

# Church & State

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*A Cultural Review Of Ireland And The World*

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**The End of The Treaty Church?**

**Cardinal O'Donnell**

*a national prelate*



Also:

Vichy France

Land War

Liberal Ethic

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Brendan Clifford

## End Of Treaty Church

*beginning of . . .*

The Pope must overcome his hubris: that was the message of Professor Diarmuid MacCulloch, who is the media historian of the moment on the history of Christianity, when he was interviewed about the current sex scandals involving the Roman Church. It was a puzzling message to come from a Christian. Christianity is nothing if not hubristic. It claims to be in league with the Creator of the Universe. And it is not possible to be more hubristic than that, except by claiming to run the Creator of the Universe. A modest Christianity would be a fake—it would be a confidence trick.

MacCulloch, in one of his television programmes, let it be known that he didn't believe a word of it. It was all figures of speech to him. At the same time he did not make it clear that he was giving the history of a deception or a delusion.

Demanding that the Pope should reject hubris is tantamount to demanding that he should reject Christianity. If there is to be authentic Christianity there must be hubris somewhere—and where better than Rome, where Christianity launched its bid to become the universal religion? The only other possible location is Canterbury, but Canterbury's claim derives from Rome.

Cardinal Newman is on track to be canonised. He began life as an English State Christian, a member of the English State Church founded by Henry VIII—which was run by Henry's successors for about a century and a half, and by Prime Ministers after that. He was an earnest member of the Anglican Revival of the second quarter of the 19th century: when he realised that the Anglican Revival was not in earnest, he went over to Rome. That is to say, he became a pervert.

"Perversion" was the official name for going over from the English State Church to Rome. It was a title in the *Index to The Times*, and in England nothing was more official. Perverts were named in *The Times*—not for the purpose of shaming, because any Englishman who sank into Romanism was presumed to be shameless—but out of a concern, for the safety of the State that the perverts—the enemy within, the Fifth Column—should be known to the general public.

Newman concluded that England had chosen 'the world' at a strategic point in its development. I don't recall exactly when he located that choice, but it must have been around 1700.

But in choosing 'the world', England did not reject Christianity. It preserved Christianity very carefully as an ideology of State, serving the State and controlled by it. The Church of England was part of the administration of the State. The Bishops and Vicars were operative in the apparatus of the State, well set up in this world, but not allowed to meet and discuss the other world from which they derived their Providential aura. It was necessary for them not to appear as mere civil servants of the Ministry for Higher Things, so they were allowed a bit of aura. But, for a century and a half, the Anglican clergy were not allowed to meet in Assembly, lest they should infect each other with a degree of unworldliness.

The Anglican Revival of the 1830s was encouraged for the purpose of enabling the State Church to get a hold on the mass of the proletariat of the industrial revolution. But a century and a half of religion by rote—of essential scepticism—had emptied the State Church of actual belief in Christianity. And

the simulation of belief did not come easily; it implied inconvenient changes of lifestyle; and, however well simulated, it lacked the convincing power of genuine enthusiasm. So it was left to wild varieties of Non-Conformism to serve as religion for the industrial masses.

Non-Conformist varieties did not meet Newman's need to be authentically Christian. It was too local and ephemeral. It did not live up to the official pretensions of the English Church. Only Rome, from which Canterbury had defected on instructions from Whitehall, could do that.

The mode in which England chose the world is interesting.

I forget where it is that things are summed up as the consisting of the Devil, the World, and the Flesh. England abolished the Devil—or at least reduced him to a figure of speech. That was simple. The matter of the Flesh was not so simple. Like the poor, the Flesh is always with us. But, as far as it was possible to do so, England rejected the Flesh. The greatest success of the Puritan ferocity of 17th century England was that it poisoned the Flesh.

But the poisoning of the Flesh contributed substantially to making the choice of the World effective. The Flesh is the greatest distraction from the World. England chose the World—power in the world and over the world—as the purpose of its existence. The Flesh was pushed to the margins of life.

When I first went to England I fell amongst a group of reflective skilled workers who had seen something of the other world on Earth through having been in the War, and they were doing their best to broaden their horizons. Jokes about Vicars on honeymoon were rife. The Vicar somehow managed to get it done, waited anxiously to see if he had got a result, and when it was clear that he had, he thought *Thank God that's over!*

On the other hand, the Flesh was Catholic. Everyone knew that girls who had been to Convents tended to be randy, and that priests helped them to commit the sins which they enjoyed hearing about in the Confessions—while the Vicars, of course, were buggers, buggery being the less distasteful option for dealing with bodily fluids.

These were the stereotypes—and England was made functional by its stereotypes.

The Catholic stereotype was given permanent currency by the 'Gothic' novels of the great era of English novel-writing, which began in the later 18th century and remained in print. But long before that Protestant England saw Catholics as living in the Flesh, and there were some trials of Catholics in the early 17th century for living too exuberantly in the Flesh.

Report

The following letter appeared in the  
*Sunday Business Post* of 10th January 2010

### Crime And Punishment

"My occasional sparring partner, Vincent Browne, continues to misunderstand the Catholic creed that he has set aside—but on some beliefs of which he continues to exhibit a compulsion to pontificate.

Browne was on firmer ground when he talked about the misguided, costly compassion with which, since the 1960s, our Church's bishops changed from draconian defrocking of pervert priests to futile efforts at rehabilitation (and the related necessary and legal cover-up).

They would have saved themselves an awful lot of time and stress, our Church an awful lot of money, victims an awful lot of pain, and the rest of us Catholics an awful lot of hassle—and deprived our Irish media of an awful lot of fillers—if they had persevered with the defrocking to which belatedly they returned a decade or so ago. **Joseph F. Foyle.**"

Anti-Catholicism was the only common ground between the different strains of the mangled English Reformation. And Anti-Catholicism could function as a kind of Anti-Continentalism. There was only one Protestant Continental state, Holland, but Holland was broken by England as a rival for world power in the late 17th century, was hegemonised by it, and it didn't matter if it was offended by the Continental = Catholic equation. Prussia, England's Continental ally in the 18th century and most of the 19th, was also Protestant in a sense, but was actually liberal. There was a time (before John Redmond took us into *Our War* and Tom Kettle invented *Prussianism*) when reformers in Ireland looked for Prussian conditions, both in religion and land. Anti-Catholicism/Continentalism has a shelf-life independent of Protestant belief.

Archbishop of Canterbury Rowan Williams, a figurative Christian, was uneasy about the war to destroy the Iraqi state and cause mayhem. He was interviewed about this on BBC's *Newsnight* by Jeremy Paxman. But surely Saddam is an evil tyrant! Paxman said to him. All states are a mixture of good and evil, the Archbishop replied. But Paxman wouldn't have it. Was the Archbishop seriously suggesting that there was evil in the British state? It turned out that he wasn't. He backed down. And so he should. The English state is not subject to the forces of good and evil. It is its own Providence. It determines what is good and what is evil. What it does is good, and what resists it is evil. That was all decided over three centuries ago—as the Archbishop should have known when applying for the job. But he made amends recently by chastising the Romanist Archbishop of Dublin.

Ireland failed to make itself West Britain—or England failed to make it West Britain—whichever—take your choice.

The second way of putting it is perhaps the more realistic in the light of the major facts of the history of the relationship over many centuries. England ruled Ireland, broke its language, fragmented its culture, and outlawed its religion—the religion, or at least the Church, that England, as the secular arm of the Papacy, had imposed on Ireland in the first place. If that was all not purposeless destruction, what was its purpose, if not to make Ireland English?

But it did not make Ireland English. Did it fail, or did it choose not to? The latter I think.

The Williamite conquest succeeded in its immediate object of breaking Ireland as a political entity. It failed in its missionary effort—conducted by a combination of terror and preaching—to make Protestants of the Irish. Perhaps that failure was influenced by a sense that, if the Irish became Protestants, the Anti-Catholicism which was the basic ideology of the British state would be deprived of its object. Protestant unity under the Anglican regime depended on the presence of an imaginary Papist threat to the state. The imaginary threat was given a vestige of reality by the presence in the state of hordes of Catholic Irish.

The Irish, shattered politically by the Conquest, re-constructed themselves as Catholics in the course of the 18th century.

Elements of the Williamite colony aspired in the 1780s to become the centre of an Irish national development. The insistence of the colonial Parliament on remaining colonial, despite gaining the formal status of an independent Legislature, led it in the 1790s to mobilise a potential nation and compel the Parliament to embrace it. This was the United Irish movement. In order to increase its weight, the United Irish conspiracy made overtures to Catholic bodies. The Government countered this by compelling the Parliament to pass a Catholic Relief Act. It harassed the United Irish movement, forcing it into a revolutionary stance, and riddling it with informers.

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When the Government precipitated revolution in 1798, the Protestant effort at revolt was half-hearted at best. The main fighting was done in Wexford, where there was little prior United Irish organisation. This made it possible for what was essentially a Protestant enterprise to be presented as Papist subversion. But at the same time the Government gave an undertaking that when the Irish Parliament was abolished, and the Irish colony was reduced to a small minority in British politics, the emancipation of Catholics into the Constitution would follow quickly.

It did not follow. Why not? Because of a series of unfortunate accidents? But were the accidents preventative or enabling? I would say that they enabled England not to do what it did not want to do, while leaving itself formally committed to doing it when possible. That is a well-established English way of not doing things.

In 1808 Grattan proposed an Emancipation Bill with a clause giving the Government a right of veto on the appointment of Bishops. The veto clause had been cleared with the Bishops, but the Catholic middle class in Dublin rebelled against it. During the next twenty years the Catholics disputed amongst themselves about the Veto.

In 1829 O'Connell intimidated the Government with mass mobilisations. The Duke of Wellington decided that the line would no longer hold and ordered a retreat. And Orange Peel brought in a Catholic Bill admitting Catholics to Parliament.

One of the strongest arguments against Emancipation was that the Catholic Church was a foreign political power, and that the Catholics in the UK were agents of that foreign power and therefore could not safely be admitted into the corridors of power in the state. The point of Grattan's Veto clause was to meet that objection by giving the British Government a role in the conduct of the Roman Church within its borders. And that was in fact the normal arrangement between Rome and the various European states, Catholic and Protestant. But Britain, when admitting Catholics to Parliament, left them directly under the authority of the Pope for the first time ever. And so it remains to this day.

It seemed to me when I went into the matter about twenty years ago that Peel was moved by the English distaste for all things Roman and Continental, and conditional Emancipation would have required the setting up of a department of state to conduct the affairs of the Catholic Church jointly with Rome; and by a further consideration that, if the Irish were placed directly under Rome,

Rome might be used to control them. (Under the balance-of-power strategy England usually found itself in alliance with Rome in its European wars, and Rome was beholden to it in many ways.)

The 1829 Act placed the Catholic Church in Ireland in the anomalous position of being directly under Roman authority. Britain deliberately established the relationship which it condemned. And it did this at a moment when Rome was undergoing reinvigoration and was reasserting positions which were thought to have lapsed. The Syllabus of Errors was issued, and the Ultramontanist development culminated in the Papal Infallibility declaration of 1870.

The re-assertion of Papal authority over the Church was met with spurts of resistance on the Continent. There were schisms here and there, but there was no hint of a schism in Ireland, even though Archbishop McHale voted against Infallibility at the first Vatican Council. There was Civil War in Switzerland, through which the Catholic cantons were made to understand that Switzerland had priority over Rome. In Germany there was *Kulturkampf*, "the struggle for culture", to ensure that German Catholics recognised the state. But in Ireland there was an uninterrupted growth in the influence of the Church, under the direct authority of Rome, not merely unresisted by the secular power, but facilitated by it. And the secular power was not Irish. There was no Irish secular power throughout that period—unless one considers the Poor Law Guardians a secular power. The secular power was the administration of the British State. And the British State, which failed to develop a political base for itself amongst the Irish populace but ruled any native administration out of the question, facilitated the Roman Church in taking command of one institution after another.

When I first saw Dublin, in the mid-1960s, it seemed to me to consist of Churches and their precincts. Down in the backwardness of Slieve Luacra the Church, the priests, had a position allocated to it by society. But in Dublin one searched in vain for society. I gathered that there were little areas of private resistance here and there, but they had no public presence. And there were no local newspapers, such as there were down the country and in the various Boroughs of London. On the basis of a purely rural experience into my twenties, I felt Dublin as being much more alien than London. It was a great sprawling city given coherence only by an overt Catholic uniformity.

A few years later I saw Franco Spain, which was usually described as Fascism organised as a clerical dictatorship. But it quickly became evident that the clergy

in Spain had nothing like the status they had in Ireland. They had their allocated place in the life of the state, and were dependent on the state. In Ireland they were prior to the state.

The English decision in 1829 to have Ultramontanist Catholicism in Ireland, and its facilitating of the growth of the Ultramontanist Church as an institutional power in civil society, prepared the ground for the 'Treaty settlement', in which the section of the nationalist movement most subservient to the influence of the Hierarchy was established in power.

Did England know what it was doing? Did it know that it was establishing in authority in Ireland the most extreme form of the European religion and culture which it was its mission to curb and destroy?

How could it not have known? The English dogs in the street, and their cousins in Ireland, were never done barking about it.

Rome was the chosen enemy against which England developed itself in becoming a Great Power. The Penal Laws were justified as a measure for curbing the evil power of Rome. The Temporal Power of the Papacy was the great bogey set up by English propaganda in Ireland in the 18th century and into the 19th, even though the days when the Pope had an army were long gone. The Irish were repeatedly called upon to repudiate the Temporal Power—but, when they did so, that was said to be of no account unless the Pope himself did so. And the Papacy of course refused to do so.

The Temporal Power of the Papacy, which was held to be a danger to the British state, was not an Army. It was the alleged influence of Catholic belief, directed by the Papacy, on secular conduct. But in 1829 Britain placed the Irish Catholics directly under Roman control, and thereafter facilitated the growth of the Temporal Power of Rome in Ireland.

Some years ago Richard Pearl undertook to defend US tactics in Asia in an interview on British television. It was put to him that it was a very great mistake to encourage the growth of what we now condemn as Islamist Fundamentalism for the purpose of subverting the modernising Communist Government of Afghanistan, since it must have been obvious that Islamism would not go away when it had defeated the Communists with American weapons, but would set above governing the country it had liberated. Pearl brushed this argument aside as childishly naive. In the real world you use whatever is to

hand for dealing with the problem of the moment, and if the ally who served you at one moment becomes the enemy the next moment—well, that's life in the fast lane.

America sponsored Islamism in Afghanistan. England sponsored Ultramontanist Catholicism in Ireland. And so Papal Power finally came to Ireland.

In 1979, when the Pope came to visit his Green Isle I published a pamphlet to mark the occasion, called *The Rise Of Papal Power In Ireland*. It was generally condemned as being in very bad form

Here is the English vision of Catholicism, written around the time when the Government with exclusive responsibility for Irish affairs decided to submit Ireland to it without any institutional defence, in a publication that has never been out of print:

"A strange, frolicsome, noisy little world was this school; great pains were taken to hide chains with flowers; a subtle essence of Romanism pervaded every arrangement: a large sensual indulgence (so to speak) was permitted by way of counterpoise to jealous, spiritual restraint. Each mind was being reared in slavery, but, to prevent reflection from dwelling on this fact, every pretext for physical recreation was seized and made the most of. There, as elsewhere, the Church strove to bring up her children robust in body, feeble in soul, fat, ruddy, hale, joyous, ignorant, unthinking, unquestioning. "Eat, drink, and live!" she says. "Look after your bodies; leave your souls to me. I hold their care—guide their course. I guarantee their final fate". A bargain, in which every true Catholic deems himself a gainer. Lucifer offers the same terms..."

"Out of men's afflictions and afflictions were forged the rivets of their servitude. Poverty was fed and clothed, and sheltered, to bind it by obligation to "the Church"; sickness was tended that it might die after the formula and in the ordinance of "the Church"; and men were overwrought, and women most murderously sacrificed in a world God made pleasant for his creatures' good... that they might serve Rome, prove her sanctity, confirm her power and spread the reign of his tyrant "Church"..."

"I was taken to the churches on solemn occasions—days of fête and state; I was shown the Papal ritual and ceremonial. I looked at it.

"Many people—men and women—no doubt far my superiors in a thousand ways, have felt this display impressive, have declared that though Reason protested, their Imagination was subjugated. I cannot say the same. Neither full procession, nor high mass, nor

swarming tapers, nor swinging censors, nor ecclesiastical millinery, nor celestial jewellery, touched my imagination a whit. What I saw struck me as tawdry, not grand: as grossly material, not poetically spiritual..."

That's Charlotte Bronte in *Vilette* (Chapters 17 and 36). The Catholicism she is describing is of course not English. Nor is it the Catholicism of the vulgar Irish, who were still living in a Protestant state then, and were taught about being "a happy English child". It was the Catholicism of a state established at Britain's insistence—a state founded on religion—the state for which we went to war in *Our War* because the German Army marched through a corner of it: Belgium. This is where Charlotte, an Anglicised Ulster Protestant, worked for a while as a governess.

Great volumes of comment of a similar kind might easily be collected, but this is probably the book in which the Anti-Catholic sentiment at the heart of English culture is given the best and most widespread expression.

I know that it was widely read in Ireland in the early 1950s, when Ireland was at its most Catholic. The Treaty state gave English literature a prime place in its educational system. But, beyond that, I think the Protestant Brontes were particularly liked by thoughtful readers in the part of rural, Catholic, nationalist Ireland that produced me. I heard *Vilette* being discussed before I read it. I do not recall that the fierce Anti-Catholicism was resented. It was certainly not influential. I suppose it was discounted as referring to a country of a very different kind. It would have been generally understood in the 1950s that at the time *Vilette* was written Irish children were not overfed, or coddled, in public institutions. The state was Protestant. Proselytising charity was Protestant. And the big food event was the Famine, for which the Protestant state was held responsible.

I don't know if the Dublin Catholic middle class, which insisted on direct Roman authority at the start of the phase which is now ending, has been commenting approvingly on *Vilette* in recent months in the *Irish Times*. Or, in their revulsion against the Pope, do they see his evil influence in different terms from Charlotte Bronte? Or are they thinking about the reality of the situation at all?

