opinion. Similarly, on a religious front if officials did not agree with him, he used sermons, Scripture, revival meetings, and protests to remove individuals from office.

To summarize, Reverend Paisley can be placed as a leader in religious, government, service professions, and the larger community. He thus becomes the main link in the linkage system. Reverend Paisley is a primary link in the communication process in the Northern Ireland community. The diagram on page 175 roughly depicts Reverend Paisley's

¹⁸Paul, Letter to the Ephesians, The New English Bible, New Testament (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 335.

¹⁹I witnessed this on April 5, 1975, at Bob Jones University Chapel, Greenville, South Carolina. After Reverend Paisley's 10:30 a.m. sermon "The Death of Christ," young people gathered around him on the podium to obtain his autograph in their Bibles.

**AN INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR VIEWING IAN PAISLEY'S DISSEMINATION
AND UTILIZATION OF KNOWLEDGE MACROSYSTEM**



Reverend Paisley can be placed as a leader in each circle; he becomes the main link.

linkage patterns. The following key provides terms to understand the diagram: MMC--Martyrs Memorial Church; ICC--International Council of Christian Churches; BCCC--British Council of Christian Churches; Prof.--professional; UCDC--Ulster Constitution Defense Committee; UPV--Ulster Protestant Volunteers; BJU--Bob Jones University; and CIM--Christian Institute for Ministers.

Dissemination and Utilization Factor 2: Structure

The degree of systematic organization and coordination of elements strongly influences the effectiveness of the dissemination and utilization of the information Ian Paisley provides. This generalization applies to the (a) resource system, (b) the user system, and (c) the relations between source and user, (d) the message, and (e) the medium.²⁰ Successful utilization activities tend to be structured activities, and useful knowledge is structured knowledge. The extent to which structuring takes place in the sender and receiver and in the message seem to be important correlates of successful dissemination and utilization.²¹

To be effective the resource system requires structure in at least three ways: (1) meaningful division of labor and coordination of effort; (2) a structured and coherent view of the client system; (3) to plan dissemination and utilization activities in a structured sequence which will

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid.

synchronize effects and consequences.

Reverend Paisley, as the dominant force in the resource system, handles the division of labor. He has organized his church system so that it functions as a whole with 3,000 members. His preaching duties are divided among three other men, and as Moderator of the satellite churches he helps coordinate their efforts. He visits and preaches in each of these churches. From the moderator position it was only a step to the larger, anti-ecumenical community in America and the international scene. His professional schools and service organizations are also coordinated to disseminate his messages. Sometimes on the non-religious front his contacts were well concealed, but the organization remains strong: "Paisley had contacts, some of them extremely carefully concealed, among almost every Protestant group in Northern Ireland."²²

Next Paisley had a clear view of his client system. He understands his religious and political clients, who are primarily Protestant. Issues that affect them on the religious front are tied into the political one. For example, the issues of preserving Protestantism, home, and employment are often interchangeable. Protestantism retains their religious heritage, but it also retains their employment. From Paisley's perspective if they joined the Republic, they would be in danger of having their religion suppressed

²²Hastings, p. 72.

and be out of work since they would then be in a minority.

Perhaps one of Reverend Paisley's strongest points is his ability to plan and organize activities well. He makes it clear to his clients that he plans to help them, lays out the plan, and proceeds to action. He coordinates his efforts so that the greatest number of people behind him function well and receive benefits in one form or another.

The same structuring principle applies to the user. The "user should be organized to receive just as the resource should be organized to send."²³ The user system must have an "adequate internalized problem-solving strategy, i.e., an orderly set of processes for sensing need and expression, diagnosis, resource retrieval and evaluation."²⁴ The members of Paisley's church are organized to receive his religious messages. The set of organized processes include committees, church rules, and regulations. Most of the latter are based on rigid interpretations of scripture.

The user system is also more effective because it contains an integrated network of social relations. Prayer meetings, revivals, church rallies, and song fests all give the members adequate opportunity for social interaction. Such events allow for an integrated network of social relations and effective knowledge utilization. It seems that Reverend Paisley is the main opinion leader. Any new ideas

²³Havelock, et al., pp. 11-23.

²⁴Ibid., pp. 11-24.

that come in the controls since he is also the defender of the status quo faith.

"Message" in the structure refers to "usable knowledge which is coherent in form and substance and, in that sense, "structured"; it is rationally organized for ready consumption, designed, tested, packaged, and labeled."²⁵ Paisley's messages of anti-popery, anti-ecumenalism, etc., are clearly organized and designed for his Protestant audience.

"Medium" in the structure means having a structured program for getting the message across to the user. "Coherent multi-media programs for diffusing innovations have a high chance of success when they are used in combinations and sequences that are timed to correspond to stages in the user's system's developing readiness and involvement."²⁶ Paisley has his followers organized in such a manner that they carry through his plans quickly. His timing is excellent; once he makes a decision he wastes no time in moving, whether it is protesting against the Pope in Rome, going on American tours, or getting himself elected.

He utilizes almost every type of medium to achieve his ends: parades, rallies, revival meetings, bands, songs, marches, lectures, debates, radio, television, posters, telegrams, tours, newspapers, books, records, group

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid.

discussions, and personal telephone calls. Paisley can often mix the political and religious mediums. O'Neill's downfall was to a large extent the result of Reverend Paisley's ability to bring the fair to town every night in the name of the Lord:

Almost every night, Paisley was there with his fife and drum band, the Shankill Road Young Conquerors. Muffled in an overcoat and fur hat, sash across his massive chest, Paisley careered from housing estate to meeting hall, from village square round the little streets, proclaiming the downfall of O'Neill and the rallying of salvation of Protestantism with that fantastic voice and superb showmanship. Even in icy weather, the crowds came out to hear him. He called on them to sing "Ulster's Battle Hymn"--O God Our Help in Ages Past; he told them how "Popery takes you down into the darkness"; he led them in his parades behind the band--and they loved it. Paisley appealed to the romantic, tub-thumping, excited taste in the country community: all the fun, and religion, too.²⁷

To summarize the category of structure, Reverend Paisley has a strong ability to organize and get people to follow him. His political and religious efforts are highly organized and account for much of his success.

Dissemination and Utilization Factor 3: Capacity

"Capacity" is the third factor for consideration in understanding the Northern Ireland situation better. This concept ties "together the highly intercorrelated variables of 'wealth,' 'power,' 'status,' 'education,' 'intelligence,' and 'sophistication' which are invariably good predictors of successful innovation and utilization."²⁸ Those who

²⁷Hastings, p. 98.

²⁸Havelock, pp. 11-25.

already have resources are the most likely to be able to get even more. The rich, thus, have more opportunities to get richer because they have the "risk capital" both figuratively and literally.

The more power and prestige possessed by Reverend Paisley, the more effective he will be as a resource and as a diffuser. Reverend Paisley did not possess the variables of wealth, power, status, education, and sophistication in the beginning. Through his own efforts he has risen to the top in religious and political circles to attain power and prestige. He has attained this recognition in a relatively short period of time since he did not come to international attention until 1966--twelve years ago. As his church grew in numbers, it also grew in wealth. His political offices gave him power and status. Further status was conferred upon him by Bob Jones University when he was given the Doctor of Divinity Degree. His international status with the ICCC certainly propelled him into a sophistication that his own background did not provide.

If his church is viewed as a collective capacity system, Reverend Paisley has an even higher degree of collective intelligence, power, and wealth at his disposal. He can call upon a wide variety of talent and make use of diverse sources. He and his members have been able to plan and structure church activities upon a grand scale. His political star seemed to be an offshoot of his religious

power and activities. His political elections to governmental offices only increased his status, power, sophistication, and wealth.

For the user, "the capacity" is the ability to assemble and invest one's own internal resources and to call upon outside help. A further ingredient of capacity is self-confidence as well as the amount of available time, energy, education, sophistication, and size of operation.²⁹ Paisley's followers possess self-confidence mainly because of his leadership. This tremendous feeling of self-confidence would be impossible to overrate in Reverend Paisley. He has displayed self-confidence and an incredible energy level. He attributes these qualities to God and steadfastly declares God is guiding him.

The best return on the dissemination and utilization investment is from a high capacity user system. Paisley and the Paisleyites use his system. Paisley receives high returns from his users, and has resulted in his spiraling success.

The "message" in the capacity category represents a tremendous investment in dissemination and in packaging ideas. Expensive innovations which help carry the message could be color television, or a jet aircraft. Perhaps the most costly innovation at Paisley's disposal is the grand church in Belfast. Both grounds and building were expensive. The entire project was designed with the idea of carrying

²⁹Havelock, et al., pp. 11-26.

the message to capacity crowds. His Reformational message is throughout the building.

The general theme embodied in the name of the Church, "Martyrs Memorial," runs throughout the building. Three pairs of great bronze doors at the entrance, carry the message. The middle pair are engraved with extracts from Martin Luther theses, and the others with a selection of Old and New Testament texts.

The interior of the Church is an unexpected mixture of simplicity and grandeur, retaining the very best of the Reformed Heritage in Church architecture. An "ambulatory"--a wide airy corridor--runs round the whole Church, on the pillars of which are busts of thirty Christian martyrs and Reformers, with plaques summing up their life work. The unornamented pews seat 1,800 people, but with the ambulatory on the ground floor, a wide open walk all around the gallery, very spacious aisles, and large Communion dais, another 1,000 can be seated comfortably.³⁰

The pulpit is made of stone and trimmed with oak. It is situated so that all members of the congregation are near Paisley. The Church is also fitted with a comprehensive internal communication system, which helps make the building a great preaching meeting house.³¹ This is a significant input in terms of keeping the message of the Reformation, revivalist, Protestant fundamental theology alive. Paisley's high dollar and people investment result from his capacity resource system in church and politics.