When I published a book about *The Veto Controversy*, the minds of the opinion makers were firmly closed against it.

The educated urban middle classes were the social basis of the Church—not what they took to calling the

peasantry. The 'peasants' were the main property owners of the country, having displaced the aristocracy. Unlike the aristocracy, they were a very extensive class. The educated dwellers in the towns were a middle class without an upper class gentry, and they were on the whole not property owners. The peasantry had deprived them of an upper class, and the upper class that the peasants got rid of was in any case wrong for this middle class. And it is a truism of European history that the relationship of the Church Hierarchy with the property owners of a state is different from its relationship with the masses, of which the middle classes formed part.

What was different about Ireland was that the property owning class was the 'peasantry'. The piece of history which brought this about in the late 19th and early 20th centuries has not been written about, because history has been written by the educated urban middle classes. The social dimension of 20th century Ireland—the dimension which determined its development—was laid down by a very effective reform movement whose leading figures are scarcely remembered even as names—William O'Brien, Canon Sheehan, D.D. Sheehan, along with Joseph Chamberlain, Arthur Balfour and the Salisbury connection that held the Tory leadership for a generation. A vigorous but realistic peasant agitation, combined with the Tory democracy movement to create a vast class of property owners in Ireland.

Cantillon, the French political economist who is periodically discovered to have been really an Irishman, held that the only real property was land. That view was widely held to be obsolete almost as soon as it was formulated. It was possibly so in England, but not in 20th century Ireland.

I grew up in an area where these peasant property-owners made up the bulk of the population, but in a family that did not own property. It happened that at the age of eleven I filled in for a Parish Clerk who was ill for a season of Stations—a remnant of Penal times abolished after Vatican 2—and saw at close quarters, over a period of weeks, the relation of the peasants to the priests, which was very far from subservience. The only depiction of that relationship in literature that I know of is a Frank O'Connor story called *Peasants*.

The peasants, whom I had the means of observing, were religious as a means of sociability but not pious. The village, which lived on the peasantry, was where piety was to be found. The religious practice of the peasants was largely token, and had a quality of hedging one's bets. Later on I discovered the rule: the bigger the town, the greater the piety.

At the age of 13 I realised I was totally non-religious. When I left the area in my early twenties it was because a missionary movement, driven by the cities, had begun to penetrate even into the townlands.

The scandals of recent times have naturally had the most destructive effect on beliefs and values in the areas where those beliefs and values were most piously held, and where there was dependency on the Church. Where belief was token, but a sprinkling of it was thought to be a good thing, the destructive effect seems to be minimal. And where the priests were kept in order by the populace, which I know they were in the area I know about, there were no scandalous facts to hide as far as I had been able to discover.

Out of the wounded piety of the middle class the complaint has emerged that the Church has not been a caring Church, as it ought to have been. That is a bizarre complaint. I assume that the Church was a caring Church in missionary times, when there was reason for it to be. Priests and people looked after each other—as they still do in other places where the situation requires it. But the Penal Law system was repealed in Ireland between 1793 and 1829, and its ongoing consequences were then tackled, until a state was formed.

We do not know how things would have worked out if Britain had recognised the Government declared on the basis of the 1918 Election, even with a reservation on some Counties in the North-East. But Britain made war on that Government. And in 1921-2, by means of a massive terror threat, it persuaded a section of Sinn Fein to make a deal with it for subordinate Government limited by a 'Treaty' and later to make war on those who stood by the Republic based on the elections of 1918 and 1921. The Church Hierarchy supported the 'Treaty'.

The nationalist leaders who bowed to the 'Treaty' ultimatum gained uncertain majorities in the Dail and in an election under the influence of the British terror threat, and then they were compelled by ultimatum to make war on the Republican opponents of the 'Treaty'. The sense of purposeful conviction naturally lay with the Republicans in those circumstances, and though the 'Treatyites' won the war with British backing and British armaments, they could not consolidate their victory by hegemonising the society with Royalist and Imperialist ideology. Objectively they had fought to impose the Oath to the Crown on the country, but they did not themselves believe in what they had fought for.

They won with British backing and with the active support of the Catholic Hierarchy. They would have been in a poor way without the all-out support of the Hierarchy, which excommunicated their opponents and gave a semblance of conviction to what was in essence a loss of conviction.

The Church drove the elements of the populace who were most subject to its influence into the Free State fold. And it determined what its relationship should be with the state that had made itself a kind of ecclesiastical dependency by submitting in the way that it did to the British ultimatum of December 1921, and a series of further ultimatums during the first six months of 1922. That was when the Church/State relationship that has broken down recently was established.

The Republicans were defeated in the 'Civil War', but not demoralised. It was the victors who were demoralised, or were dependent for morality on external bodies: Whitehall and Rome. Those who were frightened by the excommunications into supporting the Free State naturally helped to establish the Church in dominance. The Republicans shrugged off the excommunications, got on with the war, and then got on with the peace. The Church found it prudent to make an accommodation with them a few years later, even though they were the excommunicated party and had not repented of their sins.

When I was a child there was a man in the parish who only went to Church once or twice a year, on particular dates which I do not recall. He came in at the back of the chapel, marched up the aisle to the altar rails, waved his blackthorn stick at the priest, and denounced him as the representative of the excommunicating body. And public opinion saw it as right that the Church should be reminded periodically of its misconduct.

The Anti-Treaty party came to office in 1932. It might have done so five years earlier, with better results, but for the *Irish Times* and the Jinks affair. By 1932 the Treatyite Church/State relationship had set. Re-making it would have been problematical. What Fianna Fail did was make itself a safety-valve, a refuge, for the unorthodox.

It used to be a Treatyite boast that, in its ten years of power, Cumann na nGaedheal (the forerunner of Fine Gael) had established structures of state which the Anti-Treatyites could not undo when they came to power. I heard Garret FitzGerald say that on BBC Radio a number of times. There was a fair amount of truth in it. The Church/State relationship in particular is a Treatyite

construct. I have not heard Fine Gael boasting of it recently.

I started with Cardinal Newman so I'll end with him. I like Cardinal Newman almost as much as Canon Sheehan. Catholic Ireland turned its back on these priests long ago, leaving them to me to remember. Almost forty years ago, when Senator Harris was a ferocious Sinn Fein Anti-Partitionist and Catholic, I debated with him in Limerick about the Ulster Protestants. His mode of argument was that of the Rev. Kingsley against Fr. Newman. Kingsley belonged to the Anglican movement from which Newman perverted to Rome. He investigated Roman casuistry and found that priests were allowed to tell lies on occasion. In a tight spot in an argument with Newman he fell back on this as excusing him from dealing with the facts of the matter, because Fr. Newman was now allowed to tell lies and who could tell which mode he was in at a particular moment. Newman called this "*poisoning the wells*". And that was how I described Senator Harris's mode of argument. I assumed that in the holy cities of Limerick and Cork people would be familiar with the Newman/Kingsley dispute. But it wasn't so.

The Treatyite education system seems to pride itself on its English Literature as well as its Catholicism, but it seems that it did not propagate Newman under either heading. Although his subject is almost always religion, I found him more readable than any other English writer of his time because of the quality of his reasoning and the acuteness of his observations. He was similar in some ways to the Anglican Non-Juror of a century earlier, William Law, whose writings supplied honey to the otherwise severe life of Charlotte Brooke, the translator of Gaelic poetry. What other English writer could have made this observation on coming to Ireland?—

"He does not at first recollect, as he ought to recollect, that he comes amongst the Irish people as a representative of persons, and actions, and catastrophes, which it is not pleasant to anyone to think about; that he is responsible for the deeds of his forefathers and of his contemporary Parliaments and Executive; that he is one of a strong unscrupulous, tyrannical race, standing upon the soil of the injured. He does not bear in mind that it is as easy to forget injuring, as it is difficult to forget being injured. He does not admit, even in his imagination, the judgment and the sentence which the past history of Erin sternly pronounces upon him. He has to be recalled to himself, and to be taught by what he hears around him, that an Englishman has no right to open his

Dáil 7th July 1965

## Richie Ryan TD on Civil Service Irish:

"I know we will be told that for the future this is the best thing that could have been done but apparently we are not yet at the end of it. The Minister has told us that the language is now going through laboratory tests. I do not know whether that is to find out if the cancerous growth which was removed in the last two operations is still growing, but one shudders to think what the final production will be when it comes out of the test tubes and the computers in the scientific laboratories. We are led to believe that these scientific language laboratories can be of great assistance in teaching people a language. That may well be if the language is a living one and a known one, but we have made Irish into no less than three different languages in the last two or three decades. I cannot see what kind of familiar language will come out of all the scientific tests now being applied to the language.

The only problem in the past was the difference between the Irish of Connacht, the Irish of Munster, the Irish of Ulster and whatever residue there happened to be in Leinster. Those of us who went through school in the past 20, 30 or 40 years were reasonably familiar with the differences between the four dialects and there was a possibility that, in time, these dialects would become amalgamated and produce a living language. It might well be the language at which the experts sneer now, the language the Dublin people use when they talk Irish, but it would at least have been a living language. It is my opinion that all the activity of the so-called experts has done untold harm, harm which can never be undone.

There is then the Department making the situation more difficult still. Some years ago the Department directed that only the Roman script was to be used. For the children in the junior schools, it was to be the Cló Romhánach and, in time, that would be the only script for the children and ultimately for future generations. Simultaneously, teachers in the junior schools were teaching children, who were supposed to have only the Cló Romhánach, the Irish script. One year the children were taught Gaelic script and the following year they started learning the Cló Romhánach. The children had the greatest difficulty in changing over from Gaelic script to the Cló Romhánach, from the Gaelic script with its aspirate and the síniú fada to the Cló Romhánach with aitches ['h's!'] all over the place.

There is a movement—the title of it eludes me at the moment—in Sandyford in County Dublin dedicated to a form of Irish spelling which will get rid of the aitches. I understand the experts sneer at the activities of these people. They regard them as cranks. I can think of no greater crank where Irish is concerned than the so-called experts in the Department of Education. These people in Sandyford recently produced a book written by Miles na gCopaleen in this script. It is easily readable for people like myself, who were taught Irish through the Cló Gaedhealach, and who were not at any stage of their schooling familiar with these spurious aitches." ■

heart, and indulge his honest affections towards the Irish race, as if nothing had happened between him and them..."

The middle class, on which the Church rested, feels betrayed because the Church was not a caring Church and because the priests were men. But was it not the business of the middle class to see that the clergy behaved, rather than *vice versa*?

The Church is at present being accused of dealing informally with cases of misconduct by priests, instead of referring them to the police. But there is little doubt that this way of handling the matter was tacitly approved of by the middle class. The contrary accusation is made against Gerry Adams—that he said a complaint made to him about his brother should be referred to the police. The implication is that he should have acted on the authority of the Living Dail and ordered a knee-capping or a castration.

The middle class which established the Church in dominance now feels betrayed, but is still made incapable of thought by its own historic subservience.

Where did the betrayal begin? Clearly at Vatican 2, which devalued the values to which the middle class had shaped itself for a hundred years, and made nonsense of the tasks to which thousands of the most determined and capable individuals in the society had dedicated themselves. But that is not something that can be admitted, or even subjected to reasoned consideration.

In the *Irish Times* one reads that in Ireland Church and State were not separated as in Britain. But the problem actually lies in the fact that Church and State were separate in Ireland, as they were not in Britain. The mode of separation established at the time of the 'Treaty' is what has now broken down amidst scandal and bewildered outrage.

In England the Church is a department of the state. The state made its own religion and the Government ran it. Enthusiastic cult religions came and went in the undergrowth, but Anglicanism, with its apparatus of churches and operatives, continues to function throughout the state because it is part of the state. And the famous atheist historian, Professor David Starkie, said he would be sad to see the Church department of the state broken off because, regardless of belief, it was a central part of being British.

The outraged Catholic middle class would have known this, and not talked nonsense about England, if they had read Newman:

"does not its essence lie in the recognition by the State? is not its establishment its very *form*? what would it be, would it last ten years, if abandoned to itself? It is its establishment which erects it into a unity and individuality; can you contemplate it... abstracted from its churches, palaces, colleges, parsonages, revenues, civil precedence, and national position? Strip it of this world, and you have performed a mortal operation upon it, for it has ceased to be... You know that did not the State compel it to be one, it would split at once into three several bodies, each one bearing within it the elements of further divisions..."

So if we want to be more like England, what we must do is bind the Church into the State and cultivate a benevolently humorous attitude towards it. This magazine suggested about twenty years ago that a start might be made by a *Concordat* between the Government and Rome. The suggestion was rejected out of hand on all sides. The Catholic middle class of the metropolis still insisted on direct Roman control over the Church in Ireland, just as in 1808.

### **The Veto Controversy** by *Brendan Clifford*.

An account of the fierce dispute among Irish Catholics, between 1808 and 1829, as to whether the appointment of Irish Bishops by the Pope should be subject to a degree of Government influence, as was generally the case elsewhere. Includes **Thomas Moore's Letter To The Roman Catholics Of Dublin (1810)** and extracts from polemical writers on either side: J.B. Clinch, Dr. Dromgoole, Bp. Milner, Denys Scully, Rev. Charles O'Connor etc. 203pp. ISBN 0 85034 030 6. Athol Books. 1985. €20, £15.

**Bolg an Tsolair/ Gaelic Magazine, 1795** by Patrick Lynch, Charlotte Brooke and Others. *Reprint of United Irish magazine, with substantial profiles of P. Lynch and C. Brooke* by *Brendan Clifford & Pat Muldowney*.

248 pp. Bibliography, Index. ISBN 0 85034 083 7. Athol Books. 1999. €20, £15.

**Belfast Politics (1794)** by *Henry Joy & William Bruce*. First complete reprint. Introduction, *Brendan Clifford*. Includes *Thoughts On The British Constitution*. 336pp. Index. ISBN 978-085034-122-5. Athol Books. 2010. €25, £20.

**Fianna Fáil, The Irish Press And The Decline Of The Free State**, by *B. Clifford*. Index. 172pp. ISBN 978-1-903497-33-3. Aubane Historical Society. 2007. €12, £9. available through bookshops, the publisher of this magazine, or on-line:

<https://www.atholbooks-sales.org>

## The Funeral Run

Being a member of a mixed Catholic/Protestant family takes me into both areas in Belfast and Derry when someone dies. I had occasion to go to Belfast recently for the funeral of a Protestant relative. It was to a part of East Belfast which was once the killing-fields—or the urbanised killing-streets—where Catholics, like Belfast Council builders or road-menders, have been murdered, as well as being the location of killings among loyalists themselves. One loyalist leader, who overstepped the mark was demoted by assassination. He wore a lot of pink. People jostled one another to photograph him lying in the gutter, using their camera-phones. Graffiti later appeared on a wall: RIP = Rest in Pink.

I had attended funerals in this area during the worse times and I was aware that my family in this area knew the more militant Protestants in their street. A few of us Catholics members had obviously been given safe-passage for the funeral. Now that the politically-motivated killings in this area have stopped, there are the freelance sectarian gangs, who—though they don't deliberately kill—could badly beat up a Catholic found in the area. They are not accountable to anyone. At least the UDA or the UVF were disciplined enough to consider letting certain Catholics enter their area. But now, if you are coming alone into the area, it is best to do so early in the morning. When leaving at night, there is always a Protestant family member to drive you out to the airport. I am talking about March, 2010.

Remember the peace process?—the Good Friday Agreement, the jolly-fellow act in Stormont, the fantasy about bringing Catholics and Protestant together—as if such an action would be no more difficult than mixing various ingredients together to make a cake. This coming-together would only work if either party surrendered wholly to the other. Can you see this happening when even close family members will on no account give into one another's views?

Arriving at the George Best City Airport, Belfast, I was under no illusions. First thing you do is turn on your 'Detect a Protestant/Catholic Radar'—noting body language, accent, and how words are used. Most people do this sub-consciously. The first Protestants you will see on landing are the members of Special Branch, standing by the automatic doors to the terminal, in-your-face.

They are looking for Catholics and they want you to know that is their game. Look at them and they will stare you out with hatred on their faces. If they were looking for drug-smugglers or your ODC (ordinary decent criminal), they would be doing so through their surveillance equipment somewhere in an office in the terminal. Though the RUC is now the reformed Northern Ireland Police Service and much more benign, their Special Branch still seems to be a law unto themselves. As Seán McGouran pointed out in *Irish Political Review* not long ago, the Special Branch once ruled the old RUC and controlled interrogation centres like the notorious Castlereagh Holding Centre. Their belligerent attitude at airports and ferry terminals still needs to be rectified.

Getting into a taxi at the airport is like getting into a mobile interrogation room. But I was ready to play an intellectual game of noughts-and-crosses, for the driver was too nose for my comfort. Telling him my destination had him on the radio. He didn't know the area and he was radioing for directions and to say where he might be found—and letting me know he could get help. Not a good start. He noted that I had no luggage. I said I was going to a funeral and wouldn't be staying overnight. He guessed that; he had carried a number of people like me. So why did he ask? I felt he wanted to hear my accent.

He then talked about three English lads whom he had taken to their father's grave. Their father was the last link with Ireland. I deliberately didn't respond as I was wary of him trying to find out what I was. A Protestant would have said Ulster or Northern Ireland. Getting no response, he corrected himself by saying it was the lads who called it Ireland. Still determined to find out my ilk, he asked me directly if I had been born and reared in the area he was taking me to. I said no and gave him a number of areas I had supposedly lived in with my family. None were readily identified as totally Catholic or Protestant areas. This confused him. He then said I had an echo to my voice and how long had I been in England. I replied "*donkeys*".

Then it was the radio again. He said the street I wanted was a one-way and he might have difficulty getting out of it. I had heard the radio reply but a one-way street hadn't been mentioned. He asked me if it was all right if he left me on the main road as this back street was only couple of hundred yards away. This

young Catholic taxi-driver may not have survived the worst of times in the past. He was in an area that frightened him and he had mistakenly marked me down as a Protestant in the end

So much for the Good Friday Agreement in the guise of yet another ceasefire, and in a ceasefire it's only back to barracks with nothing ever sorted out to anyone's satisfaction.

Then to the address and the slow gathering of Catholics and Protestants. Different kinds of Catholics and different kinds of Protestants and very few of them had entered a Church in the last twenty years. Most professed to having given up religious ways. They may have given up this cultural aspect of their way of thinking, but real things like who occupies this torn-off piece of land still existed in their minds.

One Catholic said she had had a smooth journey from Derry, then quickly changed that to Londonderry and ended up frustrated saying, "*Whatever you call it!*" There was big effort not to hurt Protestant feelings, but it was a voluntary 'croppy lie down'. I did hear a younger member of the family say 'Derry' when in conversation with a Protestant relative. The Protestant said 'Londonderry' in a friendly fashion, not to contradict him but to confirm he was different.

Generally it was unlike past funerals, when a Protestant relative couldn't talk to a Catholic family member without being angry. He talked about gardening to you in a rage and was really saying I am just about tolerating you. Maybe it is sad to say but a few of us were happy to be at his funeral.

When the militant Catholic at this funeral gathering began to rant about the building trade to his Protestant relative I wondered if he was asserting his human rights—parity of esteem.

Then the Protestant-pleaser Catholic said she didn't want a paedophile priest at her funeral, that maybe just before the time she would become a Muslim. The militant Catholic asked her how would she know the imam wasn't a paedophile. Some of the Protestants decided to move into another room before they too were insulted by a possible conversion.

At the service for the dead the Methodist Minister (obviously told he had a mixed congregation) concentrated mostly on his working-class credentials in relation to the deceased. He condemned inhuman employers and their treatment of workers, told of his time serving his apprenticeship as an engineering fitter and said he was now conducting the funeral service of a fellow fitter. A good man trying his best to bridge the gap.

Some prayers were said and the



hymns: *The Lord is My Shepherd*, and *Abide with Me* were sung. The Catholics held the hymn sheets with bowed heads in order to hide the fact that their lips weren't moving. The Protestant-pleaser moved her lips in pretending to sing. I had been part of the Communist movement in this area during the late 1940s-early 1950s. At that time being a Communist absolved you of being a Catholic. Now the mask was off. I was reduced to the ranks as a Catholic. That is my true identity in Belfast whether I am a believer or not but the good Minister was still thinking that proletarian politics could bring us all together.

Then we piled into the cars and made for the cemetery. On the way we passed a Protestant school. The children were getting out. Among them were some black, Indian and Chinese kids. A Catholic, in the all-Catholic ghetto car, noted they must be Protestants, not that they are black, brown or yellow. Is that an improvement in race relations or an extension of sectarianism? I didn't ask, for the divided Catholic can be worse than the divided Catholic/Protestant.

The morning and evening rush-hour consisted of mostly brand-new expensive cars. You passed the fine newly-built detached homes of possible carpet-baggers—both Catholic and Protestant—who have cut themselves a slice from the huge British subsidies hitting the North. High-rise hotels, where once there was the world's biggest shipyard, are springing up, complete with yacht basins. At the graveside the speech was brief and it was back to the post-funeral reception with more walking on eggs, tears, hugging and kissing before leaving.

18th March, 2010

## MARKED FOR LIFE

At five years I was not the same  
when that moment Ash Wednesday came.  
At early Mass my brow was smeared.  
Later at school they thought me weird.  
Dirt's on your forehead they jeer,  
wipe it off or are ye afeerd.  
Daddy doesn't say yea or nay.  
He wasn't born the Roman way.  
Red, white and blue flies with intent  
but mammy still forfeits for Lent.  
Why did she ever come to this town,  
they say they live under the Crown.  
What does that mean, where do I live.  
I must say nothing, just forgive?  
Now they're calling me a Teague.  
Tell daddy, though he may be vague.  
Quiet! You cause peace too much trouble,  
the slightest prick bursts the bubble.

Wilson John Haire

7th June, 2009

Stephen Richards

## The Arts And The Crafts

We have a Government Department in Northern Ireland called DCAL, where the CAL stands for Culture, Arts and Leisure. DCAL is the fount of largesse to deserving causes. I'm not quite sure how the funds filter down but I presume it's by way of various quangoes such as the Arts Council for Northern Ireland. Under the Stormont system the parties pick Departments much in the same way that lunchtime football teams used to be picked in school. It's called the D'Hondt mechanism, although we didn't know that at school. These Departments don't seem to come up for grabs again, and so the same Departments are stuck with the same parties. With DCAL we're in DUP territory: the Minister used to be Edwin Poots and is now Nelson McCausland, late of Worcester College Oxford, who has managed to re-align himself with the new DUP-lite orientation.

### A Rights Issue

Now I'm not averse to government being supportive of the arts in word and in deed, but I have a major gripe about the way that the language groups in Northern Ireland (Irish Gaelic and Ulster Scots) try to argue their case. The argument runs like this: these are minority languages as defined by the EU and so the withholding of generous public funding amounts to a denial of a human right for the language group in question.

In the new philosophy of rights, associated with the enactment of the European Convention as part of UK domestic law, there has been a paradigm shift so that the right has to come packaged with the financial wherewithal to enjoy it. If one wanted to be Hohfeldian about it, one could say that the aggressive language of rights has triumphed over the *laissez-faire* nineteenth century idea of freedoms. And rights, "bare rights", are really no good without some financial inducement to exercise them.

So it's really about economic rights after all. Our cultural and linguistic rights end up in the same category as our right to three square meals a day. I believe this is a category error, but at a practical level the only culture that is perpetuated is a dependency culture. When the financial life support machine is switched off the culture sickens and dies.

That's my general thesis that I'll come back to, but I'd like to say something now about the languages that the state is under a duty to cherish in the wake of

the "Good Friday Agreement".

### Falling Short Of The Mark

I'm sorry to say that I don't believe either of these languages properly qualifies, or should properly qualify, as a minority language anyway. Let's start with Irish Gaelic. There's no doubt but that it's one of the great historic languages of Western Europe, with an impressive literature to match. I feel that my life is the poorer for my lack of acquaintance with it. Far better if our schools and universities could be "centres of excellence" for the study of Irish literature, rather than for business studies, leisure and tourism, and marketing. And if there are those who want to revive Irish as the main language of the home, I see that as a laudable aim.

But, for all that, Irish isn't actually the native tongue of anybody on the island. It isn't a minority language at all. All Irish speakers are bilingual at least—even Hugo Hamilton was bilingual in Irish and German—and I doubt if any of them are more fluent in Irish than in English. In Northern Ireland anyway, I think the last native speaker in the Glens of Antrim died about eighty years ago. I'm sorry about this and wish it were otherwise, but there it is.

As for Ulster Scots, the objection is the converse. Ulster Scots is certainly (if less now than heretofore) the distinctive native tongue of an ascertainable and numerically significant group of people in the here and now, but the problem is that it's not really a language. I would put it in the same category as some of the German dialects spoken in regions like Swabia, or the dialect spoken in the Frisian Islands.

### Coming Down In The World

Of course Anglo-Saxon itself, before it got mugged by Norman French, was a dialect of Low German. The Northern Angles and Jutes, who settled in Northumbria and the Lothians of Scotland, spoke their own variant of Low German, which persisted in a more Germanic form than the English of the South. That developed into the Scots language of the Lowlands of Scotland and it migrated to the North of Ireland. Four hundred years ago there was no hierarchy of status as between English and Scots. Each was independent in its own sphere. Scots was the language of the royal court and of literature.

But all that began to change when James VI left Edinburgh for London in

1603. A process was set in train whereby Scots became marginalized to the backwoods and the tenements, despite the best efforts of Walter Scott, Robbie Burns, Hugh McDiarmid, and the kailyard novelists. Scots and, by extension Ulster Scots, became a poor backward cousin of received English, ashamed to be seen in polite society.

So while I'm all in favour of cherishing this endangered species I think that the propagandists for Ulster Scots haven't done their cause any favours by making such extravagant claims for it.

### **Mad Dogs And Englishmen**

No doubt you're wondering where I'm going with this. Well, as part of the labyrinthine plotting that led up to the devolution of Policing and Justice to the Northern Ireland Assembly, an announcement was made that funding of £20 million would be allocated to the Irish language with £5 million going to Ulster Scots—in the middle of an economic slump, with no money to repair potholes. What this had to do with the niceties of policing and justice is anybody's guess, but Northern Ireland is its own self-contained logical universe.

I suppose the logic is that this place is like a compound full of wild dogs that start fighting at the drop of a hat, so it makes sense to throw in some raw beef from time to time so that the dogs will take their minds off one another. The British perfected this tactic during their years of Empire. We might call it the placating of sectional interests. The whole of the government of Northern Ireland is conducted on this basis. The raw beef has to be distributed more or less evenly. The cultural groups that are being pandered to are more interested in scoring points off each other, and shouting "It's not fair" like six-year-olds, than in quietly pursuing their hobbies. There are many within the Ulster Scots "community", and I suspect not a few Irish language enthusiasts, who are unhappy about being lumped in with a lobby group, just as there were reactionary homosexuals, people like the late James Lees-Milne, who loathed the gay lobby.

### **Can't Buy Me Love**

Another idea of the governing establishment is that linguistic and cultural pursuits will operate as a displacement activity to take our minds of more destructive cultural impulses. Hence the peace and reconciliation funding which has been doled out in various tranches. One has to resist the tendency to fill sentences like that last one with inverted commas. I will leave my readers to infer inverted commas in appropriate places. Initiatives such as Peace II and now Peace III have been rolled out to enable

cultural exchanges to take place at taxpayers' expense between people from districts such as East Antrim and the Gweedore area of Donegal, during which they can explore their shared musical heritage. I am very much of the opinion that no shared heritage should go unexplored but I resent the assumption that we need this money spent on us to prevent us from turning nasty, and in fact to turn us all into moderates. Moderates are the polar opposite of militants. They are adjectives in search of a noun. And so, folks, it's not about the culture, it's about social engineering, to which the cultural journey plays second fiddle. I'm not sure how our lives are made more meaningful by Eleventh Night bonfires, but, believe it or not, Local Council funding is available for these doubtful enterprises, with prizes for the tidiest etc. This funding literally goes up in smoke, to pollute the night air.

### **Petrol For The Engine**

We can possibly forgive cynical Governments because we expect nothing better, but it's a harder job to forgive ourselves for pursuing the golden trail at whatever cost to our self-esteem. I will give you a very small example of this. One evening a few years ago I was at a public forum in the old Ballymena Town Hall where the health of the Ulster Scots project was being discussed. One of those present was explaining how she had been engaged in the very commendable task of going round the townlands in the Portglenone area with a cassette recorder compiling an archive of local speech patterns. She had had to discontinue her activities because the funding had run out. I sensed what they call a disconnect here. The implication was that only those activities that had official backing could be pursued, and so that meant that the Government was allowed to set the agenda for what was culturally relevant and what wasn't. I hadn't been aware until then that a cultural movement could be so supine.

We had a property boom in both parts of the island a few years ago. The boom in the Republic started sooner and ended sooner than the boom in the North. But, from about 2002 to 2007, there was a lot of money in developers' pockets all over Northern Ireland. During the course of that brief meridian I wasn't aware that developers and other beneficiaries of the boom were putting any significant money at all into Irish language or Ulster Scots studies. "*Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.*" If you follow the money it will give you a fair idea of people's priorities and pre-occupations. The money was made without much ingenuity, but a lot of self-interested thought went into often vain attempts to hold on to it. The better

course would have been to give more of it away to deserving causes; but the cultural advancement of the Irish and Ulster Scots language groups wasn't deemed to be deserving enough. Why should Government have to dig deep into its, sorry, our, pocket to support people who show such a stunning reluctance to support themselves?

### **Smart Missiles**

If cultural activism can't survive a funding deficit there is the even more sinister converse rule. The rule, simply stated, is that cultural groupings tend to follow the funding, just as with heat seeking missiles. They change direction so as to comply with some funding imperative or other, often guided by well-meaning facilitators, who are simply operating in the realm of the possible. In the first place, if a group has run its affairs prudently and responsibly and finds itself with "*a roughness of money*" it's not going to be eligible. So it makes more sense to follow the vow of poverty, if not chastity or obedience. One has to be continuously in begging mode if not continually begging. That puts one into the position where one can be the just recipient of Government grace.

The next step is look for some "project" (sorry, I couldn't resist) which will be consistent with the funding criteria. It doesn't matter one iota if that project is the last thing anyone would have thought of doing, other things being equal. The funding tends to become the *raison d'etre* of the organisation concerned, which forces itself into a temporary Procrustean bed so as to fulfil its manifest destiny, on the "*because it's there*" principle. Some of these bodies have been able to achieve charitable status without too much difficulty. I'm just not sure if the time, the resources or the willpower are always there on the part of officialdom properly to monitor the subsequent life and adventures of the beneficiary group.

### **The World And The Crows**

While I make no specific accusation against any group in particular, this kind of arrangement is rather susceptible to abuse by those who are attracted by the idea of obtaining easy money on the pretext of virtuous cultural engagement. I suspect that at grass roots level Loyalist paramilitaries have been attempting, with more or less success to "muscle in" on the facilities now available. It's not altogether easy to prevent this kind of thing.

Every morning I check that the hens have enough feed. The hens, you might say, are my primary concern. I don't mind at all though if some of the finches and sparrows take advantage of the good

thing in an opportunistic way. That is only to be expected and I won't lose any sleep over it. If some benefit trickles down to them, that's fine by me. But the crows have managed to infiltrate the netting and, they ruthlessly go about their business in a non-inclusive sort of way. So, I admit that not all public spending can be guaranteed to be targeted with total accuracy, as we don't live in a perfect world. But it's a different matter when there are people who are out to get rich quick at the expense of a system that proceeds on the assumption that the world is full of honourable men and women. I believe there's a chapter in the story of the black economy that's still to be written in this regard.

At a more innocent level, the limited field of candidates in the field of Ulster Scots musical excellence has meant that the generous funding available has not always been as widely spread as might have been desirable, which is not at all ideal. But it has to be said that at one level some admirable things have been achieved by the Ulster Scots movement. There is an occasional interesting journal called *Ullans* (although I haven't seen a new issue for a while), and two decent poets have been thrown up by the "revival", James Fenton and Charlie Gillen. I don't know if the same results could have been achieved for less money.

If public money tends to debauch the arts and culture at a local level then a lot of public money tends to complete the job. The money the taxpayer spends is often not well allocated. If it's lost or misspent nobody feels the pain.

### Aggressive Publicists

The Ulster Scots arts scene is a variegated one. Progress has been fitful and piecemeal. There is little sign of a sustained coherent purpose. Things on the Irish language side of the fence are rather different. The emphasis here seems to be on raising the profile of the language in the public square, including the EU and the courts. Street signage is another fertile field of endeavour, as indeed with Ulster Scots. (In relation to this last theme I feel that the proper way to go about it would be to have locally organised votes and if the feeling of the district is that a separate set of signs should be put up then the local inhabitants should pay for it, as with town meetings in America.)

The threat linking the Irish language campaign seems to me to be triumphalism. In the mindset of the zero sum game any progress made is important only insofar as it's a provocation to the other community. This is a crazy way to try to promote a language. It should be promoted in such a way as to make it as attractive to people from those on the

other side of the fence, otherwise it's looked upon simply as a tactic in a war of communal attrition and is at once cheapened and ghettoized. There is the suspicion that, if we were all happy campers in a united Ireland the zeal of the Irish language movement would abate. Indeed if it's a grievance-related phenomenon it will inevitably fade with the grievance.

Once again it's the taxpayer who is expected to pick up the tab for the grandstanding of the language movement, from simultaneous translations to radio/TV stations to new road signs, which are more problematic than street signs. North of the Highland Line the road signs are 100% bilingual but the people are less than 1% so and the signs have made not the blindest bit of difference. Wales is a country which has the most respectable tradition of native language speakers of all the Celtic fringe nations, but even here the results of a recent survey have indicated that some Welsh language television programmes have viewing numbers which in statistical terms don't register on the scale.

### Virtue Its Own Reward

The late Flann O'Brien in one of his alter egos tried to revive the Irish language as a journalistic medium in the mainstream press with his column in the *Irish Times*, but I'm not sure where his successors are. I would have thought that one of the towering literary figures produced by nationalist Ireland might be interested in having a go at a novel of volume of poetry in the language, just as the genial polymath Alexander McCall Smith has written one of his Botswanan detective novels entirely in the Scots language, with no translation due for a year.

As with the Conservatives under Cameron, some attempt has to be made to decontaminate (and de-politicize) the brand in relation to Irish. The aim should be to encourage commitment at local level to the pursuit of language and literary studies in Irish as a virtue in its own right, decoupled from the nationalist rhetoric. This will be a slow, unglamorous process but it's the only way to lay a lasting foundation.

### High Culture And Folk Culture

I'm arguing against the kind of blanket funding that has disfigured the language movements in Northern Ireland I should also be opposed to generous public funding for such things as classical music and opera. While I think that all arts funding has to be looked at closely, I would argue that we're not comparing like with like here.

First of all, these more conventional art forms are high maintenance by their very nature. Opera needs opera houses;

professional musicians who make up orchestras need to be paid, as do soloists, even more so. While there should be as much financial commitment as possible from wealthy individuals and corporate concerns, substantial state support is essential. I would add that a lot more private money goes into opera and classical music than into Ulster Scots and Irish language activities, which tends to make one more sympathetic.

Secondly, the argument of the cultural and language groups is that these things are part of the very warp and woof of their communal being. Taking them at their word, one would like to see the colour of their own money.

Thirdly, the folk-culture of our Ulster tribes is by definition accessible. It is their culture. "High art" is much less so. Unless you happen to be brought up in a certain environment it's always going to be an effort to appreciate it, just as the English literary classics are harder work than Agatha Christie. Yet it's universally acknowledged that high art is a good in itself. Something immeasurable would be lost if it ceased to reverberate through the society as a whole. Chesterton quoted someone as saying that it's more important that heaven should exist than that any of us should ever get there.

And on that profound note I close.

## Report

Stephen Richards exchanged the following letters with Stormont Arts Minister, Nelson McCausland

## Ulster-Scots Flag

3rd October, 2009.