A high capacity medium or channel is one which can convey a large quantity of information to a user in a short amount of time. Of equal importance is the capacity of the medium to store a large amount of knowledge for the user and

³⁰Ian Paisley, "Rev. Ian R.K. Paisley, D.D., M.P., Preaches at The Martyrs Memorial Church," Spin Records, 1970.

³¹Ibid.

make it available for him when he needs it.³² Reverend Paisley is able to get the most through the medium in a short period of time due to the comprehensive communication system in his church. The Church has a library, printing press, and recording facilities under Paisley's Directorship called Martyrs Memorial Productions, Inc. These facilities allow a large number of books and other media to be available to individual members. Paisley has a high power to influence the potential user here since he directs the enterprise. He would control what material was available there. In addition to this main medium, he takes advantage of radio, television, newspapers, etc. to influence the public. He coordinates his meetings with rallies, marches, posters, and preadvertisements. One of his best strategies is his ability to use a range of media in close succession.

Dissemination and Utilization Factor 4: Reward

A fifth factor is "reward" or "reinforcement." A fundamental psychological fact is that rewarded behavior tends to be repeated, and this is as true in knowledge transfer as in behavioral transfers. The sender will not send if he does not get rewarded for sending; the receiver will not receive if he does not get rewarded for receiving. "The message won't work if it has no reward value, and the

³²Havelock, et al., pp. 11-26.

medium won't be attended to if it has no reward-giving history."³³

Reward is defined as the "frequency, immediacy, amount, mutuality of, planning and structuring of positive reinforcement."³⁴ For the resource system "profitability" or anticipated profitability is a major incentive for diffusion of innovations. It may not be in coinage, but there will be a reward. Reward could include recognition by one's colleagues, satisfaction in creating something that works, feedback from a satisfied client, or the feeling one had completed a task well.

This reward factor is important when considering Paisley as a resource system. Paisley has gained the following rewards: increased financial resources, titles of Reverend, Member of Parliament, Doctor of Theology, educational, religious, and political recognition. Paisley's poor economic background as a child and young man has made him a success story for his followers. Although his political recognition has not been as positive as the religious, he still has recognition. And one could not help but have a small halo when you consider that the House of Commons, Parliament, has been for years an elitist group.

Profitability to the user is equally important. For the user of the system there needs to be a value return in

³³Ibid.

³⁴Havelock, et al., p. v.

proportion to investment of dollars, time, and effort. Different users would place different values on various types of reward. The spectrum of significant rewards among Paisley's users is broad. His followers get a "halo effect" from Paisley's success and glory. And as his supporters they receive some of his success both at home and abroad. Everyone likes to be a part of a winner, and Paisley allows them to be part of him through his varied activities. Although there may be a few who would take advantage of Paisley's religious position, most religious members of any spiritual consequence would give up time, money, effort and personal glory if they truly believed Paisley was doing "God's Will." Just to be a small part, although unrecognized, of Paisley's efforts in God's plan would assure them they had some small part in carrying out the divine plan in Northern Ireland. For some to be part of the largest Protestant Church in the United Kingdom is sufficient.

"Message" in the reward factor is important because of the probability of the payoff. By sending out certain messages, Reverend Paisley can see definite reward value in audience response. His high priority is in saving souls. He maintains these souls by keeping Northern Ireland free from popery. He extends his message everywhere he goes. After a life priority, his second priority seems to be that of liberty. The problems of Northern Ireland are seen as a life or death situation. Happiness is the lowest priority.

There is reward power in all these situations for Reverend Paisley. He has a probability of payoff in the following power forms: spiritual, psychological, social, political. The chart on page 188 graphically portrays this reward system.

The medium which has had a history of success for either senders or receivers will be effective through two points of view: (1) through reinforcement receivers and senders will have been trained to its use; and (2) they will have built an expectation of the medium. If it has been successful on one occasion, it will be successful again.³⁵ Senders and receivers have been conditioned religiously and politically in Northern Ireland to certain expectations of the media. They have been successful in the past and the people have a built-in expectation for the present.

Certain media are more capable than others of giving feedback to senders. They are also more capable of giving rewards. Interpersonal exchange and direct contact experience with the innovation are the best media from this viewpoint, but also the riskiest.³⁶ Although risky, this is where the Reverend Paisley shines. He is highly involved with his audiences on an interpersonal level. Meetings, marches, protest rallies, and main speaker allow him direct contact with people and an immediate interpersonal exchange

³⁵Havelock, et al., pp. 11-27.

³⁶Ibid.

REWARD POWER OF INNOVATIONS: A LOGICAL FRAMEWORK
FOR PRIORITIES

	LIFE	LIBERTY	HAPPINESS	
SAVING	Highest Priority Saving Souls	Paisley sees N.I. life or death situation		Perceived
MAIN- TAINING	Maintain Souls by keeping N.I. free			High
EXTEND- ING	Message national inter- national		Lowest Priority	Low

Probability of payoff:

1. Spiritual
2. Psychological
3. Social
4. Political
5. Power in all above

of communication.

To summarize, Reverend Paisley receives a high level of positive reinforcement from his political and religious activities. His users respond and are reflected in Paisley's rising star. His risky involvement on an interpersonal level with people, and lack of fear has brought him a high level of success.

Dissemination and Utilization Factor 5: Proximity

Proximity, as used in this study, is defined as nearness in time, place and context. There is a high level of familiarity, similarity, and recency involved in this factor. When we live as neighbors, and see others on a daily basis we have the chance to stimulate one another merely because we are in the same place at the same time. This mutuality of time and place means we will learn from each other. Users who have close proximity to resources are more likely to use them. Anything easily accessible is more likely to be used. "Proximity is also one of the factors which makes linkage more possible and hence more probable."³⁷

For the resource system, proximity is a major aid in bringing about this linkage and hence in promoting effective dissemination and utilization. Resource systems must be perceived by users as both geographically and psychologically

³⁷Ibid.

near. Paisley as the resource system is easily accessible to the people in their wants, ideas, and perceived needs. He is a main link to other political and religious systems. In addition to being psychologically close to the people, he is geographically close to any part of Northern Ireland because of its small size. Thus, physically, he could be in any part of the Province within a few hours. His double duty as a church and parliament member gives him double exposure and a significant double linkage in terms of proximity.

Since Reverend Paisley is close to users, it is likely that the users will be aware of commonality and needs. They may pool their internal resources. Church members and political members are respectively close to one another; hence, there are more opportunities to be aware of those "of that like mind and faith." Especially, in a church membership there is a greater tendency to pool internal resources for the benefit of others. The members would be near to the main opinion leader, Rev. Paisley, who in turn would be in contact with everyone else.

Proximity in the message can be defined as "familiarity to the user and relatedness and congruity with user needs. It may also mean similarity and congruity with past innovations which the user has adopted."³⁸ Reverend Paisley's messages are familiar to the Northern Ireland people, and emphatically so to the Protestants. They understand the

³⁸Havelock, et al., pp. 11-29.

Protestant message along with the intertwine of history which so often mixes religion and politics. The content of his messages remains the same.

The technological revolution has meant greater proximity for people the world over. Television, telephone, and the airplanes have brought people together. Many common folk in Northern Ireland could not afford a television until the last few years. But about the time in the sixties when some of the Northern Ireland people could afford this result of technology, Paisley came along and tapped the possibilities of the media for spreading his religious message. He is one of the few individuals to come out of the common class who could keep in touch with people in the United States for instance via telephone. When the troubles were peaking in 1969, Paisley called his wife from Philadelphia to urge Ulster Loyalists to "keep calm" and to be "disciplined and restrained and not to be provoked into any action that would deteriorate the situation."³⁹ Or what could be more flattering than to be interviewed by telephone while he was in New York by the BBC in London about his views on recent Northern Ireland developments and whether he intended to cut short his tour of the U.S. due to the conflict.⁴⁰ He makes a high level of personal contacts and this is

³⁹Ian Paisley, "Keep Calm," Protestant Telegraph, 13 September 1969, p. 1.

⁴⁰BBC, "The World At One," 8 September 1969, William Hardcastle.

accomplished primarily through the jet and telephone with outside groups.

Dissemination and Utilization Factor 6: Synergy

Synergy, as used in this study, is defined as "exerting force together or in combination, or upon the same point."⁴¹ Several forces, several inputs of knowledge working together over time, produce the behavior which Havelock et al. identify as "knowledge utilization." On one hand synergy represents redundancy, the requirement that a message be repeated over and over again before it gets attended to and absorbed. A high level of redundancy has to permeate our communication systems for them to be effective knowledge transmitters. However "synergy" goes beyond simple redundancy in suggesting that there should be purposeful redundancy. "A variety of messages must be generated pertaining to the same piece of information and these messages must be directed at the potential user on a number of different channels in a number of different formats."⁴² This is all focused toward the goal of adopting the message.

For the resource system "successful utilization seems to require persistent leadership."⁴³ There has to be a

⁴¹Havelock, et al., pp. 11-29.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Havelock, et al., pp. 11-30.

central figure or group who pulls together the diverse resources. Paisley's persistence is undaunted. He never gives up. He synergistically brings together his messages in a variety of ways. He structures, develops, and executes his strategies. The various aspects of his message are brought together through his religious and political systems. There is constant repetition for the user.

The user needs "repeated inputs in a variety of media over an extended time from a variety of sources before he will become an adopter. Some combination of new inputs and memories of past inputs needs to be set in place before behavioral change comes about."⁴⁴ This is the synergy inside the user. As suggested earlier, Rev. Paisley repeats his messages in a variety of media. In 1966 his messages began and have been repeated constantly. His repeated status quo message has resulted in growth of his congregation from a small nucleus to over 3,000 members.

Effective messages have a built-in redundancy; the main point is reformed and rephrased in several different ways and repeated in the same way. The thematic analysis over a ten-year period of Paisley's religious and political messages revealed that he repeats the same ideas over and over. His main battle cry against popery, ecumenicalism, modernism, republicanism, and union with Britain have remained constant. He has only added new channels to put the message

⁴⁴Ibid.

across to a wider audience.