Dear Mr. McCausland,

I know that you're a busy man with a department to run, so I'll be brief.

I applaud the stance you have taken in opposition to the practice of sporting organizations identifying themselves with contentious and even criminal elements in our society. It is clear to me, and I believe to you, that our sporting and cultural institutions should be as far as possible welcoming to all in our population, and should not be seen to inhabit political, religious or ethnic ghettos. This seems almost to be axiomatic in the post 1998 world we live in.

So, bearing this principle in mind, I am at a loss to understand how it can be that the new "Ullans" office in Victoria Street, Ballymoney, just round the corner from my office, which is presumably in receipt of funding from your department, is permitted to display over the entrance a so-called Ulster Scots flag, complete with Red Hand and Crown.

Now I have no objection to this Loyalist symbolism in its own place, and I respect the right of Loyalist organizations to sport whatever symbols they wish, as long as they don't advocate hatred or violence. But I had no idea that the Ulster Scots movement was intended to be associated with this kind of thing. In my innocence I had believed that it was all about Ulster Scots people reclaiming and celebrating their linguistic and musical heritage, and promoting their culture in an attractive manner throughout the whole society. How this can be done in alliance with such blatant political sectionalism is a mystery to me. How this tainted enterprise can be supported by public, i.e. taxpayers' money, is a deeper mystery. Can you enlighten me?

It so happens that I have lived in what would be called the Ulster Scots heartland for most of my fifty years. Not until now was I aware that there was such a thing as an Ulster Scots flag. I have never seen one until now. I don't believe it has one shred of historical legitimacy. If one actually goes to the history books one finds that the culture which is being celebrated has not been noted for its consistent royalism. One thinks of the Covenanters in the 1670s, the Scotch-Irish rebels in America, and the 1798 rebels in Antrim and Down, who were Ulster Scots Presbyterians almost to a man, or woman. Even if not all republicans in the dictionary sense these people were certainly not cheerleaders for the monarchy. So it's not possible to plead historical accuracy as an excuse.

Therefore what we have in Ballymoney is an attempt to ghettoize an honourable tradition, just as the Irish language was ghettoized by Nationalist political promotion leading to Protestant abstention, with unfortunate results for the language. Is this what you want to see happen with Ulster Scots? If not, what are you prepared to do about it?

I look forward to hearing from you.  
Yours sincerely,  
**Stephen Richards**

"From The Minister

Department of Culture, Arts and Lesure  
An Roinn Cultúir, Ealaíon agus Fóilíochta  
Mánnstrie o Fowkgates, Airts an Aisedom  
20 October 2009

Ulster Scots Flag At Ullans Office,  
Ballymoney

Dear Mr. Richards,

Thank you for your letter to Minister McCausland concerning the Ulster-Scots flag on display at the Ullans Centre in Ballymoney. Minister has read your letter and asked me to reply on his behalf.

The Minister shares your obvious concern about the presentation and or perception of the Ulster-Scots tradition. The Minister believes that the Ulster-Scots culture, heritage and language is woven

into the very fabric of Northern Ireland and he wants to ensure that Ulster-Scots is welcoming to anyone who wishes to participate in or learn about it.

I understand that the flag on display outside the Ullans Speakers Association in Ballymoney essentially depicts the Ulster flag as a shield imposed on the Saint Andrews saltire. Below the shield is a banner with the words "Ulster-Scots".

The Department has been advised that the flag was created relatively recently, as part of the Ulster-Scots revival, to reflect the links between Ulster and Scotland. The Department has also been advised that membership of the Ullans Speakers Association extends to all sections of the community and that the flag on display is not designed to be sectarian or divisive.

I hope this clarifies the position.

Yours sincerely  
**Barbara McConaghie**  
Departmental Private Secretary  
to Nelson McCausland MLA

<p>FROM THE MINISTER Our Ref: COR/401/2009 20 October 2009</p> <p>Mr Stephen Richards 107 Ballygarvey Road Broughshane Ballymoney BT43 7JX</p>	 <p>Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure www.dcal.gov.uk</p> <p>Minister Cultúir, Ealaíon agus Fóilíochta</p> <p>Minister Fowkgates, Airts an Aisedom</p> <p>Causeway Exchange 1-7 Bedford Street Belfast BT2 7EG Tel: +44 (0) 28 9051 5202 Text phone: +44 (0) 28 9052 7668 email: private.office@dcalhi.gov.uk</p>
<p>ULSTER-SCOTS FLAG AT ULLANS OFFICE, BALLYMONEY</p>	
<p>Dear Mr Richards,</p> <p>Thank you for your letter to Minister McCausland concerning the Ulster-Scots flag on display at the Ullans Centre in Ballymoney. Minister has read your letter and asked me to reply on his behalf.</p> <p>The Minister shares your obvious concern about the presentation and or perception of the Ulster-Scots tradition. The Ministers believes that the Ulster-Scots culture, heritage and language is woven into the very fabric of life in Northern Ireland and he wants to ensure that Ulster-Scots is welcoming to anyone that wishes to participate in or learn about it.</p> <p>I understand that the flag on display outside the Ullans Speakers Association in Ballymoney essentially depicts the Ulster flag as a shield imposed on the Saint Andrews saltire. Below the shield is a banner with the words "Ulster-Scots".</p> <p>The Department has been advised that the flag was created relatively recently, as part of the Ulster-Scots revival, to reflect the links between Ulster and Scotland. The Department has also been advised that membership of the Ullans Speakers Association extends to all sections of the community and that the flag on display is not designed to be sectarian or divisive.</p> <p>I hope this clarifies the position.</p> <p>Yours sincerely  Barbara McConaghie Departmental Private Secretary to Nelson McCausland MLA</p>	

28th October, 2009

Dear Ms. McConaghie,

Thank you for your letter of 20th October in response to mine of 3rd October, and I note what you say.

I did not actually claim in my letter that the "Ullans" flag in question was "sectarian or divisive" but I certainly believe that it has the potential to be both. No doubt the Irish Tricolour was not designed to be sectarian or divisive but that is its practical effect when flown within Northern Ireland.

The Ulster flag itself (let alone the so-called Ulster Scots flag) does not have any formal legitimacy, as contrasted with, say, the Cross of St. Patrick. It has never been accepted as an official flag in relation to this particular Irish province. It is flown exclusively with Loyalist intent. Like the Ulster flag, the "Ulster Scots flag" depicts the Red Hand set in a six-pointed white star and surmounted by the Crown. It may not have been designed to cause

offence but that is certainly what it does. Its use sends out a clear message to a large section of the population of Northern Ireland that the welcome afforded to that section is a limited, conditional sort of welcome. This kind of thing should have no governmental recognition as we seek to open up our cultural heritage on all sides of all corners.

If we are to have an Ulster Scots flag I would have thought that a shamrock and thistle design would have been acceptable to everybody. However I was not consulted and nor was anyone else.

I note that the Minister shares my "concern about the presentation and or perception of the Ulster-Scots tradition." I'm glad to hear it, but the question posed in my earlier letter remains unanswered: what exactly is he prepared to do to ensure that the Ulster Scots tradition which he rightly values is preserved from opportunistic Loyalist infiltration and ultimate ghettoization? I await hearing from you further.

Yours sincerely,  
Stephen Richards

No reply was received to this letter.

Report

**Indian Jews to Make Aliyah**

The Israeli Government is reported to have quietly approved the fast-track immigration of 7,000 members of a supposedly "lost Jewish" tribe, known as the Bnei Menashe, currently living in a remote area of India. Under the plan, the "lost Jews" would be brought to Israel over the next two years by right-wing and religious organisations who, critics are concerned, will seek to place them in West Bank settlements in a bid to foil Israel's partial agreement to a temporary freeze of settlement growth.

Under the plan, the "lost Jews" would be brought to Israel over the next two years by right-wing and religious organisations who, critics are concerned, will seek to place them in West Bank settlements in a bid to foil Israel's partial agreement to a temporary freeze of settlement growth.

A previous attempt to bring the Bnei Menashe to Israel was halted in 2003 by Avraham Poraz, the Interior Minister at the time, after it became clear that most of the 1,500 who had arrived were being sent to extremist settlements, including in the Gaza Strip and next to Hebron, the large Palestinian city in the West Bank.

Dror Etkes, who monitors settlement growth for Yesh Din, an Israeli human rights group, said there were strong grounds for suspecting that some of the new Bnei Menashe would end up in the settlements, too.

"There is a mutual interest being exploited here", he said. "The Bnei Menashe get help to make aliyah {immigration} while the settlements get lots of new arrivals to bolster their

numbers, including in settlements close to Palestinian areas where most Israelis would not want to venture.”

The Government’s decision, leaked this month to Ynet, Israel’s biggest news website, was made possible by a ruling in 2005 by Shlomo Amar, one of Israel’s two chief rabbis, that the Bnei Menashe are one of 10 lost Jewish tribes, supposedly exiled from the Middle East 2,700 years ago.

He ordered a team of rabbis to go to north-east India to begin preparing Bnei Menashe who identified themselves as Jews for conversion to the strictest stream of Judaism, Orthodoxy, so they would qualify to immigrate to Israel under the Law of Return...

DNA samples taken from the Bnei Menashe have failed so far to establish any common ancestry to Jews...

However, the Bnei Menashe have won two powerful right-wing sponsors: Shavei Israel, led by Michael Freund, a former assistant to Benjamin Netanyahu, the Israeli prime minister; and a religious group known as the International Fellowship of Christians and Jews, which draws on wide support from evangelical Christians in the United States....

Israel is planning to avoid diplomatic complications with India by sending groups of Bnei Menashe to Nepal for a fast-track conversion...

Rabbi Eliyahu Avichail, who has worked closely with the tribe since the early 1980s... said he believed in the biblical prophecy of a coming apocalypse—one shared by “End of Days” evangelical Christians—in which “all the world is against Israel” in a battle to be decided in Jerusalem.

“I believe we are very close to the time when the Messiah will arrive and we must prepare by making sure that all the Jews are in the Land of Israel. There are more than six million among the lost tribes and they must be brought to Israel as a matter of urgency.”

Shimon Gangte, 33, who was helped by Mr. Avichail to come to Israel 13 years ago, is among 500 Bnei Menashe living in Kiryat Arba, an extremist settlement whose armed inhabitants regularly clash with Palestinians in neighbouring Hebron. He said: “It is important that the 10 tribes are brought here because the time of the Messiah is near.”...

Mr. Etkes of Yesh Din said “past experience” fed suspicions that the Bnei Menashe would be encouraged to settle deep in the West Bank, adding that the so-called settlement freeze, insisted on by the United States as a prelude to renewed peace talks, was having little effect on the ground...

Shavei Israel lobbies for other groups of Jews to be brought to Israel, including communities in Spain, Portugal, Italy, South America, Russia, Poland and China.

<http://www.thenational.ae/apps/pbcs.dll?article?AID=20100127/FOREIGN/701269865/>

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Descartes  
Divorce At Home?  
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Descartes

"For More than three and a half centuries, the death of René Descartes one winter's day in Stockholm has been attributed to the ravages of pneumonia on a body unused to the Scandinavian chill. But in a book released after years spent combing the archives of Paris and the Swedish capital, one Cartesian expert has a more sinister theory about how the French philosopher came to his end.

"According to Theodor Ebert, an academic at the University of Erlangen, Descartes died not through natural causes but from an arsenic-laced communion wafer given to him by a Catholic priest.

"Ebert believes that Jacques Viogué, a missionary working in Stockholm, administered the poison because he feared Descartes's radical theological ideas would derail an expected conversion to Catholicism by the monarch of protestant Sweden. "Viogué knew of Queen Christina's Catholic tendencies. It is very likely that he saw in Descartes an obstacle to the Queen's conversion to the Catholic faith", Ebert told *Le Nouvel Observateur* newspaper.

"Though raised as a Catholic, Descartes, who had been summoned in 1649 to tutor Queen Christina, was regarded with suspicion by many of his theological co-religionists. His theories were viewed as incompatible with the belief of transubstantiation, in which the bread and wine served during the Eucharist become the flesh and blood of Christ. "Viogué was convinced that... his metaphysics were more in line with Calvinist 'heresy'", said Ebert. The theory of foul play has been greeted with caution by scholars. Since Descartes's death on 11 February 1650, pneumonia has been blamed for robbing the world of the so-called father of modern philosophy.

"Ebert rejects this as incompatible with the facts. In a letter written after his patient's death, Descartes's doctor, Van Wullen, described having found something wrong—which Ebert believes to be blood—in the philosopher's urine. "That is not a symptom of pneumonia; it is a symptom of

poisoning, chiefly of arsenic", said Ebert, adding that Descartes asked his doctor to prescribe an emetic. "What conclusion is to be drawn other than the philosopher, who was well-acquainted with the medicine of his day, believed he had been poisoned?"... " (Guardian, UK,14.2.2010)

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"Fascism: A political party opposed to Socialism in all its forms." (Nuttall's Standard Dictionary, London & New York,1938).

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Divorce At Home?

Tens of thousands of married couples living in Ireland, but who are from another EU country, will be barred from availing of a new proposal by Brussels to use their home country's laws if they divorce.

Under plans put forward by 10 EU members on 24th March 2010, 'international' couples are allowed to use foreign divorce laws if their marriage comes to an end.

However, despite the value of the proposal, all other members of the EU outside the bloc of 10 have declined to sign up to the agreement in full due to the complexity of the legal issues involved.

This includes a group of seven—Ireland, Denmark, Latvia, Cyprus, Finland, Sweden and Britain—who will refuse to apply any law which is not on the domestic statute book.

According to the Central Statistics Office (CSO), more than 20,000 marriages are recorded in Ireland every year.

The EU estimates that up to 13% of marriages in member states involve either a couple which has migrated from the same country, partners who are from different countries, or couples who live in different jurisdictions.

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Thy Day?

"What we live in our actions is only a fraction of what we live in our minds", Michael McLaverty: *In This Thy Day*, 1947.

\*\*\*\*\*More Vox, back page

BOOK REVIEW: *Cardinal Patrick O'Donnell 1856-1927* by Pdraig S. O Baoighill {Boyle}, Foilseachain Chro na mBothan, Baile na Finne, Condae Dhun na nGall, 2008, 475 pp, €30.

## Cardinal O'Donnell (1856-1927)

Patrick O'Donnell was born in 1856, a decade after the Famine, in the townland of Kilrairie, near Glenties, Co. Donegal and was the second son and fourth child born to Dan and Mary O'Donnell (nee Breslin).

His father was a small tenant farmer and the family were native Gaelic speakers.

He received his primary education at the National School in Lower Kilrairie, his secondary education at the High School in Letterkenny and afterwards attended the Catholic University in Dublin, and was ordained a priest at Maynooth College in 1880. He became Bishop of Raphoe in 1888, the youngest Catholic bishop in the Church at that time. In 1922, he was appointed co-adjutor Archbishop of Armagh with right of succession and became Archbishop in November, 1924. He was created a Cardinal in 1925, the youngest member in the College of Cardinals. Patrick O'Donnell died in 1927.

The O'Donnell family were educated at the National School in Lower Kilrairie where a Master Fisher appears to have attained a high order of learning, judging by the achievements of the O'Donnell children.

Of the nine children, Patrick became a Cardinal; John, a medical doctor; Daniel, a barrister. Two of the girls became Loreto nuns, Rose being appointed Superior in the Loreto Convent in Letterkenny in 1922. The O'Donnell family were descendants of Red Hugh O'Donnell, Earl of Tir Conaill.

On leaving Letterkenny High School, instead of going directly to Maynooth College, Patrick spent a couple of years studying arts at the Catholic University in Dublin, where he befriended John Dillon, the Home Rule parliamentarian, a friendship that was to last for the rest of their lives.

Within three months of his ordination in 1880, he was Prefect of the Maynooth College.

Unlike so many of his priestly contemporaries, O'Donnell did not study in Rome. He was nominated for a place in the Propaganda College but Dr. Mc Devitt, Bishop of Raphoe, and a Glenties man, sent Patrick to the Catholic University in Dublin.

"This probably was to his advantage in later years when he was active in Irish politics. He had never experienced

the way of life in Rome and we have no idea how different his outlook would have been, had he been educated in the Eternal City. But the fact that he had been educated in Ireland, may have left him more objective when dealing with Rome in later years. A good example of this was when the Plan of Campaign was condemned by the Vatican in April 1888" (*O Baoighill*, p11).

From 1870 to Cardinal O'Donnell's death, the See of Armagh was held by churchmen from the Diocese of Raphoe: Archbishop Daniel McGettigan, who came from Glenties reigned in Armagh 1870-1887; Cardinal Michael Logue from 1887-1923 and O'Donnell 1924-1927.

McGettigan was an uncle of the Land War priest, Fr. James McFadden and Cardinal Logue was his cousin.

On the 2nd of April, 1878, when the 3rd Earl of Leitrim (Clements) was assassinated by the Fenians at Cratlagh Wood, outside Milford, Cardinal Logue's father was the driver of the second coach, but was cleared of any role in the killing.

### Donegal Landlords

In the light of Patrick O'Donnell's involvement in agrarian reform and particularly the Plan of Campaign (1886), the background of the family holding is interesting:

"The land on which {Dan O'Donnell} worked belonged to the Rev. G. N. Tredennick, the Church of Ireland minister of the nearby parish of Ardara. Tredennick owned some of the area around Ardara and his estate bordered on the holdings of the Marquess of Conyngham near Kilrairie, which included the O'Donnell farm. Tredennick lived in Woodhill in Ardara and his property covered 6,297 acres at a valuation of £1,447.10. Most of the land in the Glenties area belonged, however, to the absentee landlord, the Marquess of Conyngham, who lived in Slane Castle in Co. Meath" (p10).

The College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, (Dublin University) was receiving £9,000 in rents year after year out of that area of South Donegal, but without any return to the people of the county. This was at a time when the cash value of farm produce, together with earnings of the family from all other

sources, did not exceed £19 per year.

In O'Donnell's youth (1870), 97% of the land of Ireland was owned by landlords who rented it out to tenant farmers.