For the medium, the persistence or redundancy of the transmission is an important aspect of synergy. The adoption rate of the message by the user is correlated to the extent of promotional effort by the change agent. Paisley's messages are repeated in the media and then followed up again on a personal level.

In summary, Paisley's messages exert strong force because of their synergy. He has saturated the user system with his messages.

Dissemination and Utilization Factor 7: Openness

One category used by Havelock is only indirectly functional in this analysis. This category is openness. A status quo spokesman cannot measure up to this category because status quo discourse is, by definition, closed. As has been indicated earlier openness involves a willingness to change, to accept outside assistance, to listen to others and to give help. On the surface Reverend Paisley appears to do these things, but he does so in a highly restricted context. If people or groups are in fundamental agreement with his position and aims, he is quite open to them. However, with respect to general social change, change of a revolutionary sort, Paisley is by no means open. On the contrary, he is closed. This means that he is inflexible and unwilling to enter dialogue in any context where he might have to compromise or be helpful to those holding contrary views.

This lack of openness is evidenced throughout his religious and political messages by the statement of "No Surrender" and "Never Give an Inch." His "No Surrender" religious message means that he is unwilling to compromise any issue which would give Catholics more power. Likewise, the religious message is a denial of any efforts toward reconciliation with the Roman Catholic Church. Above all, Reverend Paisley is closed to Protestant efforts to be ecumenical whether it is interpretation of scripture or interfaith religious services. Similarly his political messages are closed to full integration of Catholics within the Protestant scripture. His lack of political openness is manifest in forming his own Orange order when they considered conciliation toward Catholics; and in forming his own political party and Unionist Council. For Paisley there is only one right way and this is his perspective.

In view of this data it can be seen that Paisley negates the category of openness. The significance of this negation lies in having thus discovered a salient characteristic of status quo discourse. If one is seeking to maintain what has prevailed and to protect it against the threat of change, one can hardly take a compromising posture. In its more extreme form status quo discourse is reactionary. That is, it seeks above all to protect an existing order. Openness, therefore, would jeopardize the very possibility of maintaining that order. In the case of Paisley himself, his work would be profoundly threatened by even a hint of

compromise, whether of a religious or political nature.

The closedness of Paisley's work is also a source of effectiveness. In a situation of great personal and social insecurity and uncertainty there is a longing for assurance. Positions which are firm and unyielding, that is, closed, are exceptionally appealing. Reverend Paisley understands and demonstrates this. Hence, his remarkable success.

Conclusion

This chapter examined systematically the means by which Ian Paisley disseminates his message. To facilitate this analysis a comprehensive system developed by Havelock et al. was employed. The examination of his linkage, structure, capacity, reward, and proximity revealed a highly synergetic approach which, in turn, accounts for his success. The closed nature of his system also determines his success and partially explains the continued, uncompromising confrontation of this systematic rhetorical onslaught. Ian Paisley reveals a carefully controlled defense of the status quo employing any and all means available.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusion of this study will address specifically the questions asked in the introduction. First, how can one best characterize the diverse competitive forces struggling to determine the future of Northern Ireland? They may be characterized through Reverend Ian Paisley's rhetorical themes, religious and political. The major theme of all religious messages is that of anti-popery and anti-Romanism. This is based on Paisley's belief that a world-wide conspiracy must be fought against Catholicism to maintain the Truth. His Truth is Reformational Theology, a theology of fundamentalism that must be preserved at all costs. Another important theme is that this world takeover will occur through the movement of ecumenism. Ecumenicalism is the work of the anti-Christ here on earth and its ultimate aim is to unite all Protestant Churches with the Church of Rome. From Paisley's perspective this great enemy must be fought and the main battleground is currently in Northern Ireland.

The Protestants of Northern Ireland must lead the battle against Popery with Reverend Paisley's Martyrs Memorial Church in the front lines. The front line fortress

to be strong, in addition to the fundamentalist, Reformational theology, must be strong in constitutional freedoms. These freedoms provided by the British Constitution will reinforce religious freedoms since they provide safeguards against Popery in the form of the Bill of Rights, Articles of the Queen's Religion, the Coronation Oath, and a Protestant Monarchy.

Reverend Paisley's messages of betrayal by government leaders are tied into his main theme of anti-Catholicism. In decrying their betrayal, the accusations were invariably linked to some form of Catholicism whether allowing a visit to the Pope, receiving a Jesuit at Westminster, or creating Catholic reforms in Northern Ireland. Closely linked to this argument is his belief that Protestants are loyalists while Catholics are not. Again, a loyalist stance insisted on the defense of Protestantism; the loyalist would protect and defend the land which had given them their freedoms. Another important theme is that of Orangism. This organization is important to Reverend Paisley because of its anti-Catholicism and hatred of Popery. The final religious theme concerned the media. Paisley found the media to be an enemy of Truth because its messengers were adherents of ecumenism; therefore, they would naturally be untruthful about fundamentalists. In one form or another he found them to be papal agents.

Equally important were Paisley's political messages.

The two main themes were Orangism is betrayed and destruction of the Irish Republican Army terrorists. The primary betrayal of the Orange Lodges is through liberal leaders. The idea, naturally, that Reverend Paisley found most betraying was ecumenism. The other betrayal was seen in the British Government's refusal to ban Republican celebrations of 1916. The other major political message was the permanent removal of the IRA. Paisley firmly believes that behind the movements of the IRA lies the combination of ecumenism and the force of the Catholic Church of Rome. Moreover, the British Government was dragging their feet on the IRA question. The only way to defeat the IRA is to use the arm of the law and a military initiative. A corollary to this action was Paisley's insistence to bring back the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the B-Specials. A third theme of Paisley's is the political betrayal of Protestants by their Government through the Leadership of Terence O'Neill, James Chichester-Clark, and Britain Faulkner. Again, he thought their betrayal was consorting with ecumenism and the Catholic Church, and this in turn caused their tolerance of the IRA. A theme closely related to political betrayal is the Protestants' punishment for being loyal to the Government. They were punished through IRA terrorism, loss of life and property, poor prisons and tolerance of Catholics or Republican sympathizers whose avowed purpose was to overthrow the state of Northern Ireland. A further theme is the preservation of Protestant British heritage. Through political

union with Britain, Ulster's religious freedoms could be preserved." Reverend Paisley's last political theme is that Protestants must unite for protection. He actively brought this union about through the Ulster Constitution Defense Committee, the Ulster Democratic Unionist Party, the United Loyalist Coalition, and the United Ulster Unionist Council.

These rhetorical religious and political themes depict diverse competitive forces in Northern Ireland: the struggle between ecumenicalism and compromise on one hand and anti-ecumenicalism and retaining the religious status quo; the struggle between a Protestant ascendancy and compromise toward Catholics; the struggle between the status quo forces and the Irish Republican Army forces; the struggle between the preservation of British heritage and reforms that include Catholics; the struggle between loyalists and government leaders; and the struggle between the Protestants and the British Army. These pervasive conflicts create an environment of mild schizophrenia; nearly any way one turns they are confronted or condemned. Only within closed groups of extremists can one often find solace.

Second, how does Ian Paisley fit into this context? Reverend Ian Paisley is not a spokesman for the revolutionary forces, but rather he is a spokesman for maintenance of the status quo. He wants to retain the Protestant way of life in tradition, government, and religion by remaining an integral part of the United Kingdom. Although he is not a

spokesman for revolutionary forces, he has a remarkable facility for use of revolutionary tactics.

Reverend Paisley reflects an existing Protestant tradition in Northern Ireland. Just as there have been forerunners similar to Paisley in that they have defended the Protestant political-religious tradition, so Paisley follows the same line. If Paisley were not there in the violent atmosphere, someone else probably would be. Thus, he fits into the revolutionary context as a predictable outgrowth of the political preconditions that have produced a revolutionary environment in Northern Ireland. The suffering of the people has created a social vacuum which Paisley seems to fill. The political preconditions have produced a situation of great insecurity on an individual and group level. Paisley offers his firm and unyielding positions; therefore, his voice for the status quo is exceptionally appealing to Protestants in Northern Ireland. His closed religious and political leadership provide a way out of their desolateness. The very real exploitation of the Northern Ireland people by British politicians has given Paisley's messages even greater credibility. For a group of Protestants who have a sense of alienation from their government, here was a man who could explain their problem, tell them what to do about it, how, and lead them in action. If these political preconditions had been non-existent, Paisley's messages and adherence to the status quo probably would not have made such a strong impact.

Third, what are the sources of Ian Paisley's effectiveness? Reverend Paisley is highly effective because he has a remarkable facility for the use of revolutionary strategies and tactics, although a spokesman for the status quo. The Havelock, et al. categorical system used to analyze Paisley's tactics demonstrates that Paisley is able to interact with a large number of individuals and groups to accomplish his aims. His interactions may be traced through his diverse linkages in Northern Ireland, his strong religious and political organizations, his ability to centralize the number and diversity of existing linkages, i.e., the capacity is large, his proximity to the people and places help to link and structure his activities, and his synergistic level, i.e., the persistence of forces he uses to communicate his message. The closedness of his system also makes it stronger and more attractive to persons seeking stability in a confounding environment.

Out of the thematic and tactical study of Ian Paisley's rhetoric began to surface answers to the question "What contributes to Ian Paisley's effectiveness and impact with an audience?" His effectiveness results from: (1) lack of fear, (2) outspokenness, (3) charisma, (4) physical size, (5) organizational ability, (6) action coupled with the belief that God is on the Protestant side, and (7) the ability to use the media effectively.

One of Reverend Paisley's most important characteristics

is his apparent lack of fear. This lack of fear combined with his abundant self-confidence is vital in an explosive situation like Northern Ireland. Where so many people are either afraid or terrorized because of civil unrest, Paisley seems to be in his element in the heat of battle. This lack of fear has a positive effect on his audience. They look to him as their leader, knowing he will take on the British Government, the Pope in the Vatican, or the Swiss Government. In regard to the last, Paisley's reputation prohibited him from entering Switzerland while the Pope was there. He went directly to the Swiss Embassy in London to protest the ban.

Mr. Paisley said the Swiss Government had imposed the ban because they had possession of a letter, of which he had seen a photo-copy, which threatened an "invasion" by 200 Protestant clergymen. The letter had purported to come from Pastor Jack Glass of Glasgow. Rev. Ian Paisley said the letter was a forgery and added that the Swiss were "dimwits" whose only contribution to the 20th century had been the cuckoo clock.¹

Closely tied to this lack of fear and self-confidence is the man's outspokenness, regardless of the audience. His ability as an orator to express in words what his frustrated audience cannot articulate, make them turn to Paisley as their leader. One example of this is the action of crowds after the Hunt Report was released condemning the B-Specials. The angry crowds "roamed on the Shankill Road protesting at the Hunt Report. They shouted: 'Paisley is our leader!' They jeered at the police telling them, 'You are not allowed into Bogside

¹Deutsch and Magowan, Volume I, p. 29.

or the Falls.'"² Paisley responded to the crowds of about 5,000 outside Stormont stating he would call a countrywide strike if the British Government did not respond to Protestant demands. Specifically, "he required the Government to restore law and order to the Bogside and to withstand the pressure of Cameron and Hunt."³

Paisley's magnetic quality or *parmia* contributes strongly to his effectiveness. His ability to motivate and excite the people is evident. Perhaps some of this magnetic quality may be related to the physical appearance of the man. He is a huge man, about 240 pounds, 6'2" tall, with small watchful eyes, that emit a tremendous sense of personal power. He has a strong, resonant and melodious voice, with the pleasant Irish lilt. While speaking he uses frequent gestures, especially the closed fist for emphasis. His manner of delivery is extremely sincere, but interspersed with a warm humor for the audience. His Protestant audience responds warmly to his jokes about "Old Papa in red socks," a reference to the Pope. Frequently he leans toward the audience and it is difficult not to be aware of his hands throughout the sermon. His profile is dramatic. His personal presence is magnetic; he has all the qualities of a brilliant orator. To hear tapes of his sermons is to get a strong feel for the man, but to hear him in person is a much stronger

²Ibid., p. 47.

³Ibid., p. 46.

experience. There is almost a "heat" about the man which must be one of the qualities that inflame the crowds. Words which almost every researcher or writer uses in reference to Reverend Paisley are "sheer power" and "physical presence." One of the ways this physical power is so evident in this man--fifty one in 1978--is the tremendous volume he has. He spoke to a crowd of approximately 6,000 people without microphones at Bob Jones University.⁴

Reverend Paisley is extremely well organized. This is evident by his church structure and religious structure as well as the fact that he has linkages with practically any organization of consequence in Northern Ireland. In addition to having people devoted enough to carry out his organized will, he takes immediate action. This action coupled with the belief that God on the Protestant side makes him highly effective in confrontations. Paisley has led a long line of rallies and demonstrations. In the following quote we can see his determination to create confrontation.

A Civil Rights march for which statutory notice had been given to the police was to have taken place through the town of Armagh. 500 extra police had been drafted into the town to maintain order. During the early hours of the morning Reverend Ian Paisley with Major Bunting and about 20-30 car loads of supporters arrived in town and took up position. They set up barricades at key points and carried sticks and pipes with sharpened ends. The RUC seized two revolvers and 220 other home-made weapons.

⁴These observations were made while listening to Reverend Paisley's sermon "The Death of Christ," on April 5, 1975 at the Chapel of Bob Jones University in Greenville, South Carolina.

The police were unable to clear the Protestant crowd, although Mr. Paisley was warned that in the District Inspector's opinion it constituted unlawful assembly.⁵

Later Paisley and about 1,000 supporters blocked a route for approximately 5,000 Civil Rights marchers.⁶

Not only does Paisley have the power to create demonstrations himself, but he motivates his followers to action in his absence. After Paisley's first prison sentence was announced, a hostile crowd greeted Prime Minister O'Neill with shouts of "Protestants go to prison and thugs go free!"⁷

A further level of personal meaning that has great significance for Irishmen is the flying of flags and marching in parades. The display of flags has long been a tradition held dear to Ulstermen. The flag is so closely tied to patriotism that the displaying of the Tricolour in a Protestant community, or the displaying of the British flag, the Union Jack, in a Catholic community is tantamount to asking for a fight. An example of Reverend Paisley's taking immediate action over a seemingly small incident involved flying the Tricolour. Reverend Paisley had been actively campaigning on the behalf of Mr. James Kilfedder, a Unionist candidate when public feeling was aroused because a display of the Tricolour appeared in the window at election headquarters. Reverend Paisley "threatened that he would march to Divis

⁵Deutsch and Magowan, Vol. I, p. 13.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid., p. 6.

Street himself and remove the Tricolour if the authorities did not act."⁸ Although the Tricolour flag was removed, the following day Paisley did have a public meeting. The Catholic community reacted violently and rioting went on four days.⁹ One major reason Reverend Paisley is willing to take direct action is the firm belief that Protestants are in the right and that God is with him in battle whether large or small. Paisley affirms he is God's man: "I don't take my orders from the Church or the Presbytery, I take my orders from God! I AM GOD'S MAN!"¹⁰

The adhesive that makes Reverend Paisley's direct action stick is he offers no real exploration of alternatives to issues. As a spokesman for the status quo in Northern Ireland, he believes the Government leadership has been destroying the society, as well as Protestant religious freedom and patriotism. The Protestant extremists deplored the Northern Ireland Government and the society it was creating. Paisley's goal was the destruction of the Northern Ireland Government administration. He understood that the Government itself would not submit to his demands unless he had behind him the strength of the majority of the Northern Ireland citizens--Protestants. To gain such backing

⁸Ibid., p. 3.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ian Paisley, "Mighty Men," 1976 Bible Conference, Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina, Tape #12.

Paisley proposed a strategy that depended on extensive organization and the statement of specific goals; "every loyalist in Northern Ireland would fight if there were any attempt to override the wishes of the majority and to push them into an all Ireland Republic. In such circumstances the real feelings of the community would be aroused."¹¹ He was equally clear about the border issue between Northern Ireland and the Republic: "that the border cannot be changed, that our relationship cannot be changed, that we want to remain part and parcel of the United Kingdom, but we want to have good neighbourly relations with the people of the South of Ireland."¹² Paisley had found specific goals that could marshall him strong Protestant community support.

Through his treatment of the two most burning issues in Northern Ireland, Reverend Paisley attempted to make only two choices available--either support Paisley and Protestantism or support O'Neill's administrative plan to bring down Ulster by granting civil liberties to Catholics and discussions with President Lemass of the Republic. Support of Paisley did not allow for a compromise; it polarized views instead. The floundering of many community members during confrontations between protesters and police demonstrated their

¹¹Great Britain, Parliament, Parliamentary Debates (Commons), 5th series, 838 (1972): 1104.

¹²Great Britain, Parliament, Parliamentary Debates (Commons), 5th series, 846 (1972): 98.

reluctance to accept either alternative. But Paisley offered no other. His exploitative manipulation of the issues was decidedly coercive in that he severely limited the choices that could have been explored in a truly persuasive atmosphere. In spite of the floundering of many, Paisley's choices effectively gained support for him. Lancaster University published a survey that indicated about 200,000 people out of a potential of 1,400,000 supported Reverend Paisley by April, 1966.¹³

Throughout Northern Ireland the controversy engendered by Paisley as a status quo leader in a revolutionary context, has prevented compromises. Although he entertains counter-arguments and laughingly hurls verbal challenges to those whom he considers enemies, he will not budge an inch on issues. His actual goal was not to answer compromises offered. His aim was to limit the possible choices for his Protestant audience. His answer to official statements and offers to negotiate was either (1) not to show up, or (2) an unequivocal "No Surrender!" The choice for the Protestant community then was between Paisley's position and "No Surrender!"--no choice at all. Through this tactic designed not to answer arguments, but to dismiss them from the possible, Reverend Paisley consistently obscured compromise, compelled polarization, and necessitated revolutionary tactics by the major contenders to secure their goals.

¹³Deutsch and Magowan, Volume I, p. 5.

When rhetorical strategy is so designed that it leaves the opposition no viable persuasive alternative, it is coercive. Scott and Smith point out that:

those who would confront have learned a brutal art, practiced sometimes awkwardly and sometimes skillfully, which demands response. But that art may provoke the response that confirms its presuppositions, gratifies the adherents of those presuppositions, and turns the power-enforced victory of the establishment into a symbolic victory for its opponents.¹⁴

Thus, Reverend Paisley forced the Northern Ireland Government administration to use coercive measures itself or to submit to his brand of status quo Protestantism.

A final way in which Reverend Paisley has been highly effective is in his ability to use the media to his advantage, particularly television. Julian Critchely, The Times television correspondent, described the inundation of British television by Paisley:

It is impossible nowadays to escape the oratory of the Reverend Ian Paisley, whose bulk seems always to be looming at the head of some procession, turning our sitting rooms into revivalist meetings, alerting us to the danger of "Popery."

If it is not Mr. Paisley then it is a punchup. A line of the policemen standing between groups of demonstrators, the "prods" versus the "Mick" like some contemporary version of West Side Story, . . . but towering above all of them, the Moderator, himself, a man made for television if I ever saw one.

The real favorite . . . has been the violence, and with it Mr. Paisley. No programme can bear to leave him out.¹⁵

Whether a small event or a large one, Paisley can

¹⁴Robert L. Scott and Donald K. Smith, "The Rhetoric of Confrontation," Quarterly Journal of Speech, LV (February 1969): 8.