In 1872, the main landowners in County Donegal were the Conynghams with 122,000 acres, the largest landholding in the country. The current Lord Mount Charles of Slane Castle is a descendant. The Earl of Leitrim (Clements) had 54,000 acres. The Murray-Stewarts of Gatehouse, Scotland had similar acreage.

Other landowners included the Leslies, Adairs, Musgraves, Marshams and Hills. In 1921, The Church of Ireland owned 21,000 acres.

Even today, the McIlhenny family from Boston, USA, who have bestowed Glenveigh Castle and gardens to the Irish State, own the largest single personal landholding in the State, 22,000 acres.

### Land War in Donegal

Consecrated Bishop of Raphoe in 1888, O'Donnell stepped into an open war going on between landlords and tenants.

"Not even in Connaught, not even on the Landsdowne Estates, was the oppressive rule of alien landlordism so great a curse as it was from 1840-1890, and before and after that half-century too in the Diocese of Raphoe and in the Land of Tyrconnell. In no other part of Ireland was the rule quite as hideous, brutal, savage" (*Catholic Bulletin*, November, 1927).

Fr. James McFadden, the parish priest of Gweedore introduced the Plan of Campaign to five County Donegal estates.

McFadden made the famous statement: "*I am the law in Gweedore*": it was this statement which provided the local landlord Wybrants Olphert of Falcarragh to deal with the unruly priest for once and for good!

A warrant was issued for McFadden's arrest. On Sunday, 3rd February 1889, Dist. Inspector William Limerick Martin arrested McFadden outside Derrybeg Church in Gweedore. The parishioners reacted: Martin was struck by a stone and died hours later.

Ten people, including McFadden were charged with murder and 13 others were charged with conspiracy. Later that year their defence council reached an agreement with the Attorney General—McFadden pleaded guilty to obstructing the police and was immediately released. Seven of his co-accused were convicted of manslaughter and received sentences of six months to ten years. Nine others were jailed for obstruction.

When the Liberal Party was returned to power in 1892, it released those still

in jail.

In 1888, McFadden had spent six months in Derry jail over earlier land agitation.

### Plan of Campaign

Padraig O Baoighill's chapter on the Plan of Campaign and Patrick O'Donnell's involvement therein is one of the most absorbing in the biography.

The Plan of Campaign was a movement led by Home Rule MPs Tim Harrington, William O'Brien and John Dillon, though not supported by Parnell. It had the aim of compelling landlords to reduce rents following a decrease in dairy prices. The tactic was to withhold rents from the landlord until he negotiated a reduction. The withheld rents were held by trustees on behalf of the Plan and were used to help tenants evicted for non-payment.

"The Plan was launched in the Autumn of 1886, a few months after the defeat of the First Home Rule Bill, and ran out of steam in the demoralisation following the Parnell divorce case in 1891. It was through his rigorous prosecution of the Plan that Arthur Balfour earned from William O'Brien, the title of *Bloody Balfour*. Britain persuaded the Vatican to condemn the Plan in a Papal Rescript in April, 1888, but O'Brien's friend, Archbishop Croke, gave a clear indication that no heed was to be taken of the Pope in this matter" (*The Cork Free Press, In the context of the Parnell Split, The Restructuring of Ireland 1890–1910*, Brendan Clifford, Aubane Historical Society, 1997).

The whole strategy of the Irish Party at that point was to win the next Westminster election in alliance with Gladstone. Parnell judged that the Plan of Campaign (launched by Harrington, O'Brien, Dillon and Healy after the defeat of the First Home Rule Bill and of a Land Bill in 1886) would not be conducive to maximising the Liberal vote in Britain.

Below is an account from William O'Brien of a meeting in London in December 1886 with Charles Stewart Parnell. It arose from a speech made by John Dillon, MP in Castlerea in Co. Roscommon and highlights Parnell's opposition to the Plan.

"On one of the early days of December (1886) I received a telegram from Parnell begging me to meet him in London upon an urgent confidential matter... He came straight to business. The Liberals were alarmed at the Plan of Campaign, and so was he. The Old Man {Gladstone} had been shocked by a speech of Mr. Dillon's—at Castlerea, if my memory serves—in which he announced that he and his

friends were carefully taking a note of every resident magistrate, police officer, and Government official, who now distinguished himself against the people, and, as soon as the Liberals came back, would settle accounts with every man of them. This threat must be withdrawn or there must be a break with the Liberal alliance" (*The Parnell of Real Life*, William O'Brien, London, 1926, p126).

"It soon became evident that up to that moment Parnell had had no personal communication with Gladstone, and that, as has now been divulged, Mr. Morley was in reality his only informant as to the trend of Liberal feeling. It was no less clear that, in the seclusion of an exhausting illness, {Parnell} he has grown unacquainted with much that was happening in Ireland, and in his feverish condition was unduly excited by a message from one whose Chief Secretaryship {Morley} had been distinguished by a nervous sensitiveness to the failings of Irishmen and a doubtless quite unconscious tenderness for their detractors. There were one or two indications, also, of the influence of a silly article in *The Times* intimating that 'Mr. Dillon's energy is to be accounted for by the fact that a section of the party of disorder have been always jealous of Mr. Parnell's ascendancy'..." (*ibid*, p128).

Pledging his loyalty to Parnell, O'Brien stated:

"You are the supreme judge of policy. Once your mind is made up, I should sooner annihilate myself than cross you. So, I am convinced, would Dillion and Harrington. But, first, I beg of you, go to the fountain-head for information as to how Gladstone's thoughts are really working" (*ibid*, p128).

Parnell then proposed setting bounds to the operation of the Plan or else "*we shall be bankrupted and the Liberals will shake us off*".

O'Brien countered:

"That is a perfectly feasible proposition. Limitation to a few typical estates in each county is the mainspring of all our plans. We find already there is not one landlord in fifty whom the mere whisper of the Plan of Campaign in his neighbourhood will not bring to terms. But, if once it leaked out that we were restricted to a few sham fights, the frank abandonment of the entire venture would be fairer to the campaigners and to the country" (*ibid*, p129).

O'Brien continued:

"Give us a free rein for the rest of

the winter, and in a great phrase of your own, the tenants will 'keep a firm grip of their homesteads' to such effect that, excepting the estates of a handful of lunatics like Clanricarde, you will have the landlords themselves clamouring the loudest to regularise the Plan of Campaign by passing your Bill next Session, and, better still, to expand Gibson's Purchase Bill into one for giving Landlordism what Gladstone called 'opulent obsequies'. We never had such a chance" (*ibid*, p130).

"The wisdom of the oracle may be sufficiently estimated from the fact that the Plan of Campaign struggle was for the next three years enthusiastically participated in by nearly all the best men, women, and newspapers of the Liberal Party in the tumult of eviction scenes, and, some of them, in the cells of Irish jails; that Gladstone himself selected from one of the most tragic battlefields of the campaign the watchword, '*Remember Mitchelstown*' which carried the Liberal flag to victory in England, and that 'the effect in England' was so 'wholly bad' that nothing short of cataclysm of the Divorce Court in 1890 could have prevented the struggle in Ireland from eventuating in an overpowering British majority for Home Rule" (*The Parnell of Real Life*, William O'Brien, London, 1926).

### O'Donnell backs Plan

Patrick O'Donnell opposed Balfour's Coercion Act (1887) and equally the Vatican condemnation in 1888 of the Plan of Campaign, when Pope Leo XIII issued a papal rescript condemning the Plan.

On a wet and stormy November day in 1890, a hundred and fifty police arrived in Falcarragh to carry out more evictions. Bishop O'Donnell travelled up to Falcarragh to comfort the families on the roadside and to plead in vain with the landlord {Olphert, a descendant of a Dutch officer in Cromwell's army}. On a single day alone, over 150 people were forced on the roadside. While these evictions were taking place, the London *Times* was attacking Dr. O'Donnell for disobeying the papal rescript.

In December, 1890, O'Donnell visited Rome and met with Pope Leo XIII telling him that the landlords were quoting the authority of the Pope for evicting the people from their holdings.

### Home Rule

Patrick O'Donnell was a member and Trustee of the Irish Parliamentary Party.

"But standing alongside O'Donnell's belief in Home Rule politics, is the fact that he was also loyal to Charles Stewart Parnell. In spite of the Vatican issuing its letter, '*Quidquid de Parnellio*', in 1883, which denounced Parnell

and his political involvements in the Land League, O'Donnell was one of four Maynooth professors who contributed to the fund to pay off the mortgage on Parnell's home. This came about as a result of Parnell being denounced by the Vatican, and the people wished to acknowledge him and reward him for his services" (*O Baoighill*, p111).

"Four Maynooth professors, who later became bishops, namely, Hackett, Boylan, O'Dea and of course O'Donnell, braved displeasure and disadvantage by also contributing to the fund. They withstood the Vatican itself to uphold the political rights of their country. When their letters appeared in *The Freeman's Journal*, a resolution was passed by the Trustees of Maynooth College to the effect that members of the college staff were to abstain forthwith from taking sides on public questions on which the bishops were divided. The resolution was not entered in the College Minute Book, but it was to be read privately by the College President to the people involved, in case it would get to the press" (*ibid.* p17).

The downfall of Parnell is sometimes blamed on the Bishops, but that is untrue!

"In fact, they did not act until after Gladstone's letter had been made public, and not until a majority of the Party had already deserted Parnell. Archbishop Walsh of Dublin and Croke of Cashel, even advised Parnell in private that it would be in his interest to retire at least on a temporary basis" (*ibid.* p112).

"The initiating cause in the dethroning of Parnell was religious in character, but it did not come from the priestcraft of Rome. It came from the anti-priestcraft of England. It came from the Non-conformist preachers who were a power in the Liberal Party and who made a great virtue of not being priests. The anti priests of the Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, etc. had unbridled consciences. When denunciation welled up in them there was no curbing it.

"Their only real point of unity amongst themselves was anti-Catholicism. Their inherited view of Catholicism was that it fostered idolatry, superstition, spiritual slavery to Mammon, and loose living. The atrocities connected with English rule in Ireland, from the Rule of the Saints under Cromwell (who broke their power in England but gave them Ireland as compensation), to the Famine, and the post-Famine evictions, were justified by the Divine obligation imposed on England to Christianise the world. Catholic Emancipation,

enacted by the pre-Reform Tories in defiance of the Nonconformist Conscience, sparked off the great Protestant Crusade in Ireland.

"Cardinal Cullen's reconstruction of the Catholic Church after 1850 was conducted in rivalry with the Protestant Crusade and took on some of the Puritan features of the Crusade. Cullen suppressed Stations and Well Days whenever he could, and the Protestant Crusade petered out. But, as long as English Protestantism remained true to its origins—which is to say, as long as it remained as an actual theological medium of thought—it could not fail to see Papist Ireland as being prone to moral laxity. And the initial response to Papist Ireland to the O'Shea divorce case confirmed that view.

"Parnell was toppled by the anti-Priests of Nonconformist Christianity—by the berserkers of what Walter Cox in the early 19th century had appropriately name 'English Religion'. English religion did not, at least in this instance, make up special rules for Irish politicians. As Bishop O'Donnell of Raphoe said:

"“...with his eyes open {Parnell} pursued his career that he knew was calculated to bring ruin on himself and on his country. He had before him during the years of his iniquity the case of Sir Charles Dilke who was ignominiously driven from public life in England owing to a charge of gross immorality unsuccessfully repelled in the Courts. And if a man who was spoken of as a future Prime Minister received such treatment from his own countrymen, what was to be expected by a leader... in a strange land, who was bound by every patriotic duty to make Home Rule reputable and attractive to England? I say that he knowingly and deliberately did what he knew to be fraught with fatal consequences to the interests of Ireland”...” (*Cork Free Press*, p69).

### O'Donnell and Nationalist Unity

"In the general election of 1900, O'Donnell played an active part and he only wanted candidates who supported the United Irish League {founded by William O'Brien} to be elected. This is evident from a comment made by O'Donnell at a League meeting held in Letterkenny during the previous January. In this, he stated that it remained for the United Irish League to give practical effect to the voice of the people at the general election. In his own diocese of Raphoe, so far as he could ascertain, the electors would support the candidates who had supported the League and no others. In the meantime, O'Donnell appeared to practise what he preached, and a good example of this was that he was instrumental in having T.D. Sullivan, a son-

in-law {an Uncle, *PM*} of Healy's (who was anti-League), eliminated as a candidate in the elections, as Sullivan had refused to support the United Irish League. Instead, O'Donnell nominated James Boyle for West Donegal... The Bishop sent clergy from all parts of Donegal to Dungloe to canvass for Boyle... In East Donegal, the sitting member, Arthur O'Connor, was replaced by an Edward McFadden. When McFadden's official nomination appeared, O'Donnell's name was at the top" (*ibid.* p128).

T.D. Sullivan was one of the "*Bantry Band*" which included his brother, A.M., Timothy Harrington and Tim Healy: all MPs. He was a prolific journalist and had a connection with *The Nation* newspaper for 45 years and wrote the great national ballad "*God Save Ireland*", which honoured the Manchester Martyrs. He was no friend of William O'Brien and opposed his United Irish League which Bishop O'Donnell supported and which brought some sense of purpose and unity to the Home Rule movement.

The following is a Prefatory he wrote in a biography in 1905:

"I had intended to offer myself for re-election to my constituents of West Donegal; and with that view I proceeded to the locality in the early days of September, 1900. I was cordially received by the people of the several towns I visited; and I wrote to a local solicitor to engage his services as my conducting agent. After the lapse of some days I received a telegram from him informing me that with the assent and support of the Most Rev. Dr. O'Donnell, Bishop of the Diocese, he was himself coming forward as a candidate. That was the first I had heard of any such project of eviction; I had got no "notice to quit", either by letter or in the press, though rumours had reached me that certain dignitaries of the Diocese thought I had not been sufficiently amenable to what was called the "discipline" of the Irish Parliamentary party. Two days later the Administrator of the parish of Glenties interviewed me at a hotel in the town of that name, told me that the Bishop was not favourable to my

### The 'Cork Free Press' In The Context Of The Parnell Split, The Restructuring Of Ireland, 1890-1910

by *Brendan Clifford.*

Aftermath of the Irish Big Bang: Redmondism; Fenians; Clericalism; The Land War; Russellites; Land & Labour League, and All-For-Ireland League—an Irish pluralist political development, originating in County Cork. 168pp. Index.

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candidature, as I might easily have judged from the terms of a letter he had written to the Rev. Chairman of a convention at Letterkenny, and that under those circumstances I would not be justified in seeking re-election. He complained of my having gone through the town getting a nomination-paper signed without having obtained his assent; and said that if he held up his hand I would not get a vote in the parish. I did not share the opinion of his reverence; but after he left I resolved that I would not ask my friends in the constituency, clerical and lay, to put themselves in the unpleasant position of opposing the will and wishes of their Bishop and certain of his clergy. I recognised that they were entitled to exercise great influence and authority in a matter of this kind. Next morning I bade adieu to Donegal and took the train to Dublin" (*Recollections of Troubled Times in Irish Politics*, T.D. Sullivan, Dublin 1905).

### John Dillon

All his life, O'Donnell remained interested in political and economic affairs in Ireland and was a strong advocate of an independent taxation system for the country. Although closely associated with the old parliamentary party, with the growth of Sinn Féin after 1916, he knew that its days were numbered. He pleaded with John Dillon to step down and avoid division in the 1918 General Election. Dillon refused and the Irish Party were practically wiped out, being left with six MPs at Westminster in 1919.

### Congested Districts

The Congested Districts Board was established in 1891 by Arthur Balfour and invested with extensive powers to encourage agriculture and industry in parts of the country where, it was believed, acute poverty was inhibiting individual initiative.

It covered the west coast from Donegal to Cork, eventually it took in a third of the country.

In 1909, it was granted compulsory powers of purchase. It redistributed 1,000 estates totalling 2,000,000 acres. The Board was dissolved by in 1923 by the Free State authorities and its functions handed over to the Land Commission.

O'Donnell joined the Board shortly after it was set up in 1891 and remained its longest-serving member, right up to its dissolution in 1923.

### Lord Londonderry

One of O'Donnell's outstanding achievements was his negotiations with Lord Londonderry, the first Minister for Education in the North in finding a resolution for the question of Catholic

teacher training.

O'Donnell presided over the Irish Race Convention in 1896 and was a member of the 1917 Irish Convention. He was a member of the Royal Commission on Financial Relations between Britain and Ireland (1894). He also served as a member of the Killanin Committee which carried out a full inquiry into the system of primary education (1918).

O'Donnell was an ardent promoter of the Gaelic Language and founded the '*Crann Eithne*' movement to encourage the use of the native language in the homes and in the schools.

In March, 1923, in the midst of the Civil War personal tragedy struck O'Donnell. Four Republican prisoners, Daly, Larkin, Enright and O'Sullivan were condemned to death at Drumboe Castle, Co. Donegal by the Free State forces. The men's relatives had asked the Bishop to intercede. He did so, but his efforts were in vain and the four Republicans were executed on March 14th. On St. Patrick's night, his brother and sister were put out on the road and the O'Donnell homestead was set on fire.

### The Man

"It becomes clear from the examples just cited that O'Donnell has been neglected or almost written out of the history of Ireland, perhaps not deliberately so. There is ample evidence in both local and national newspapers and in archival material which would suggest that O'Donnell was one of the most influential prelates of his generation." (*O Baoighill*, p4).

Frank Hugh O'Donnell, the former Home Rule MP and a strongly independent secularist wrote in his book: *A History of the Irish Parliamentary Party*:

"Bishop O'Donnell of Raphoe is decidedly the ablest political churchman who has appeared on the platform of extreme Radicalism and Agrarianism in Ireland... Their can be no denial of the practical ability of the Prelate of Raphoe, and no financial trustee more influential could protect the pecuniary interests of the Parliamentary Party".

The great Kilkenny priest, Walter MacDonald was a friend of O'Donnell. When Maynooth attempted to by-pass O'Donnell for the Prefect's job, the three Professors of Theology, Boylan, MacDonald and O'Donnell demanded that the job be filled by "*consursus, that is by examination*", the Trustees backed down and appointed Patrick O'Donnell.

MacDonald who was only a couple of years his senior had this to say about the future Cardinal: "*That Dr. O'Donnell—who, certainly at the time, was very young and inexperienced—should make such a protest, shows what manner of man he was even then, and ever since his life has been consistent—full of pluck.*"

Consistent and full of pluck! Coming from one of the most independent and outspoken churchmen in the new Ireland, that in itself was a singular tribute and a fair and frank summary of the life of Patrick O'Donnell.

The book has a splendid series of appendices which are outstanding in their own right, particularly Bishop O'Donnell's contribution before the Commission on the Financial Relations between Great Britain and Ireland 1894.

It is also to the Author's credit that he had the 'pluck' to go ahead and publish this fine volume with his own resources.

## Athar Peadar O Laoghaire

Conor Lynch introduces Athar Peadar O Laoghaire's account of the struggle for the land. (The previous instalment in this series will be found in issue 96 of *Church & State*)

## Land War In Cork

{A few months ago the killings in Mitchelstown during the Land War, as well as the death of John Mandeville and the imprisonment of William O'Brien were dealt with. I had no idea at the time that a major witness to those events was the famous Athar Peadar O Laoghaire. I hadn't read Mo Scéal Féin since I was a child, and then in Irish. Below is his account of the events. Again from the excellent translation made by Cyril Ó Céirín, forty years ago. Conor Lynch.}

"During the war in Doneraile between the tenants and the landowners, a report reached us of another war in Mitchelstown. A court sat in the town. There were two magistrates on the bench, a man by the name of Eaton, R.M., and Captain Stokes, R.M. There was a crown solicitor and Edward Carson was his name—Sir Edward Carson he's called now, in this year of our Lord 1912. But he is the same Carson who was the same crown solicitor there in 1887. The twenty-five years, which have since gone by,

haven't made any improvement on him. The reason the court sat was to try William O'Brien, M.P., and John Mandeville because of some public speech they were accused of and which was, according to the government of the time, against the law.

Although O'Brien and Mandeville had received an order to come and stand trial, each of them ignored the order, they didn't come to the court. If they didn't come, however, others came and it wasn't to court they came! They were in Mitchelstown to give to understand that they themselves and the entire public were in anger and fury because of the injustice which was to be done in the court that day when people were to be accused of breaking the law because they spoke in favour of right and against injustice.

Many people from Doneraile went to Mitchelstown that day. I myself went along with them. When we reached the town, we didn't see many people. Those who had reached the place before us were gone out of the town on the Limerick road to meet the people coming from that direction, so that they could march along with them back into the town. We were a good while waiting for them at the door of the house of Father Thomas Morrisson.

There's a fine, long, extensive space from the house, in which the priest was living, to the north and to the south and eastwards down to the main road of the town. We were waiting, looking down over the houses of the town, and instead of us having any expectation of a row stating up, it's how we were afraid that we would have only a very small gathering.

At last we saw the crowd coming. I recall that I saw John Dillon, sitting in a carriage, among them. As soon as he came in sight of the big square where the meeting was to be, he lifted his head and looked all around. The entire square was empty. I was looking at him and I think he was disappointed. But as the crowd was coming in, they marched up in the direction of the priest's house. Then the place began to fill up. In a while, there was a good gathering of people there, so that we were almost satisfied. There were two or three long cars left out in front of the priest's house so that the speakers would be able to stand up on them and talk to the gathering.

A lot of gentlemen had come over from England. They came exactly as we all had come, to give to understand that they abhorred the manner in which the laws were being put into force in Ireland. Henry Labouchere, M.P. was there, and John Brunner, M.P., Thomas Ellis, M.P., and others besides them,

some ladies had come over from England as well, among them Miss Mander. There were editorial staff from the big papers yonder, among them Fred Higginbotham, and Bennett Burleigh, and John McDonnell of the *Daily News*.

Fr. Bartholemew McCarthy, D.D., was in the chair, and the gentlemen who were going to make the speeches were on the long cars outside the door of Fr. Thomas Morrisson's house. As soon as the crowd saw that the speeches were about to begin, they pressed in around the long cars. People who were there and who were familiar with these things say that there were about eight thousand people collected in around the carriages. If they were, twenty thousand would have found room in the square without any doubt. I myself was on one of the carriages and I had a good view of all who were there and of the open space which was round about outside of them. I didn't see as much as one single 'peeler' in any place on the green, nor down on the street.

The speaking was only just starting when I noticed some disturbance down over at the edge of the crowd. There were about twenty peelers with a man for taking notes among them, and they trying to take him along with them up to the place in which the speaking was to be done. There was nothing to stop them from going around, and it wasn't a great roundabout, to the north or to the south of the people. They hadn't got a chance, at any event, of bringing him with them through the middle of the people, for these were packed together too tightly. Instead of going around, however, it's how they pushed their way into the people. The people were trying to make room for them, but that was failing them and no wonder. Then, when the people wouldn't do the impossible, the peelers lifted their batons and struck them. But if they did, the majority of the people had ashplants and, when they were struck they struck back in return. The peelers fled on the spot, themselves and the notetaker. I thought we would have calm then, but it wasn't calm that was coming. At the end of about five minutes, there came ten and forty of the peelers and each man of them with his gun. Up to then, there had been many men on horseback outside of the people who were on foot. When they saw the extra peelers coming with their guns, around with them until they made up a strong, solid cavalry between the people and the peelers. The peelers hadn't got a hope then of bringing the notetaker with them up to the chair. There was about three score of them there and they had no other business except to bring that man up with them.

If they had gone around, they would have had him up without any delay and, what is more, we would have made way for him on the spot. Nobody was stopping him. In place of that, it's how they reckoned on bringing him with them up between the cavalry and the people. They set about beating the horses. If they did, the riders turned the hind feet of the horses to them and they pressed the horses back in amongst them. The peelers raised their guns and they struck both horses and riders with them. The riders turned on them and struck them as well as they were able with whatever weapons came to hand. They made the work hot for about five minutes before the peelers fled out of the place. Some of the people followed in pursuit of them. Then the peelers went into the barracks from them. Every single thing was grand and quiet then. I was standing on the carriage, certain that we would have no further disturbance. It wasn't long until I heard, good and strong and forcibly, a shot from the barracks. I was amazed. There was neither fight nor trouble going on. What was their reason for the shot when no enemy was challenging them? The second bullet came. John Dillon Leaped down from the carriage and away with himself and Fr Patrick O'Callaghan towards the barracks. I heard the third shot. As far as memory goes back, I heard only three shots. It was told to me afterwards that John Dillon and the priest went up to the window in the top of the house, where the peeler was on one knee and he shooting and loading, and that John caught him and tore him back from the window. When the people discovered that there were three dead, they scattered. The foreign gentlewomen went into the priest's house.

I was told that there were some soldiers in the town and that, when they heard the shooting, they came out. Whoever was in command of them saw at once that there was no sense to the shooting. He made a cordon of the soldiers that he had and, with the people on one side of the cordon and the peelers on the other, he kept them out from each other. If it had not been for that, the peelers would have killed more. They themselves and their officers were clean out of their minds. One of these officers was the same Captain Plunkett who had received, beyond in Youghal, some little time before that, the order from Dublin, 'Don't hesitate to shoot'. No wonder he had a fancy for shooting!

I heard afterwards that something occurred that day which greatly astonished the foreign gentleman, Henry Labouchere. He had a rug, which was of very dear fur, in his own carriage. When the crowd was scattering and everything mixed up, Labouchere was sure he would

never again see his fine rug. He came to where the carriage was. He found the rug there before him, without anything having happened it but for a few people looking and wondering at it, saying to themselves that it would be difficult for any cold to go in through it.

'Indeed!,' said Labouchere, 'if it had been over in London, or in any other place in the world, that such a thing happened to me, I would have very little hope of seeing my rug again! I say now, and I will say it from now on: the Irish are the most honest people in the world.'

To try the pair, William O'Brien and John Mandeville, was the reason the court sat that day. Neither of the pair had answered the call, and no wonder. The court set out a warrant for their capture and arrest. They were caught and put into prison. When the time came for it, they were brought to the same court in Mitchelstown for their trial *mar dheadh*. I say '*mar dheadh*' because I was myself at the court and saw the 'trial' and certainly it was nothing if not a '*mar dheadh* trial'. The case was called. William O'Brien was the prisoner that day. A witness was called against him. The peeler, who had taken notes of his speech, was the witness against him. He told his story. He showed the little paper on which he had written the notes. Timothy Harrington was the solicitor who was defending O'Brien.

'Let me look at that paper,' said Timothy.

The paper was handed to him. He looked at it sharply. Then he looked at the witness sharply.

'This is not the paper on which you first took the notes,' said Timothy. The poor witness stopped and he looked at the crown solicitor and up at the bench.

'You are not compelled to give him the notes,' said the crown solicitor.

'The case will not proceed another step,' Timothy said, 'until you give the other paper to me.'

The argument continued for a time. In the end, the poor witness had to put his hand in his pocket and take out his wallet, and to draw the old paper from the wallet and hand it across to Timothy. Timothy took the old, half-broken paper and he looked at it and read it. He let a little laugh out of him as he showed the paper to O'Brien. O'Brien let out a good strong laugh. What put them laughing? Here's what: the paper was after going to Dublin and coming back, and there was the order from the Chief Secretary in Dublin written across it, '*not to be used*'. Look at that! An order from Dublin not to make any use against O'Brien of the notes that were taken of his speech when the speech was coming from his mouth, but to make use against

him of those other notes which were put together after that! There's the law for you! In exactly that manner, the law of England was being put into force in Ireland each and every day from that in Mitchelstown back all the way to when Black Thomas Wentworth put the law of England into force against the nobles of Connacht, and back further again to the first day that the law of England came into the island of Éire.

\* \* \*

I think that anyone, who would reflect on it, would realise that no more horrible, more disgusting, more unnecessary killing of people was ever done than that in Mitchelstown. It was exactly the same as if they had headed for a fair, or a mass congregation, and began shooting the people without rhyme or reason. If they had gone around, where the way was empty, they would have been able to get the notetaker on one of the long cars as soon as any of the speakers went up on them. If a message had been sent to the chairman, asking that the notetaker be allowed up there, we would all have made room for him on the spot, and no wonder. What reason had we for making speeches but that our speeches would get to the ears of the government? In any case, permission had only to be asked for and permission was there to be had.

When I was in Charleville, at exactly the time of the first alarms of battle between tenants and landowners, a report was sent to me that there was to be a great meeting of tenants west in Tullylease and asking me to go there, I went. There was a grand meeting. When the business was beginning and the speakers going up on the platform, I went myself up on it. Who should I see, but the notetaker. Permission had been asked for him and received, and he was up there and nobody interfering with him.

We had a priest in the chair, Father Matthew McMahon, parish priest of Boherboy, a place which is about six or seven miles west of Kanturk.

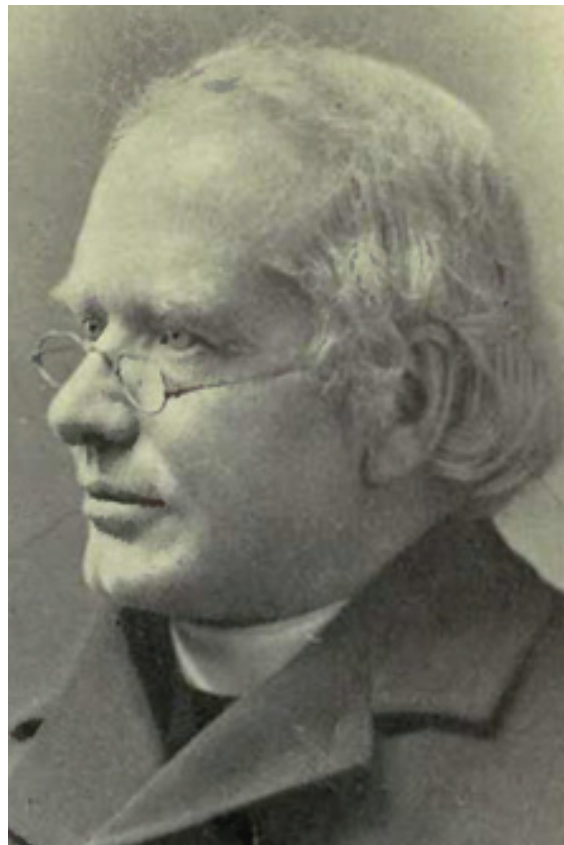
Father James O'Moore, who was coadjutor at that time in Tullylease, had charge of the day's work and he was well worthy of it. He's parish priest here beside me now, in Rathcormack, and he's a canon. He put everybody into his own place and the speaking proceeded, according to plan. The chairman made his speech. Father James made his and a well-judged speech he made. It was no harm to leave the business to him.

my speech. I knew that the people listening to me had Gaelic well at that time, and, so that I should have a bit of fun at the expense of the notetaker at my shoulder, I began making my speech in Gaelic. All the people's eyes lit up with fun on the spot. I noticed everybody giving me and the notetaker every second look. Jeremiah was his name, Jeremiah Stringer. I proceeded for a while until all the people were chuckling. Then I turned and I looked at Jeremiah. He was standing there with his pencil in his mouth. I stayed looking at him and I laughing, until all the people were waiting to see what I would say, and then I turned to them, 'I'm not saying,' said I, 'that Jerry isn't flumixed'. I wasn't able to say any more, there rose such a roar of laughter.

We did our business and had neither shooting nor killing. Father James (who is canon now) gave us a grand, generous dinner. A lot of talk was done at the dinner, also. Some of the talk was angry, quite angry. But Father James had such self-possession, and prudence was so firmly rooted in him, that he used always take the edge from the anger before any harm could be done.

If the work had been done in Mitchelstown that day the way it was done in Tullylease about seven years before that, and the way it was done in a lot of other places as time went on, there would have been neither shooting nor killing there."

\*



The time came for me to make

Athar Peadar O Laoghaire

## Julianne Herlihy

The fall of the Irish Catholic Church. Part 3

### Inquisitions and the Process of being Denounced

"The Celtic analogy was also to the fore, it seems, though in a negative rather than a positive sense, in a colonial theory, where, after the Great Famine, Ireland was invoked as a dread example of what happened when a people failed to put itself into a progressive state. The Anglo-Saxons—enterprising, self-reliant and self-controlled—were a master race, born leaders, the only people, energetic enough to impose themselves on all comers. The Celts—fickle, quick to fight and wanting in self-command—were Nature's losers, a 'cheap race' who undercut the labour of the industrious settler."

*Greater Britain; A Record of Travel in English-Speaking Countries During 1866 and 1867.* Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke. London. 1869.

Dr. Rhodes Boyson, Minister of State for Education in Mrs Thatcher's Government stated:

"Parents did not want their children to be taught 'deviant practises by proselytising homosexuals'. What parents wanted is for their children to learn discipline, self-discipline, respect, order, punctuality and precision ... Parents expect their children to be punished when they step out of line ... No discipline, no learning. Good old-fashioned order, even Victorian order is far superior to illiterate disorder and innumerate chaos in the classroom".

*Daily Telegraph*, 23rd April, 1983.

"Man without mercy, of mercy shall miss;  
And he shall have mercy, that merciful is."

Catholic invocation.

As Irish society lurches to a new low with the awful blackguardism at the Sunday Easter Mass in the Pro-Cathedral, Dublin, still the media prowls for another pound of flesh.\* What seems to be happening now is not victim-driven but pure thuggishness spurred on by some of the baser elements of society. There is a frightful oppressiveness about the way Catholic Church personnel are being pursued openly amid calls for their ever greater abasement, and appeasement

towards the few. Expressions of regret and sorrow by leading churchmen are howled down by calls for resignations and it is now obvious that a far more sinister agenda is being set.

So who is this minority who are running the show? Whatever their intentions, it is vehemently clear that *reform* of the Catholic Church isn't one of their aims. It looks as if nothing less than its annihilation will suffice. Because—here is the thing—as soon as one Bishop resigns and humbly speaks of their regret and grief at historic wrongs perpetuated by the Church in a different time, there is a move onto the next person and so on and on it goes.

Between RTE (run by taxpayer's money), *The Irish Times*, *The Irish Independent*, and *The Irish Examiner*, there is a fixation on collecting scalps and visiting retribution on poor people who are now completely confused as to what is going on. Once another churchman is *denounced*, there is a hue and cry till he is hounded out and it never seems to stop. This new sport, this new *terror*, is now so completely part of this new era that is upon us that we are all implicated until and unless—we cry stop. We have had enough. Some of us will have to stand up to the bullies and take them on. For my part, I will not back down anymore—I say to anyone—come for me and I will not go quietly into the night. I have the spirit of my people, my parents, my grand-parents, my gran-uncles and gran-aunts who were all part of that Church now so excoriated. The attack on my freedom to practise my belief without being harassed is intolerable. Where is the democracy? Where is the law? Fascism is not far away if fear becomes the commodity of exchange in our relationships with other people—especially if they are the vulnerable elderly of our Church as in this case.

The other day Justice Adrian Hardiman gave leave to women who had troubled births to sue a Catholic hospital for an operation that left them in pain *40 years later*—even though all the doctors, gynaecologists and nurses then present are either dead or very old. It was a medical practice of its time and, however horrific, it saved the lives of these mothers and their children. This legal decision was at a time when the English media were in frenzy about the alleged crime of the boy formerly known as Jon

Venables. The latter had been one of the two young boys who had murdered the toddler Jamie Bulger. Venables had been given a new identity when he was released from care and now it appeared that he had re-offended again. The press claimed they needed to know the new identity of Venables because he was now an adult. Ken Macdonald, QC, and former Director of Public Prosecutions 2003-2008 and now working at Matrix (the law chambers of Cherie Booth, wife of former Prime Minister, Tony Blair) wrote a brilliant article for *The Guardian*, 9th March, 2010, where he put his legal argument to the public. What was notable for me was its relationship to what is happening in Ireland with the Ryan/Murphy Reports. He posited what was the extent of the "*right to know*" that the papers were self-servingly mooting? And he concluded that:

"the right to knowledge can never be absolute. If it were, the principle would quickly become threatening and tyrannical. It would destroy all privacy and savage the personal in ways we can only begin to imagine. Which of us believes in a right for others to know everything about our own lives? Perhaps more important, an absolute right to know could never coexist with the most basic notions of justice. It is no surprise that over the years our courts have developed sophisticated means for securing the fairness of criminal trials. We call these rules of evidence, and they exist precisely to regulate what a jury may be told in the course of a case. And there is plenty that is kept from them, not only to protect the defendant but also to protect our loyalty to due process itself, and therefore each one of us".