¹⁵Julian Critchely, "Paisley the Inevitable," The Times (London), 18 February 1969, p. 11.

take an event and build it up so effectively that television would make it news the same evening. An example of this approach was Paisley's leading a parade to Ulster's Main Hall to give a demonstration in which he "displays the host as he exposes the blasphemous Mass."¹⁶ Instead of simply verbalizing his protest to a Catholic Mass given at Buckingham Palace, he announced it, sent out posters, led a personal parade to the place of the event, and then dramatized the main event. In this case, he staged mock masses, "swearing to the audience that human sacrifice and cannibalism were part of the Jesuit rites."¹⁷

Another example of Paisley's ability to inflame the media without appearing to do so are his comments given at a press conference in his church. Mr. James Callaghan, the British Home Secretary, had asked Paisley to stop making inflammatory statements. Paisley retorted he did not make inflammatory statements.

Mr. Callaghan, said: "I had great influence in the Protestant community." There were fears among Catholics because of that influence and he admitted freely that I had never used my influence for violence. He knew that I am opposed to violence.

But he said that when I made comments on the situation he felt that these were inflammatory and he would like for me to restrain making these comments. I have never made an inflammatory statement in my life. The statements I make have the bite of truth about them.¹⁸

¹⁶Ian Paisley, "Mass at Buckingham Palace," Protestant Telegraph, 8 July 1967, p. 1.

¹⁷Uris and Uris, p. 198.

¹⁸"Paisley Is Asked to Stop," The Irish News, 29 August 1969, p. 1. Newspapers in Microfilm: Foreign Countries (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1973).

In the same interview Paisley made an inflammatory statement about the Catholic Church stating to the press it was not. "We are at war in this province with the Hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church and I am not for sitting down with them."¹⁹

Thus, Reverend Ian Paisley moves audiences with revolutionary zeal, despite his defense of the status quo. When combined with self-confidence, a personal lack of fear, outspokenness, charisma, overwhelming physical presence, organization, effective use of the media, and action coupled with the belief that God is on the Protestant side, his rhetorical tactics are very effective.

In addition to the foregoing questions, this study contributes to the methodology in the area of rhetoric of conflict and social change. It has been seen that the relationship between revolutionary discourse and social change may be distorted when the voice of the status quo uses revolutionary tactics to prevent social change from happening. That violation of a predictable constraint on rhetorical choices may actually hold the key to comprehension of the confusing situation in Northern Ireland.

¹⁹Ibid.

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- _____. "Love in The Truth," Bible Conference, Message #22,
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- _____. "The Death of Christ," Bible Conference, Message #24,
4/5/1975.
- _____. "Seven Cries From The Cross," Bible Conference,
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- _____. "Mighty Men," Bible Conference, Message #12,
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- _____. "Five Steps to Revival," Bible Conference,
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- _____. "The Works of The Devil," Bible Conference,
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A CHRONOLOGY*
of
REVEREND PAISLEY'S ACTIVITIES
1966 to 1973

January 21, 1966

Reverend Ian Paisley took part in an anti-ecumenical protest in Westminster Abbey. He was elected by attendants while protesting at the preaching of Fr T Corbishley SJ, who was the second Catholic to preach in the Abbey since the Reformation.

February 20, 1966

Rev Ian Paisley spoke in the Ulster Hall and said that about 30,000 people from the Republic were expected to converge on Northern Ireland for the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Easter Rising 1916. He warned them 'Stay away!' Mr. Paisley said that Lord Erskine would have to 'mind his own business and not interfere with the Protestant lives and liberties of the people of Ulster on the controversial issue of the naming of the bridge.'

February 28, 1966

Rev Ian Paisley addressed a meeting in the Ulster Hall.

March 1, 1966

Rev Ian Paisley spoke at a rally in Lisburn attended by members of the Ulster Protestant Volunteers, a newly formed corps whose motto was 'For God and Ulster.'

*Chronological events excerpted from Northern Ireland, 1968-73, Chronology of Events, Vol. I, 1968-71 and Vol. II, 1972-73, Richard Deutsch & Vivien Magowan (Belfast: Blackstaff Press Limited, 1973 and 1974). Their style of writing and punctuation is followed.

March 22, 1966

Rev Ian Paisley took part in an anti-ecumenical protest in Rome where the Archbishop of Canterbury was visiting the Pope...In an interview given later on BBC television Mr. Paisley said he was 'anti-papist' but loved individual Catholics.

April, 1966

The Rev Ian Paisley's newspaper, The Protestant Telegraph, was first published during April.

April 12, 1966

The Ulster Cabinet Security Committee met to consider the element of danger likely to arise from plans to hold parades on Easter Sunday, April 17 and Monday, April 18 to celebrate the 1916 Easter Rising and of rival parades planned in protest by Rev Ian Paisley and the newly formed Ulster Constitution Defence Committee.

June 6, 1966

Paisley led a demonstration march to Church House, Belfast in protest at the 'Romeward trend' in the Presbyterian Church.... Mr. Paisley's supporters marched from East Belfast through Cromac Square where the march caused tension.

June 15, 1966

The Prime Minister, Captain O'Neill referred to Mr. Paisley's recent protest at Church House in a speech in the House of Commons at Stormont on June 15. He deplored the trend in Northern Ireland towards Nazism and Fascism and said 'of course there are a few misguided people who believe in the infallibility of Mr. Paisley'. ...Mr. Paisley led a procession of about 7,000 supporters from the Shankill Road through the centre of Belfast and later addressed the crowd....

June, 1966

Rev Ian Paisley said in a speech at Holywood that his organisation, the Ulster Constitutional Defence Committee (formed in April 1966) had 'absolutely no connection whatsoever with the UVF (Ulster Volunteer Force).'

On June 19 Rev Ian Paisley, Rev John Wylie and Rev Ivan Foster were each fined 30 pounds for unlawful assembly at Church House on June 6. Having refused to pay the fines and enter into bail to keep the peace they were arrested by police on June 20 and taken to Crumlin Road prison, Belfast...2,000 supporters of Mr. Paisley gathered outside the prison in protest at the sentences given to the three Ministers...a survey carried out in April showed that about 200,000 out of a potential 1,400,000 people in Northern Ireland supported Mr. Paisley.

December 11, 1967

Mr. Jack Lynch, Prime Minister of the Republic, paid a courtesy call on Captain Terence O'Neill at Stormont. As his car passed the statue of Lord Carson it was snowballed by Protestants clergymen, supporters of Mr. Paisley. Later, as Mr. Lynch left by the main gates, he was heckled by Mr. Paisley and a group of supporters, shouting "Keep Ulster Protestant".

April 12, 1968

A Republican parade due to be held at Easter and a march planned by the Ulster Protestant Volunteers, supporters of Rev Paisley, were both prohibited.

May 20, 1968

About 500 Protestants gathered outside Craven Street Hall, Belfast where the Prime Minister was speaking at a meeting of Woodvale Unionist Association. They carried placards saying "O'Neill must go." As police were escorting the Prime Minister out of the meeting the crowd threw stones, eggs and flour, hitting his car. The Rev Ian Paisley appealed to the crowd to disperse and go home peaceably.

September 26

Rev Ian Paisley said farewell to Captain Agnew, who was to sail the Clyde Valley (the former gun-running coaster used in 1912) back to Ulster from Nova Scotia. Mr. Paisley said the Clyde Valley would be regarded as the people's ship since the Government had not contributed to the cost of bringing her home...when she reached Larne, Mr. Paisley said, he would be there with a massive demonstration to greet her.

October 9, 1968

The Rev Ian Paisley, accompanied by his wife, Mrs. Eileen Paisley, had a meeting at Stormont with the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. William Craig. Afterwards Mr. Paisley said, "The Ulster people have expressed their point of view. No surrender. No comment."

November 2, 1968

Two hundred of Rev Ian Paisley's supporters were gathered in Shaftesbury Square (Belfast) and police rerouted the Civil Rights group at the last moment.

November 30, 1968

A Civil Rights March was to have taken place in Armagh. During the early hours of the morning Rev Ian Paisley with Mike Bunting and about 20 to 30 car loads of supporters arrived in the town and took up positions. They set up barricades at key points and carried sticks and pipes with sharpened ends.... The police were unable to clear the Protestant crowd, although Mr. Paisley was warned that in the District Inspector's opinion it constituted an unlawful assembly.

About 5,000 Civil Rights marchers arrived in the town and faced a crowd of more than 1,000 supporters of Rev Ian Paisley and Major Bunting who were blocking the route...Rev Ian Paisley's supporters were hostile to the press and photographers and one BBC television reporter's camera was broken and he was injured. Later, the Paisleyites sang "The Sash" and shouted "Craig in" and "No Pope here" as they paraded around the Mall. Some stoning between rival groups broke out later as supporters of Rev Ian Paisley were attacked by Civil Rights members when they were getting into buses to leave Armagh. Police Baton-charged the stone-throwers.

December 2, 1968

The Royal Ulster Constabulary issued summons to Rev Ian Paisley and Major Bunting under Section 2 of Criminal Law and Procedure Act 1887 for taking part in an illegal assembly in Armagh on November 30.

December 14, 1968

The 82 year old former gun-running ship, the Clyde Valley, was met at Larne by the Rev Ian Paisley....

January 1, 1969

About 40 members of the People's Democracy, mainly students, met at the City Hall, Belfast and set out for Antrim...A hostile crowd of militant Protestants...blocked the marchers' route at Antrim. The Royal Ulster Constabulary assisted the students to get to an AOH Hall outside the town... Rev Ian Paisley sent a telegram to Captain Long deploring the use of police vehicles to assist the marchers.

January 3, 1969

Rev Ian Paisley and Major Bunting had a meeting with the Minister of Home Affairs, Captain Long, and urged him to ban the march in its final journey to Derry....

In Derry, Paisley held a religious meeting at the Guildhall.