Now who can say that that has been the situation in Ireland with regards to the members of the Catholic Church? Who would dare try to prove that its members whosoever they are—have been given "*due process*"? And, above all, what member of the Judiciary has even slightly averted to the tyranny that they have practised in their dealings with Catholic Church members? Where has justice been hiding in our country in these last number of years? What has become of us all?

I was watching the RTE News recently when Seán Fitzpatrick was released after thirty hours of questioning by the Garda regarding his handling of Anglo-Irish Bank while he was its Chairman. At first I was amazed to see 5-6 Gardai coming out from the Garda station and then keeping back what later turned out to be a braying scrum of media while Mr. Fitzpatrick quickly walked to a car and left immediately. Next day, the Irish *Daily Mail* jubilantly crowed

\* See for instance, *Abuse Protesters Confront Archbishop At Easter Mass* (IT 5.4.10), reporting a protest by Orphanage survivors. Editor.

something to the effect "Ah—where is your swagger now Seáni?" And I felt such revulsion for their attitude and was thankful that at least our Gardai had shown great civility. I asked people afterwards what they thought of the headline as we had been brought up to believe that to crow about anybody's downfall or obvious weakness was to invite a quick revisit to our own lack of morality which was innate to our sense of being. And people agreed with me on the whole but there were one or two who disagreed, but these would be hard-line "law and order" fanatics.

In order to live with a certain sense of civility, I think it is paramount that we live in a society that has an innate sense of modesty, decorum and gentility. These are not models now of our modern age but they once were very much part of the fabric of my life: the one that is denounced constantly by the very same media of today. But one can truthfully state that, as we are becoming more anglicised and urbanised, life reflects more and more those elements that were once foreign to us. I need only walk down certain streets of any of our cities now to find young people using the most vile language ever, drinking, and the other day outside a well-known college, two underage (I suspect) teenagers had full sex in a recessed doorway with many people going about their daily lives too afraid to interfere. So this is progress the commentariat argue—well not in Berlin, not in Paris nor in Madeira either.

Judges here in this jurisdiction—who have vested interests—hear cases and then airily declare that they are involved in lobbying to get the law changed. If they are involved in liberal aims—and they usually are—that suit the agenda of the likes of *The Irish Times*, they can expect a free pass. The politicians, who are mandated by the electorate to keep the country ticking over, get elected and then reveal that they have succumbed to some elite about the nature of law about say—cohabitation—and they go ahead with just the elite's say-so. But God forbid that you should genuinely try it on with some powerful lobby group—like the Irish Farmers' Association for example—then you could be in serious trouble. The Minister of Justice, Dermot Ahern, TD, recently had a reality check from the farmers about the whole notion of co-habitation. What about our family farms they asked? What about the family pub asked the Vintner's Association? What about the family shop asked the retailers? What is this co-habitation lark you are on about? Where did it come from? And what did Dermot reply? That is the question I'd like answered but I know for sure that the Justice Minister dare not harm the interests of the farmers.

The land mightn't be used since Albert came back from Brussels with his €8 Billion in his pocket at the time, but it still is in their hands and don't anybody for a second believe that the *Irish and their land* can be separated. (I have to work at getting Irish produce in the supermarkets—up and down the aisles I go looking for some Irish spuds and vegs and the other day had to make do with *Spanish* broccoli and *Dutch* spuds. If we used our land and seas productively as the French do, we wouldn't be facing such a meltdown in the economy. It is recognised that our land is the most fertile in Europe, yet we look to Germany to give us more money and they get nothing in return. Of course this cannot last but still we blithely accept this foreign produce which, due to travel and plastic packaging, has lost much of its nutritional value. No wonder our children are now becoming obese due to lack of fresh home grown food and of course they are chauffeured everywhere by that new dispensation—the *Irish Mum*.)

If our Fianna Fail Justice Minister doesn't quite know who is driving the agenda for co-habitation, it seems our Minister for Children is equally at sea as to who is driving the change in our Constitution for a Charter for Children's Rights. When pushed in a media interview, Minister Lenihan stumbled around and eventually said that Justice Adrian Hardiman and em .. Barnardos had pressed him for it. This shows that a minority now runs the Government, if not the country. One could say it is really an oligarchy like in Russia under Gorbachev before Putin came in and sorted the whole mess out. And isn't it strange that it is a minority also who is attacking the Catholic Church and blow me down if they aren't pretty much the same people.

In attacking the order and regulation of society and enabling new forms to come into existence, they bring about chaos. And of course it becomes very necessary to bring down the older, more traditional, forms of doing things and thus the Catholic Church becomes a primary target. Let us look at what society—and that includes the Catholic Church—was doing about its problems prior to the Ryan/Murphy Inquiries. As we got more money, there was an orderly progress to redress what was becoming outdated and outmoded. First we had *The Kennedy Report*, the two *Henchy Reports* and the *Mitchell Report*, all progressively dealing with perceived problems and subsequent improvements. During this time there were huge changes in society, not just in Ireland but in the US/UK too.

Alfred C. Kinsey's work was

becoming known, the feminists were an emerging force and the so-called sexual revolution was opening up things that had hitherto been unexplored except by those in the know—usually the very affluent top tiers of society. The Bloomsbury Group was just one such set that enjoyed its own norms in England. Some people think of the former as a literary set, and they were that but they certainly had a darker side to them and that was their involvement with the whole Eugenic movement. Some people attribute to Hitler policies which were really begun by "Margaret Sanger who persuaded the Ford Foundation to give large sums for birth-control in India and other under-developed countries". Marie Stopes in England promoted birth-control as a means to keep down the world populations but, as Julian Huxley explained, what they really hoped was to sterilise "unsuccessful and stupid people of the lower classes and prevent them from breeding". They looked forward thus to "the possibility of mankind's genetic improvement".

(Huxley visited Soviet Russia, as he was very interested in their science, especially in genetics, having corresponded with H.J. Muller (who won the Nobel Prize in 1946 for his work on gene mutation). Afterwards he went to work in the USA as he felt stifled in the "Serebrovsky's laboratory in Moscow" under "the quack Lysenko" with whom he disagreed on evolution—though they were all Darwinists.. Huxley also visited Russia again in 1945 and went on to write in 1949 a book on *Soviet Genetics And World Science*. After the war he also worked for UNESCO as Director General 1946-1948. However, it was his collaboration with H.G. Wells and *The Science Of Life* which appeared in 3 Volumes late in 1930 that made Huxley's name. (Huxley claimed that Lenin too thought H.G. Wells to be "a genius".) Huxley was a Zoologist and had great success as such and was known to the wider public as a member of the 'Brains Trust', with other notables such as Professor Gilbert Murray and Sir William Beveridge (see *Memories* by Julian Huxley. Penguin Books. 1970.) Those reading *Memories* today would be immediately struck by the hatred of Catholicism and "inferior breeds" that liberally lace its pages.

Alfred Kinsey (1894-1956) was also a Zoologist and is a name to be reckoned with in the history of the sexual revolution. As too are Masters and Johnson. Though some reckon that Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) is much outdated today, it will be seen that his influence on views of human sexuality is still huge. But it was perhaps Havelock Ellis (1859-1939) who of all of the Victorians was the first to impart "a tone of modernity

to sexual attitudes". He argued in his famous series *Studies In The Psychology of Sex*, "that attitudes towards sex are individual and culturally determined". This was a great departure from centuries of thinking that claimed human sexuality to be the same in all people, and it is a keystone of all modern research in sexual psychology. In the magazine, *Twentieth Century*, May 1956, Barbara Wootton was driven to point out that today "the concept of illness expands continually

at the expense of the concept of moral failure". In other words, a whole range of extraordinary and baffling behaviour is a kind of sickness rather than sin. And really this is the point of radical departure for how the Catholic Church was to see—in best practice tradition of psychiatry—how to treat their brothers or sisters who were deemed to be ill.

To be continued in the next issue of Church and State.

ness of. Darwinism was a definite political campaign within the Liberal Party. There is no chopping any of that up or off and calling it objective science. The matter in hand is a matter of politics and there is no question about it but one of commitment.

From John's articles I think he is unaware of the political aspect of Darwinism. He is not writing ideologically. I can't know how he will react to the articles that follow but it is at least an open question.

Seán Swan seems to me to be very well aware of the politics of Darwinism and to be writing strictly out of ideology.

In *Church & State*, No. 99 Seán Swan wrote:

"Joe Keenan gave us long quotations from *The Descent Of Man* which demonstrates (sic) that Darwin was a racist...well, sort of. The *Descent Of Man* demonstrates really only that he was a Victorian Englishman and reflected the prejudices of his age and class...

"...it would actually make no difference to the truth or falseness of evolution if it turned out that Darwin advocated making Blacks into pies and eating them. It is a moral, not a scientific, point. *Ad hominem* attacks on Darwin are not proof of anything about evolution, they are simply attempts to play the man and not the ball...

"...those peoples who fail to adapt quickly enough will be destroyed, either intentionally or unintentionally, (though some may survive or be spared as sort of theme parks, human zoos or reservations where we can go on holidays and watch 'the natives' perform dances or engage in antiquated economic activity like hunting or basket weaving, etc. But here, too, the real nature of these activities will now be capitalist (service industry, in fact, no longer hunter-gatherer).

"This is the dynamic of capitalism. This is what is happening and what has been happening since the start of the colonial age. The 'savages' may continue to exist biologically, but culturally they will be destroyed—yes, they may go on dancing or speaking 'native' tongues, but the real 'culture' will be capitalism and the bare cash nexus. And as this wave rolls across the world, do not be surprised if the 'opium of the masses', like everything else that kills pain and stupifies the senses, will be in great demand.

"Both {Marx and Darwin, JK} remark on the supposed 'energy' of the colonisers. Darwin tries to explain it but I cannot see where what he is saying is any more racist, to the extent it is racist (in the context of the nineteenth century), than what Marx is saying."

Joe Keenan

The Politics of Darwinism  
Part One:

## Science & Religion In 19th Century Britain

### Introduction

Some deadlines are deadlines which don't leave a chap much time for reflecting on the point at issue, or any at all for polishing the style that point is addressed in.

And so to the point, but bluntly so.

According to John Martin:

"Recently Joe Keenan declared to me and others that he did not believe. Not only did he not believe, but he did not believe in belief itself. This is in accordance with my own temperament ..." (C&S, No. 96)

That would have been a very foolish thing to have said, but I didn't say that. I said that in politics I don't believe in anything including belief, for belief is a trivial thing which believers change whimsically as the mood or the fashion takes them. I said that in politics what matters and can be relied upon is commitment. I said that my position in politics is a commitment to the working class interest in whatever matter is the matter in hand.

I remember what I said on that occasion because I had said it on a number of occasions before then and have said it on a number of occasions since.

'Then' was one of a number of trips I made to Dublin last year to speak to Pat Murphy and I had made a point of saying just that to Pat who, even in the course of his final struggle with cancer, was always the best man to bounce ideas around with.

So Darwinism is just one of a number of views of the world I don't believe in. The Marxist view of the world is another.

I cannot commit to Darwinism because it is a statement of, a justification of, and a contribution to the genocidal bourgeois politics of British imperialism. Nor can I commit to Marxism, largely because of its failure to appreciate the full histor-

ical significance of the politics of England's rise into Greater Britain; one aspect of which is exemplified in the ambivalence of Marx and Engels towards Darwinism. I hope to deal with that ambivalence in a future article. For the moment, just let me state bluntly that while both of them knew that Darwinism bore only a passing resemblance to the materialist conception of history they each of them hoped to use that passing resemblance to make political capital with the Liberal Party (and the Labour Party which was then emerging under Liberal guidance from the Left Wing of that party).

The party politics of Britain has moulded every aspect of the social and cultural life of Britain, including its sciences. Darwinism, by which I mean precisely the career and writings of Charles Darwin, was a factor on the Liberal side of party conflict in Britain. The people who encouraged Darwin in the 1850s and supported and promoted him in the 1860's and rose to prominence as they did so were Liberals with a Liberal anti-working class agenda. And Darwin was by no means their unworldly scientific tool. Darwin knew full well what he was about.

John Martin put it this way:

"In my opinion *The Origin of Species* is a serious scientific work, while the *Descent of Man* is a political programme. Perhaps Joe thinks that the one cannot be separated from the other because they were written by the same person" (C&S, 4th Quarter, 2009).

Again, as with the matter of belief and commitment, I think nothing so trivial. The two works are of a piece because they are each the product of the same very influential political tendency that Darwin was the heart and the busi-

In Seán Swan's stated view there is a context in which Racism and Genocide are simply the way of the world and should be accepted as such. At two points he indicates that this context was the nineteenth century. Elsewhere he is clear that the racism and genocide of the nineteenth century are continuing today, happening to peoples who have failed to adapt quickly enough, who have been spared annihilation to perform in theme parks, human zoos or reservations. Its the dynamic of capitalism and he doesn't question that. All this by way of illustration of the fact that "*Darwin is essentially correct*".

Darwin who was really only a Victorian Englishman who reflected the prejudices of his age and class. Darwin who, given that he occurred in the context of the nineteenth century, wasn't really a racist.

At no point does Seán Swan explain in what context racist genocide might be open to question. Only when it has been comprehensively accomplished? Only when the dances and songs and languages of the native reserves have been completely suppressed? He doesn't say. He really should say.

And if what follows in this and succeeding articles ends in an ad hominem attack on Charles Darwin and his Liberal supporters so be it. Nothing of any worth to our class or nation is grounded in racism or has flourished through genocide. As Darwin is, and Darwinism has.

### **The Teleology of Darwinism**

On 16th January 1861, Marx wrote to Lassalle about *The Origin of Species*, which had been published just over a year earlier:

"Darwin's book is very important and serves as a basis in natural history for the class struggle in history. One has to put up with the crude English method of development, of course. Despite all deficiencies, not only is the death-blow dealt here for the first time to 'teleology' in the natural sciences but their rational meaning is empirically explained."

Whatever about the rest of his remarks, Marx was mistaken about Darwin having dealt the death blow to 'teleology' in the natural sciences. Far from killing off teleology Darwin's book set about re-orienting the teleological viewpoint so that the working out of God's purposes in the world could be more properly understood as the accomplishment of England's destiny in the world.

God didn't die at that point. He wasn't murdered, just moved aside to allow a clear view of the secular teleology which was set to move in to what had been His personal bubble.

And He had been moving aside, more or less of His own volition, from at least the 1830s.

It was clear from at least the 1830s that some form or other of evolutionary theory was coming to dominate the natural and life sciences. The question was not would evolution win out but rather just what manner of evolution would in the end win out. In particular, what attitude would the victorious theory (the fittest theory which would naturally be selected) take to questions of the origin and development of Man.

This series of articles seeks to show that the ideological activity of a group of up and coming young science enthusiasts was the determining factor in the victory of Darwinism. These were active from the early fifties on, becoming the famous X Club in 1864, specifically to promote Darwinism. Between 1873 and 1885 three of this group, Joseph Hooker, William Spottiswoode and the future Privy Councillor, Thomas Huxley, succeeded one another as President of the Royal Society.

Not the least of this group was another future Privy Councillor, Sir John Lubbock, a banker and politician from the very heart of the Liberal ruling class.

These were the men who were to become in a short space of time the leaders of Darwin's intimate support group, the core of the X Club which would dominate the Royal Society for a generation and beyond, the ideological masters of Victorian society.

Their concern, which Darwin (himself born to wealth and privilege at the heart of the English ruling class) shared and worked to vindicate was precisely that Britain's Empire be shown to be, through all the science the world had to offer, the glorious culmination and final end of natural, biological, social and political history.

### **A Darwinist Account Of The Background To Darwin**

Michael Ruse is a Darwinist and a philosopher, most particularly a philosopher of biology, teaching most recently at Florida State University where he was and perhaps still is a professor. In 1981 he was an expert witness for the plaintiff in the test case of the recent Arkansas State law which permitted the teaching of Creationism on the school syllabus. The state lost when, thanks to, among other things no doubt, Ruse's expert testimony against Creationism, the federal judge declared its law unconstitutional.

Ruse is also a Christian who believes that Darwinism is compatible with the purposes of his God.

In 1975 Ruse wrote a very interesting article in the American Society of Church History's journal, *Church*

*History* (Vol. 44, No. 4; December 1975; pp. 505-522): *The Relationship between Science and Religion in Britain, 1830-1870*.

Marx's point about the death-blow to teleology in the natural sciences only carries weight in reference to those natural scientists working and teaching in the field who were both scientists and committed Christians. The beliefs of Christians who had no interest in science will not have been disturbed by Darwin's book. Irreligious scientists will hardly have been moved by its publication to a horrified rejection of Christian teachings they had no time for anyway. Only committed scientists who were also committed Christians come into the equation.

That is the group which Ruse examines in regard to the developing relationship between religion and science in mid-19th. century Britain, seeking particularly to elucidate the nature of the religious opposition to Darwinism.

And this is the group as Ruse, having chosen it, describes it...

"My concern is with men who were in the forefront of science but who had also deep religious commitments. These men were members of the established church. They were linked not just through friendship, but through membership in several scientific societies, probably the most vigorous of which was the Geological Society of London. They included John F. W. Herschel, the leading astronomer of the day (indeed the leading man of science) and the author of a deservedly popular book in the philosophy of science; Charles Babbage, inventor of a calculating machine; Charles Lyell, well-known geologist; the Reverend Baden Powell, Savilian professor of geometry at Oxford (who was the father of the scout, JK); the Reverend Adam Sedgwick, Woodwardian professor of geology at Cambridge and canon at Norwich; and, probably the most interesting and influential figure of them all, the Reverend William Whewell, successively professor of mineralogy, and of moral philosophy at Cambridge, Master of Trinity after 1841 and author of works on the history and philosophy of science.