January 22, 1969

Rev Ian Paisley, Vice-President of the British Council of Protestant Christian Churches protested outside St. Paul's Cathedral in London against the visit of Cardinal Heenan to preach at a service.

January 27, 1969

Rev Ian Paisley and Major Bunting sentenced to 3 months imprisonment, charged with unlawful assembly at Armagh on November 30, 1968. Paisley said later they would not appeal.

January 29, 1969

A crowd of over 200 supporters of the Rev Ian Paisley gathered in protest at his prison sentence and blocked the Crumlin Road, Belfast. Later they became hostile to the Royal Ulster Constabulary and Land Rovers were attacked with stones and bottles.

January 30, 1969

Rev Ian Paisley obtained his release from Crumlin Road Prison after signing a bail bond. Major Bunting said he would serve out his sentence.

February 1, 1969

Rev Ian Paisley and his wife, Councillor Eileen Paisley, led a march of between 5-6,000 people from Tennent Street, off the Shankill Road, to the Ulster Hall.... He told the meeting later that he would oppose Captain O'Neill in the next general election, and was loudly applauded.

February 4, 1969

Rev Paisley signed a bail bond for the release of Major Bunting. "He will help us in the fight," Mr. Paisley said, in reference to the forthcoming election.

February 26, 1969

Results of the General Election: At Bannside, Captain O'Neill was returned with 7,745 votes. Rev Ian Paisley polled 6,331; Mr. Michael Farrell (PD) 2,310.

March 25, 1969

Rev. Ian Paisley and Major Bunting's appeals were rejected by Judge Conaghan, Appeal Judge at Armagh County Court. He said Mr. Paisley's assembly in Armagh on November 30 had from the start been an unlawful assembly because it was simply directed to obstruct a lawful assembly. Paisley and Bunting were later taken to Crumlin Road prison to serve their sentences.

April 19, 1969

Civil Rights supporters stage sit-down protests in Derry and about 200 Paisley supporters were also present. Some carried sticks and wore crash helmets and some had Union Jacks and red, white and blue scarfs.

Serious rioting developed in Derry during the late afternoon...Civil Rights supporters were stoned...Paisleyites remained on the walls and threw stones into the Bogside.

In Cookstown, 6,000 supporters of Rev Paisley attended a parade to protest against his imprisonment. Mrs. Eileen Paisley headed the procession and was enthusiastically applauded. She said it was obvious that Bernadette Devlin was not the only woman to be welcomed in Mid-Ulster.

April 26, 1969

4,000 supporters of Rev Ian Paisley attended a rally in Armagh and scuffling broke out between his supporters and members of the Civil Rights Movement.

May 3, 1969

During the traditional May Day parade in Belfast a militant Protestant group staged a protest march in front of the trade unionists. They heered at Mr Michael Farrell of the People's Democracy, who was taking part in the May Day parade, and shouted, "We want Paisley."

May 6, 1969

Major Chichester-Clark announced an amnesty for all people charged or convicted of offences in connection with political protests and demonstrations between October 5, 1968 and May 5, 1969....The amnesty meant the release of Rev Ian Paisley and Major Bunting from Crumlin Road prison....

May 9, 1969

In Belfast, Rev Paisley agreed to call off a planned march from the Shankill Road to the City Hall after representations had been made by the RUC who feared trouble if it proceeded.

June 5, 1969

The Swiss Government imposed a temporary ban on Rev Ian Paisley and other Protestant clergymen prohibiting them from entering Switzerland.

June 9, 1969

Rev Ian Paisley accompanied by Rev John Wylie had talks in London with the Swiss Embassy. Mr Paisley said the Swiss Government had imposed the ban because they had possession of a letter...which threatened an "invasion" by 200 Protestant clergymen. Paisley said the letter was a forgery and added that the Swiss were "dimwits" whose only contribution to the 20th century had been the cuckoo clock.

June 11, 1969

The total cost of Rev Ian Paisley's new church at Ravenhill Road, Belfast, was estimated at 175,000 pounds. The site cost 25,000 pounds and the original estimate of 137,000 pounds was increased due to higher cost of materials. It was due to be opened the following October.

July 5, 1969

Rev Paisley addressed a meeting of about 500 supporters at Bessbrock, near Newry....Mr. Paisley said "It was a long hard struggle to get rid of O'Neill. If necessary there will be another long hard struggle to get rid of O'Neillism and the Lundies in the Unionist Party at Stormont." He said that they would march in Newry in two weeks time to demand civil rights for Protestants because the local councils which were controlled by "Romanists" discriminated against Protestants. For jobs on the Council staff, Mr. Paisley said, it was a case of "No Protestant need apply."....

July 9, 1969

A deputation from the Ulster Constitutional Defence Committee led by Rev Ian Paisley had a meeting with the Prime Minister...arranged to discuss demonstrations in Newry and elsewhere.

July 13, 1969

Rev Ian Paisley spoke to a crowd of about 5,000 at the Diamond, Loughgall, Co Armagh, announcing a "monster" Protestant Rally in Newry on August 16 when he expected 20,000 Protestants...Mr. Paisley said, "I am anti-Roman Catholic, but, God being my judge, I love the poor dupes who are ground down under that system."

July 23, 1969

Rev Paisley announced that his planned march in Newry had been postponed.

August 23, 1969

Rev Paisley led a motorcade to Stormont to protest against "military dictatorship" of the Province.

August 28, 1969

In a 40 minute meeting with Rev Ian Paisley, Mr James Callaghan, Home Secretary, asked him to use his influence in reducing tension in Northern Ireland.

September 1, 1969

Six Conservative MPs on a fact-finding tour of Northern Ireland held a press conference in Belfast. Mr Peter Kirk MP warned that to take up extremist attitudes on either side would only frustrate reform. Sir David Renton MP and Mr. Kirk said their advice to Rev Ian Paisley was to "shut up." It was straightforward advice...which Mr. Paisley should be able to understand....

September 14, 1969

The Rev Ian Paisley announced that he had planned to gather 100,000 Loyalists outside Stormont when Parliament reassembled on September 30 to demonstrate against the "pussy-footing, fence-straddling Unionist Government."

September 21, 1969

The Rev Ian Paisley held a rally at Burntollett, Co Londonderry. He warned the large crowd that if the Government continued to sell out the Protestants there would be an "affair in Ulster that all the restraining voice I might raise will no longer be needed." Mr Paisley said the presence of British troops was the greatest confidence trick ever played on Ulster. The troops had admitted to him that they were there to keep the Catholics happy.

September 30, 1969

The Rev Ian Paisley addressed a crowd of about 5,000 outside Stormont and told them that he would call a country-wide strike if the Government did not meet Protestant demands.

October 4, 1969

The Rev Ian Paisley together with Dr. Bob Jones, President of the Bob Jones University, South Carolina, opened his new 180,000 pound church in Belfast, the Martyrs Memorial Free Presbyterian Church on the Ravenhill Road. 6,000 attended.

October 5, 1969

In defiance of the Government ban on marches, crowds formed a procession from Templemore Avenue to march to an Orange service held at the Rev Ian Paisley's Church on the Ravenhill Road, Belfast.

January 2, 1970

Rev Ian Paisley said he had obtained a copy of a document signed by General Freeland, GOC NI, ordering police and troops not to enter certain parts of Belfast including Unity Walk unless unarmed. Mr. Paisley said a copy had been sent to Mr Jim Sullivan, Chairman, CCDC. "Anything Jim Sullivan gets, I can get too," said Mr. Paisley.

January 12, 1970

The Rev Ian Paisley and some supporters handed in a petition at Windsor Castle, protesting against the unity talks being held there by theologians of the Anglican and Roman Catholic Joint Commission.

January 13, 1970

Two Free Presbyterian clergymen taking part in a protest against Church unity talks, chained themselves to the railings at Buckingham Palace. The Rev Ian Paisley denied driving away with the key to the padlock.

January 24, 1970

...police stopped all traffic entering the Shankill Road and searched and questioned motorists. During the late evening police reinforcements were rushed to the Shankill to prevent a crowd of about 300 getting through to Percy Street while a smaller crowd attempted to break through to Unity Flats. The crowds alleged that flags had been flown in a provocative manner with verbal abuse from residents in the Flats to Protestant passers-by. They protested at official inaction to these incidents. Rev Ian Paisley said, "I asked an Army Captain why police were not allowed to arrest those responsible for verbal abuse in the flats. He said to me, you know very well, Mr. Paisley, the police are not allowed to go in there."

February 12, 1970

The RUC state no prosecutions of 111 whose names were taken during demonstrations against the Public Order would follow because of "moderation" exercised by demonstrators.

Re Ian Paisley sent a telegram to the Prime Minister saying that Protestants were outraged by the "diabolical manipulation of the law to let off 100 law-breaking rebels."

February 18, 1970

Sir Arthur Young, Inspector General of the RUC, wrote to the Rev Ian Paisley to ask him to use his influence to maintain peace in Armagh on Saturday when a civil rights march was due to take place.

March 10, 1970

On the "David Frost" programme on American television, Dr. Michael Ramsay, the Archbishop of Canterbury said, "I wouldn't call Ian Paisley a man of God. He is a religious and political partisan. He doesn't help us believe in God exactly."

March 19, 1970

The Government announced that polling for the by-election at Bannside and South Antrim would take place in mid-April... the Rev Ian Paisley would stand for the Bannside seat formerly held by Lord O'Neill of the Maine.

April 6, 1970

Nominations in Belfast for by-elections in the Bannside and South Antrim Constituencies at Stormont...candidates at Bannside were...The Rev Ian Paisley, Protestant Unionist....

April 17, 1970

Rev Ian Paisley said at a Press Conference that Mr. Harold Wilson should keep his nose out of Northern Ireland.

In the by-election at Bannside Co Antrim Mr Paisley had a majority of 1,203 over the Unionist candidate. Mr Paisley said it was his intention to go to Stormont and tell the truth.

At South Antrim, Rev William Beattie, Protestant Unionist won by 958 votes.

April 17, 1970 (continued)Bannside:

P. J. McHugh (Labour)	3,514
T F B Minford (Unionist)	6,778
I R K Paisley (Prot Unionist)	7,981

South Antrim

W J Beattie (Prot Unionist)	7,137
D E Corkey (Independent)	5,212
W J Morgan (Unionist)	6,179
A Whitby (Labour)	1,773

April 19, 1970

Following his recent election, the Rev Ian Paisley said that he had his eye already on "better" representation of Northern Ireland at Westminster.

April 22, 1970

The Rev Ian Paisley MP in a maiden speech lasting 7 minutes in Stormont was called to order for not keeping to the business before the House.

May 11, 1970

The political parties in Northern Ireland were preparing their organizations for the forthcoming Westminster election. The Rev Ian Paisley's political organization intended to fight 11 of the 12 Westminster seats in Northern Ireland.

June 16, 1970

Major Chichester-Carl strongly denied allegations made by the Rev Ian Paisley MP that there was a pact in Mr Robin Chichester-Clark's constituency of Londonderry between Protestant Unionists and Unionist Party officials.

June 19, 1970

The General Election results showed a swing to the Conservatives in Great Britain...One seat was lost to the Rev Ian Paisley, Protestant Unionist...The announcement of Rev Ian Paisley's 2,679 majority...was followed by a hymn, prayer and the National Anthem.

July 2, 1970

Rev Ian Paisley MP was suspended and expelled by the Speaker at Stormont after noisy exchanges in the House. As he left the Chamber Mr. Paisley said to the Sergeat-at-Arms, "If you lend me your sword I will decapitate a few of these people before I leave."

July 3, 1970

Rev Ian Paisley MP made his maiden speech in the House of Commons at Westminster.

August 4, 1970

The Rev Ian Paisley led a parade (in defiance of the ban) from the centre of Enniskillen to a Free Presbyterian Church at Chanterhill.

August 8, 1970

The Protestant Unionist Association in Derry announced that, following negotiations with the Rev Ian Paisley MP, they had called off their march proposed for the following Wednesday.

August 14, 1970

A clergyman...and a lay preacher...members of Rev Ian Paisley's Free Presbyterian Church were sent to prison for a period of 3 months after they refused to be bound over to keep the peace. They were accused of a breach of peace during a Catholic mass in the precincts of Canterbury Cathedral where they interrupted the service with shouts of "betrayal" and "No popery."

September 1, 1970

The Rev Ian Paisley MP addressed a large crowd in Lurgan and protested about the imprisonment of some of his congregation.

September 3, 1970

Six members of the Royal Black Preceptory were sentenced to 6 months imprisonment for breaking the ban on marches on the previous July 26. Rev Ian Paisley MP denounced the sentences as "savage."

September 10, 1970

The Rev Ian Paisley and the Rev William Beattie MPs walked out of a meeting with Mr. Sharples because Mr Ronald Burroughs, the UK representative in Northern Ireland was present.

September 23, 1970

Sir Arthur Young announced his resignation as Chief Constable of the RUC...He was to be succeeded by Mr Graham Shillington...Mr. William Craig MP and the Rev Ian Paisley MP were pleased with the new appointment.

October 12, 1970

The Rev Ian Paisley MP has a meeting in London with Mr. Maudling, the Home Secretary, and put forward the proposal that Unity Flats in Belfast should be cleared of tenants and turned into shops and offices in order to restore peace to the Shankill area. He also visited the Deputy Commissioner at Australia House, Mr Robert Boswell. Mr Paisley said later that he had been assured that there was no ban on his proposed visit to Australia.

October 13, 1970

In Australia, the Prime Minister informed Australia House in London that if the Rev Ian Paisley made an application for entry he should be told that a visit at the same time as the Pope would be regarded as unwelcome.

November 21, 1970

The Rev Ian Paisley MP called on his supporters to join in support of Mr William Craig MP and Mr Harry West MP with the object of "Sweeping the Government out of office."

November 28, 1970

The Rev Ian Paisley MP held a rally in Gaol Square, Armagh, attended by about 300. There were no incidents. More than 1,000 troops and police were on duty in the town.

January 11, 1971

Rev Ian Paisley MP addressed an official Unionist Association meeting in Lurgan. The secretary of the Association said that Mr. Paisley's visit was arranged "in order to achieve reconciliation within the Unionist Party."

January 25, 1971

The Rev Ian Paisley MP met Major-General Farrar-Hockley, Commander of Land Forces, to complain of alleged brutality by troops.

January 27, 1971

The Stormont debate on Law and Order lasted for about 13 hours.....the Prime Minister wound up the debate with a defence of the present policies of law and order and criticised the Rev Ian Paisley for planning a large meeting in Belfast the following week....

January 31, 1971

The six month ban on processions in Northern Ireland expired at midnight, and three parades were scheduled to take place during the next week. On Thursday, 4 February, the Rev Ian Paisley MP was to lead an anti-Government demonstration at the City Hall.

February 4, 1971

The Rev Ian Paisley MP cancelled the parades and demonstrations planned for Belfast on this day.

February 15, 1971

The Rev Ian Paisley demanded that People who paraded in the uniform of the IRA should be brought to court. He also came out against the idea of internment without trial.

February 16, 1971

The Rev Ian Paisley MP speaking at a Loyalist rally in Newtownards said he would not give the Government power to intern anyone. If such powers were given, he said, the Government would intern on a fifty-fifty basis - one Protestant interned for every Roman Catholic, and he added, "I would be the first to be put inside."

February 19, 1971

The Rev Ian Paisley said that he had handed over to the Army a de-horning device which could be adapted to fire bullets.

March 10, 1971

At Stormont, a second reading of the Firearms (Amendment) Bill was passed after a division...The Rev Ian Paisley opposed the Bill on the grounds that trial without jury would be an obstacle to justice.

March 16, 1971

In Belfast wreaths were laid at the Cenotaph at the City Hall, where a short service was led by the Rev Ian Paisley MP in memory of the three soldiers shot the previous week, who were buried in Scotland on this day.

March 19, 1971

The Rev Ian Paisley MP sent a message to the Governor saying that loyalists would resist the appointment of Mr Brian Faulkner as Prime Minister.

April 10, 1971

1,000 Ulster Protestant Volunteers marched in Armagh. The Rev Ian Paisley MP addressed the crowd. He said, "There will be no talks in Dublin on the constitutional position in Northern Ireland, loyalists will see to that."

April 21, 1971

Mr Brian Faulkner made a statement at Stormont on the riots in East Belfast and condemned all those who were involved in the disorders. Later, he turned down a demand from the Rev Ian Paisley MP for an inquiry into the rioting. The Rev Ian Paisley spoke of the bitterness felt by the people of the Newtownards Road about the apparently brutal actions of the troops in dealing with the disturbances.

April 28, 1971

The Rev Ian Paisley met the Lord Chancellor to discuss alleged bias in the administration of the law in Northern Ireland.

April 29, 1971

Rev Ian Paisley referred to a clause in the Firearms Amendment Bill which passed the Committee stages at Stormont and said that if the Government would place the burden of proving guilt with the Crown instead of leaving the accused to prove his innocence, he would support the bill. He said he was fighting for the rights of the individual to hold a gun under permit, who had never used it illegally, and that the principles of British justice should be maintained.

May 31, 1971

The Rev Ian Paisley called for a conference of all constitutional Loyalists in Northern Ireland to discuss unity.

June 3, 1971

The Minister of State for Home Affairs, Mr John Taylor, said it had not been possible in spite of intensive investigations to establish how confidential RUC information had come into the possession of the Rev Ian Paisley MP. Mr Taylor agreed with Mr. John Hume MP that this was deplorable because it discredited other members of the RUC but said it had only happened on a few occasions.

June 19, 1971

In a speech at Burntollet the Rev Ian Paisley MP said that what General Tuzo had meant by his recent remarks was that the Army's job was not to defeat the IRA but to remain in Northern Ireland until there was a political settlement between Dublin and Westminster about the future of Northern Ireland. He challenged the Prime Minister to hold a general election now and let the people decide the future.

June 22, 1971

The Prime Minister, Mr Brian Faulkner, during the debate in reply to the Queen's Speech at Stormont, outlined new proposals for participation by members of the Opposition. The response from the Opposition members was favourable, though guarded until more precise details were available. The Rev Ian Paisley MP said the new proposals made by the Prime Minister had never been referred to "the people" and that the government had a responsibility to put itself before the electorate.

June 26, 1971

A march of about 3,000 Protestants through Belfast to Stormont to celebrate 50 years of Northern Ireland's Parliament was led by the Rev Ian Paisley MP.

July 3, 1971

The Rev Ian Paisley MP held a rally at Carrickfergus at which ex-members of the "B" Specials marched behind the newly formed Ulster Special Constabulary Lodge.

July 15, 1971

The Rev Ian Paisley MP said he would apply to the Speaker to be recognized as the Leader of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition at Stormont, as a result of the boycott of Parliament by Opposition members.

July 23, 1971

In a telegram to the Prime Minister, the Rev Ian Paisley MP urged the recall of the Northern Ireland Parliament so that the security situation could be discussed.

July 31, 1971

At a parade of Ulster Protestant Volunteers held outside Derry because of the ban, the Rev Ian Paisley MP said he had joined the Apprentice Boys and that he hoped to be marching with them in Derry on August 12. He also said that if he were the Prime Minister there would be civil and religious liberty for all and that anyone could demonstrate if they kept within the law.

August 3, 1971

In an interview with The Times the Rev Ian Paisley MP said, "I would not shirk the duty of becoming Prime Minister of Northern Ireland if the circumstances were such that the people of the country felt I was the right man."

August 12, 1971

The Rev Ian Paisley MP led marchers to Stormont, who shouted "traitor" when the Prime Minister appeared. Mr Faulkner refused to see Rev Ian Paisley.

August 16, 1971

The Rev Ian Paisley MP held a press conference at Stormont and demanded the return of the "B" Specials, alleging that the Prime Minister, Mr Brian Faulkner, had admitted that no protection could be given to Protestant families and that both Lord Carrington and Mr Maudling had said the same thing.

September 6, 1971

Between 15,000 and 20,000 workers attended a mass rally in Victoria Park, Belfast addressed by Rev Ian Paisley MP and Mr. William Craig MP. A third force was demanded and stronger measures urged against the IRA. A deputation of shipyard and aircraft factory workers met the GOC NI at Lisburn. Later they met the Prime Minister.

September 10, 1971

The Rev Ian Paisley MP addressed a rally at Carrickfergus urging men and women prepared to serve in a third force to hand in their names at halls throughout the country during the coming week.

September 19, 1971

At Portadown, the Rev Ian Paisley MP told a Protestant rally that he believed a deal had already been done with Westminster concerning Northern Ireland. The rally approved a policy of boycotting goods from the Republic and a refusal to use Irish money.

September 28, 1971

The Rev Ian Paisley MP told a 5,000 strong rally in Portadown that an Ulster Loyalist Civil Defence Corps would be set up by Protestants to counter the IRA campaign. The meeting supported a resolution calling for the resignation of Mr Faulkner and an immediate general election for Stormont.

September 30, 1971

The Rev Ian Paisley MP and Mr Desmond Boal MP announced their intention to form a new political party, called at first the Ulster Loyalist Party, then later the Democratic Unionist Party.

October 1, 1971

At Newtownards, the Rev Ian Paisley MP appealed to Protestants to barricade their streets at night to keep the gunmen out.

October 2, 1971

At an anti-internment rally at Cookstown, Miss Bernadette Devlin MP forecast the fall of Mr Faulkner's administration by Christmas. She thought Northern Ireland might have the Rev Ian Paisley as Prime Minister.

October 3, 1971

Speaking at a Loyalist Rally at Silent Valley Orange Hall, the Rev Ian Paisley MP said that Mr. Heath was dedicated to a United Ireland. "Ulster will have to go it alone," he said.

October 5, 1971

SDLP MPs did not take their seats in Parliament. Mr Desmond Boal, Rev William Beattie, Mr John McQuade and Rev Ian Paisley sat on the Opposition benches.

October 30, 1971

At a rally in the Ulster Hall, Belfast to discuss the formation of a new political party, the Democratic Unionist Party, the Rev Ian Paisley MP told the audience that he had information that the British Government was about to introduce Direct Rule, as internment had not resolved the problems of Northern Ireland. A spokesman at Stormont denied this rumour, and later a denial was issued from Downing Street.

November 4, 1971

Unionist MP's, with NILP member Mr. Vivian Simpson and the Rev Ian Paisley MP, visited Long Kesh internment camp. Internees refused to see them.

November 28, 1971

The Rev Ian Paisley MP in an interview given to RTE radio said that the Republic should scrap its 1937 Constitution if it was serious about improving its relations with the North.

December 31, 1971

The Rev Ian Paisley had a meeting with General Tuzo in an effort to have the anti-internment protest rally banned. The rally was to take place on Sunday, January 2.

January 2, 1972

An anti-internment rally took place in Belfast without incident...About 5,000 people were estimated to have taken part....

January 15, 1972

The Rev Ian Paisley MP cut the first sod of the first Free Presbyterian Church in Drum, Co Monaghan. He said: "A staunch Roman Catholic and a staunch Protestant can live side by side in peace."

February 22, 1972

Rev Ian Paisley MP was elected Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee at Stormont.

March 8, 1972

Rev Ian Paisley MP issued a statement saying, "The Loyalist Ulster people can no longer sit idly by and see their country systematically destroyed." He also said, "As a General Election is not on, an immediate referendum on the Union is imperative."

March 20, 1972

Referring to Ulster Vanguard, Rev Ian Paisley MP said, "Mr. Craig's UDI is certainly not acceptable to the majority of the Loyalist people." He went on to say that if Stormont were to be tampered with it might be better to integrate Northern Ireland into the rest of the United Kingdom.

June 5, 1972

In the Ulster Hall, Belfast, the Rev Ian Paisley MP reiterated his demands for total integration of the North with Britain instead of Direct Rule and said that talk of an independent Ulster was "stupid and utter balderdash."

July 4, 1972

In Larne, the Rev Ian Paisley MP made an appeal on behalf of the DUP for loyalist unity...that his party would be prepared to "close ranks" on the basis of truth and loyalty...he also condemned those who preached the dangerous doctrines of cutting links with Britain, and adopted "Protestant Sinn Feinism."

August 5, 1972

At an Apprentice Boys' rally in Dromara, Co Down, the Rev Ian Paisley MP said that the British Government had no intention of calling in licensed guns in the province.

August 12, 1972

About 3,000 Apprentice Boys marched in the Waterside Area of Derry. Later, at a rally, the Rev Ian Paisley MP asked the Orange Order to organise a conference of all loyalists in Ulster.

August 17, 1972

The Rev Ian Paisley MP topped the Belfast Telegraph's "Man for the Hour" poll as the "Ulsterman who could unite the province, the man who has the ability and integrity to be trusted by all and who can help people find the path to peace."

August 21, 1972

The Rev Ian Paisley announced that the DUP would not take part in the conference on loyalist unity organized by the Orange Order on Wednesday because the UDA were not invited.

September 11, 1972

The Rev Ian Paisley MP (was) invited to a loyalist unity rally to be held in the grounds of Stormont at the end of the month.

September 13, 1972

Following a meeting with Mr. Whitelaw at Stormont Castle, the Rev Ian Paisley MP...said he would not attend the conference on the political future of the province on September 25-27 unless a public judicial inquiry were held into the shootings on the Shankill Road, Belfast, the previous week.

September 19, 1972

In an interview published in the Belfast Telegraph, the Chairman of the UDA, Mr James Anderson,... said he would choose Mr. Paisley as the politician to lead Northern Ireland and he thought that if Mr Paisley's policy had been the return of the Stormont Government he would have had all the following in Ulster.

September 29, 1972

In Belfast Rev Ian Paisley...announced he would not attend the Vanguard Rally to be held at Stormont on September 30. He said it was clear that this rally had UDI very much in mind and declared that this was a doctrine he could not go along with. "It is but a step from outright rebellion."

October 17, 1972

The Rev Ian Paisley MP said that Mr. Whitelaw had given him a written undertaking that the death of Mr John Clarke during the rioting on Monday night (October 16) would be investigated.

October 25, 1972

Following a meeting with the Prime Minister Edward Heath, the Rev Ian Paisley,..said he believed that the plebiscite on the Border would be held shortly and that the local government elections would be postponed. At the meeting he presented to the Prime Minister his party's programme for the future of Northern Ireland; full integration with the United Kingdom if a parliament at Stormont was not restored.

December 3, 1972

The Rev Ian Paisley MP said that Mr. (Harold) Wilson had done the whole of the United Kingdom a great disservice... Mr. Wilson's statement about British troops, to the number of 100 killed, being caught in the cross-fire between Catholics and Protestants, was an atrocious lie.

December 8, 1972

St. Mary's Catholic Church, Martinstown, Co Antrim, was destroyed by an explosion before the congregation arrived for morning Mass. Rev Ian Paisley condemned the bombing, whether done by the IRA or by Protestants, "Undeserving of the name."

January 4, 1973

The Rev Ian Paisley MP denied a claim by the Provisional IRA in Portadown, that 2 leading members of the UPV had been captured. Police in Portadown said they knew nothing of the matter.

January 5, 1973

The UDA's statement on sectarian murders was welcomed by Rev Ian Paisley MP, who said he deplored people who tried to impute ulterior motives to the UDAm and that he welcomed any body of people prepared to condemn this type of murder.

January 8, 1973

The Rev Ian Paisley MP met Mr Whitelaw at Stormont to discuss sectarian assassinations in Belfast.

January 11, 1973

Rev Ian Paisley MP described Captain Ardill's recent remarks about forthcoming talks between the Democratic Unionist Party and Vanguard...as "impudent and damaging." Rev Paisley said that while Captain Ardill's remarks had prejudiced the outcome of possible talks, he hoped they might still take place, though they had been jeopardised.

January 14, 1973

It was reported that the Ulster Defence Regiment was requiring those members who belonged to the UDA to resign from it. The Rev Ian Paisley MP said he would be asking a question to ascertain how many men had been approached by the authorities.

March 6, 1973

Rev Ian Paisley MP said that he would raise the question of omissions to the Northern Ireland electoral register at Westminster. Hundreds of voters had found that their names were not listed, he said.

March 13, 1973

The BBC broadcast a 2 hour programme entitled The Question of Ulster. Among those taking part were....Rev Ian Paisley, MP....

June 7, 1973

The Rev Ian Paisley MP and Mr William Craig MP threatened to seek a High Court injunction against both ITV and the BBC after they had refused to appear with other political leaders and journalists on a special election programme on BBC. In a joint statement they said: "The DUP and the VUPP have learnt with dismay and shock that the BBC and ITV have deprived the major political parties of their rights to party political broadcasts."

June 29, 1973

In a BBC television programme, the Rev Ian Paisley MP AM said: "Loud and clear from North Antrim, the most beautiful constituency in Northern Ireland, has come the voice of free born Ulstermen saying to Messrs Heath and Wilson, 'you will not push us into a United Ireland.'"

September 17, 1973

The Rev Ian Paisley MP said that Mr. Herron's* death could be the beginning of an attempt to eliminate other Protestant leaders so as to further the Heath and Wilson plan for the Council of Ireland, and eventually a United Ireland.

*September 16: body of Mr Tommy Herron found at Glen Road, Drumbo, Belfast. He had been shot and left at the side of the road.