"From within this group we see in the 1830s two basic positions on the science—religion relationship being articulated. I shall call these the positions of the 'liberals' and the 'conservatives.' Baden Powell and Babbage fall fairly clearly into the liberal camp, Sedgwick and Whewell into the conservative camp. The two major scientists, Lyell and Herschel, seem basically to have been liberals, but, as we shall see, in certain respects they had strong sympathies with the

conservatives. No political connotations should be attached to my labels. For example Sedgwick, whom I call a conservative, was an ardent Whig..." (p505-506).

Following the publication of Lyell's *Principles Of Geology* (in three volumes between 1830-1833), which comprehensively established the uniformitarian position that the earth was formed, changed and shaped gradually over a very long period of time, all of those, 'liberal' and 'conservative' alike, were agreed that:

"The Bible was not a work of science, and the scientists were not therefore to feel constrained by limited time-spans and so on. It was the interpretation of the Bible which had to be modified by the advances of science, not vice-versa. For both liberals and conservatives the Bible was primarily a work to do with man and his moral and spiritual destiny..." (ibid. p507-508).

So, thirty years before the publication of Darwin's Book, the leading scientific lights of the Established Church were agreed that biblical revelation had no authoritative place in scientific discourse. There was a general agreement that revealed theology had its own sphere which was quite distinct from that of science.

Regarding the particular relation of natural theology to science there was a difference in emphasis between the 'liberals' and 'conservatives'. Not an outright disagreement but a distinct difference in emphasis.

In the 'conservative' position:

"First, it was believed that the organic world gives undeniable evidence of organization, in the sense of things being directed towards ends. Organisms have characteristics, adaptations, which serve certain functions; that is, they aid their possessors in living, reproduction and so on. This belief in organization towards ends was known as the doctrine of 'final causes,' and it was in itself a purely scientific doctrine. In particular, it was argued by the conservatives that any scientific theory about organisms must give full place to final causes—conversely, any theory which threatened final causes was inadequate science. Second, it was believed by conservatives that final causes point indubitably to a wise Designer..." (ibid. p. 508).

The 'liberal' position did not reject either final causes or design, but laid greater emphasis on the idea of God's working in nature through natural law:

"Babbage, for example, argued that if we have two phenomena giving clear

evidence of design, but if we then find that although the one phenomenon has been directly created the other has been created through the medium of a machine—that is, through the working of law—we would obviously think that much more highly of a Creator who worked through the machine than one who worked directly. Similarly, the incessant refrain of Baden Powell was that uninterrupted, all-sufficient law was the truest mark of creative intelligence..." (ibid. p509).

The 'liberals' emphasis on "*uninterrupted, all-sufficient law*" led to them taking a stricter line than the 'conservatives' on recourse to miracle as a factor, albeit a factor of last resort, in scientific narrative.

This became a distinction of some considerable consequence in respect of what Ruse calls "*the problem of organic origins*" (ibid, p510).

Around us we see a variety of species of organisms, but no direct evidence of new species being created. In the fossil record we see that new species have indeed appeared in the long (geological eras long) course of earth's history. How, then, were these new species created: miracle or law.

The 'liberals' argued that these new species appearing in the fossil record had been created by due process of law. But they could not show what due process amounted to, nor could they give any idea of precisely what laws gave rise to just which particular organic origins (the laws having not, by definition, gone away you know).

Which left the 'conservative' position that organic origins were the result of miraculous divine intervention "*in some manner outside laws as known to us*" (ibid. p511).

At this point—

"...it seems fair to conclude that there were strong religious motives for the different positions taken on the organic origins question. Speaking roughly, the liberals' natural theology inclined them towards law-bound organic origins, whereas the conservatives' natural theology inclined them towards miracles, and their revealed theology made even more pressing a special origin for man..." (ibid. p512).

And when it came to the origin of Man, the 'liberal' Charles Lyell appealed to divine intervention. The extreme 'liberal' Baden Powell appealed to only an absolute minimum of special intervention; just a little miracle but miraculous nevertheless.

The situation which Ruse describes as existing in the 1830s is a spectrum in

which—

"No one wanted to base scientific claims on religious premises, but with respect to the organic origins question we find a range of opinions. At one extreme, some would feel their religion threatened if were (sic) miracles not invoked. Then there were those like Lyell, wanting to avoid miracles, but supposing special kinds of laws and thinking man an exception. And right at this other extreme would be someone like Baden Powell; for him God's rule of law was absolutely crucial..." (ibid. p513).

Please note the central point of this spectrum. Almost thirty years before the publication of Darwin's Book—"*No one wanted to base scientific claims on religious premises*".

Then, in 1844, Robert Chambers anonymously published his *The Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*. This was an argument for evolution. As Ruse explains it:

"He suggested that embryos can develop through various stages, in which they are progressively fish, reptiles and so on up to mammals, that normally an embryo will develop just as far as the stage the parent represents, but that every now and then for some unknown reason the embryo from a parent at one stage will take a jump up the progression, so we get an evolution from one form to another. Chambers could give no reasons for these jumps...He also sought to demonstrate the general necessity of explaining through law. To this latter end, Chambers made copious references to the successes of the physical sciences, and he gave a detailed account of Babbage's claims about how even apparent exceptions to law might really be subject to law—Chambers' belief being that jumps from one species to another might be just such apparent exceptions..." (ibid. p513).

The vigorous arguments following publication of *The Vestiges* had two immediate consequences: the most extreme wing of the 'liberals' collapsed into an acceptance of evolution (called at that time 'transmutation'). Baden Powell declared that, with Genesis and geology already at odds, Chambers' evolutionary theory was no exceptionally great leap forward. And, saving divine intervention for the exceptional case of Man, forward he duly leapt. The 'conservatives' then, while continuing to invoke miraculous interventions in respect of organic origins, moved closer to the 'liberals' advocacy of uninterrupted law.

So, what we see exemplified in the



careers of these scientific Christians, the trajectory of their thought, was from a confidence at the beginning of the 1830's that religion and science could be reconciled without damage to the teleology of design and final causes to an awareness by the beginning of the 1850's that the teleological component of their science would have to be severely curtailed and recast to fit in with the swelling current of evolutionary ideas. That this was necessary to save their view of their religion as having an overwhelming purpose in this world.

Throughout was a growing realisation that natural theology (the explication of God's purposes in natural processes) needs must, with as good a grace as it could muster, quit the physical world and choose its ground in the moral world (where Man could be saved as the exceptional case). Not in order to defeat evolution there but rather to reconcile with it.

Once overtly religious teleology was expelled from the physical world annoying intellectual inconsistencies could be put to one side and science and religion join to praise God's wisdom in arranging for the evolution of the Man who was then peopling the world of Greater Britain. This required that the evolving theory of evolution incorporate the endemic racism of English culture in a properly scientific manner. That required a thorough-going theory of natural selection which would extend from bugs to Man, ending with The English Man.

To be fair to Ruse I have to make it clear that the conclusion outlined in the last three paragraphs is mine and not his. But it is not I think technically incompatible with Ruse's conclusions at the end of his article.

This is his conclusion which is very helpfully labelled as such.

"That some found Darwinism religiously offensive has, I think, been amply demonstrated. What should also be clear is the fact that religious opposition to Darwinism was not uniform, that indeed some believers found that they could go part or practically all of the way with Darwin, and that these varied religious reactions are just what we would expect after studying the science—religion relationship in the thirty years prior to the Origin. We must therefore be careful in thinking of the Origin as a 'watershed.' In the purely scientific sense it clearly was, but from the viewpoint of the science—religion quarrel it was much less of one. Darwin's work certainly seems to have occasioned a general shift toward the view that evolutionism was compatible with science, and there is no doubt that by offering a naturalistic

explanation of organic adaptation he made far more plausible the position of scientists like Huxley, who wanted to have no truck at all with religion. However, as we have seen, religious men, even religious Englishmen, had been dealing sympathetically with science long before the Origin, and in many respects the various attitudes taken towards the science—religion relationship were the same both before and after the Origin..." (p522)

Returning to *The Vestiges* then, Chambers really was Seán Swan's "Victorian Englishman" (albeit a Scot) who reflected the prejudices of his age and class, crudely and almost innocently so. His account of the people of my part of the world is a little hard to take (but nothing like so offensive as Darwin's view of the then evolving Free Staters).

According to Chambers:

"About two hundred years ago, a number of people were driven by a barbarous policy from the counties of Antrim and Down, in Ireland, towards the sea-coast, where they have ever since been settled, but in unusually miserable circumstances, even for Ireland; and the consequence is, that they exhibit peculiar features of the most repulsive kind, projecting jaws with large open mouths, depressed noses, high cheek bones, and bow legs, together with an extremely diminutive stature. These, with an *abnormal slenderness of the limbs, are the outward marks of a low and barbarous condition all over the world...*" (*Vestiges of Natural Creation*, no date or edition given, chapter on Early History of Mankind, p195).

I have to make it clear that my people come relatively recently, on both sides,

from the County Fermanagh, where everyone is acknowledged to be beautiful in the highest degree. The downside of this (and please let's keep it between ourselves) is that on my maternal grandmother's side I am somehow related to Harry West.

Anyway, what do they know of Belfast who only Scotland know?

More seriously, Chambers took this racist view of racial development in general:

"The leading characters, in short, of the various races of mankind, are simply representations of particular stages in the development of the highest or Caucasian type. The Negro exhibits permanently the imperfect brain, projecting lower jaw, and slender bent limbs, of a Caucasian child, some considerable time before the period of its birth. The Aboriginal American represents the same child nearer birth. The Mongolian is an arrested infant newly born. And so forth..." (ibid, p214).

But that's mere prejudice. It isn't science. It isn't a thorough-going theory of natural selection from Primal Slime to Pall Mall Man. Darwin is as yet required to tie it all up and make politics of it. And Darwin is coming to do just that.

Which may be a suitable point at which to leave the matter for now. To be continued in (I hope) the next issue of *Church & State* with a more obviously political account of the Politics Of Darwinism, which will have to show up the circumstances in which Alfred Russel Wallace (usually described as the co-discoverer of natural selection) was put in his place (emphatically not Darwin's place).

Seán McGouran

This review of Richard Dawkins' *The God Delusion* follows on from the review of Christopher Hitchens's *God Is Not Great* (C&S 99)

## Deluded Dawkins

The abuse of children by religious people gets a good airing, both in *The God Delusion* and in *God Is Not Great*. "Paedophile priests" get a good run. As the book is written in American English it is spelt 'pedophile', which has a (presumably unintentional) serio-comic effect. This is Hitchens's major connection with the (slightly more sophisticated) Dawkins. Both take the attitude that all religion is 'child abuse'. But neither give any indication of how children are to be socialised. It's all very well complaining (on page 379 and elsewhere in Dawkins's book) that it is indecent to "label four-year-old children with the cosmic and theological beliefs

of their parents".

This is, partly, in the context of *The Independent* (London) front-paging a picture of a school nativity play. The three wise men were "Shadbreet (a Sikh), Musharaff (a Muslim) and Adele (a Christian)". Dawkins compares this with the 'outcry' there would be if the youngsters were labelled a Keynesian, a Monetarist or a Marxist. He goes on to over-egg the thing by prognosticating an equal outcry if they were labelled Atheist, Agnostic or secular Humanist. In fact, the latter would probably be acceptable to readers of *The Indy*. Tony Blair, who is attacked for allowing the opening of 'faith schools' also,

in effect, allowed in the same law non-faith schools. Thus he could not stop the opening of a secular-Humanist college, or crèche.

On page 23 Dawkins describes Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland as being "*euphemised to 'Nationalist' and 'Loyalist' respectively*". He has another go at this again on page 381. He also contradicts himself:

"When an Ulster Protestant paramilitary murders a Catholic, he is not muttering to himself, 'Take that, transsubstantionist, mariolatrous, incense-reeking bastard!' He is much more likely to be avenging the death of another Protestant killed by another Catholic, perhaps in the course of a sustained transgenerational vendetta..." (p294).

Read those sentences and weep you mere (Northern) Paddy. Nice Oxbridge chaps have no part in our vendettas. We've been killing each other in roughly the same way for generations. That we have been tax-paying citizens of the United Kingdom state (a fact carefully avoided by both these writers who frequently congratulate themselves on their truth-telling) since 1st January 1801 has absolutely nothing to do with the matter. We are the latter-day aliens of the West. We are similar to the peoples of the former Yugoslavia. (The part played by the UK in pulverising that place is not noted by Dawkins.)

Neither author addresses the problem of socialising children without imparting any sort of perspective on society or accepts that nearly everything—religion, science, politics—are intertwined. It is particularly tiresome for Hitchens to pretend he is not pushing a specifically political 'line'. One Trotskyist accusation against Stalin was that he tended to leave well alone on the religious front, if he could manage it.

Dawkins has a go at Hitler and Stalin (pages 308-316): apparently Stalin was genuinely an atheist. He was "*scathing*" about the Russian Orthodox Church. He might have been equally "*scathing*" had he remained a Georgian nationalist. Georgia's Orthodox Church (many centuries older than the Russian) was being Russified. It is difficult to believe that such matters are unknown to English intellectuals like Hitchens and Dawkins—they must have deliberately disremembered. We get away from Stalin's wickedness quite quickly (the saving of the Anglo-Saxon's bacon between 1941 and '45 might have to be noted).

Hitler is a different matter, on page 311 Dawkins quotes a book by a John Toland (now there's a name to conjure with) *Adolf Hitler: The Definitive Biography*. Toland "*wrote of Hitler's religious position at the time of the 'final solution'*". Toland claims that Hitler was "*a member in good standing of the Church of Rome...*" (Dawkins does not give a page number). Without being too pedantic about the matter, this is not accurate. A Catholic to be 'in good standing' with the

Church would have had to have done his 'Easter Duty'. That means to have gone at least once, at, or prior to, Easter to Confession and Communion. (In the 1930s Catholics were killed in their thousands for asking for the right to carry out their 'Easter Duty', in Spain, Mexico and other places.) It was felt that to have attended Mass on a fairly regular basis—Sundays and Holy Days—was part of the Duty, except in the most extreme circumstances.

Pius XII and Cardinal Faulhaber appear in this section, not as authors of *Mit brennender Sorge*, but as virtual Nazis themselves. In November 1939 Faulhaber had a *Te Deum* sung in Munich's Cathedral for the deliverance of the Führer from an assassin's bomb.

What does Dawkins think would have happened to the Cathedral (much less its chief officer) if Faulhaber had not done such a thing? Allegedly the Pope's "*persistent refusal to take a stand against the Nazis*" still embarrasses the Church. One can't help thinking that this is the 'little Englander' coming out in Dawkins. England (not to mention Scotland, Wales and 'Ulster'), the (largely pinko-gray) Commonwealth and The Empire (including India where the Indians were outraged at it being done on their behalf, without their even being consulted) had declared war on Germany. By what right did patriotic Germans support their own country? 'We' True Brits never go to war for any but the most moral reasons. (Poland is not mentioned in this context.)

Dawkins produces a slightly more 'nuanced' version of Hitchens's argument but there are odd elements in it. On page 113 he mentions choosing a piece of "*religious*" music (on *Desert Island Discs*, a BBC radio programme). The music being Bach's St. Matthew Passion ('passions'—for Good Friday ceremonies in Lutheran churches—were composed by hundreds of organists all over Germany from roughly 1650 to 1750). This was the 'baroque' period, when composers (busy men in *Mitteleuropa*) regularly borrowed from their own and other people's work. Bach was genuinely a deeply religious man, but to characterise any of his music as specifically 'religious' is a bit odd. 'Social' music—*gigues* (jigs with a French accent), *passacaglias* (street dances), and pieces written for instruction—were liable to be recycled into Passions and Cantatas for the Lutheran liturgy.

On pages 385 to 387 Dawkins suggests that the 1611 Authorised Version of the Bible is a literary masterpiece which should be central to literary education. (The Welsh have their own translation, some decades older than the English one.) He suggests that atheists can retain a sentimental loyalty to the literary traditions of "*Judaism, Anglicanism or Islam*" (he mentions the Bagavad Gita earlier in this section). Presumably the Papists and Orthodox don't have literary traditions or "*religious rituals*" worth

being loyal to. The notion that these could or should survive rather undermines his argument that religion is worthless. Or will it only be for the "educated elite" he mentions on page 26. With a non-educated non-elite performing the ritual functions (in the manner of a troupe of performing monkeys) for the former's aesthetic delectation. (See Peter Brooke's witty (Orthodox Catholic) refutation of elements of Dawkins book in the electronic Dublin Review of Books.)

This (slightly smug) notion of 'entitlement' oozes from this text. Dawkins mentions composing a letter with "*my friend Richard Harries, Bishop of Oxford*" attacking the (admittedly, rather odd) approach to science in some 'faith' schools.

He has a "*good lunch*" with Francis Crick (p126). Crick had resigned his position in Cambridge because his College (Churchill) decided to build a chapel, using a benefactor's money. He tries to argue the old bigot out of this action. He notes his eminent position as "*Watson's co-founder of the whole molecular genetics revolution*". He does not note that Watson (and Crick?) has some very dubious notions about 'race'. And that Crick and Watson used the scientific work of Rosalind Franklyn without acknowledging it. Crick was uncomfortable about Watson's *Double Helix* book on their breakthrough. What discomfited him probably was Watson's blatant misogyny (with a distinct undertaste of Jew-baiting). Franklyn ought to have been on the Nobel podium with Crick and Watson. She never alluded to the matter possibly for reasons of modesty, but more likely because women in science were objects of derision in the 1950s. Her life would have been made unbearable if she had simply pointed out that her research had—in effect—been stolen.

On page 97 Dawkins mentions Jocelyn Bell Burnell's work on pulsars—which she at first, in 1967, described as the LGM (little green men) signal. She, too, had her work appropriated by her superiors who acquired Nobel Laureate status. (She is an Armagh-woman and possibly not part of Dawkins "*educated elite*" of non-believers—being a Quaker.)

There are other scraps that could be pecked at. (Like, what would Dawkins do if one of his children, on reading the English Bible decided to become a Christian?) But neither of these books is particularly convincing as attacks on religion. They are rambles round the oddities of religion. As it has been about for an awful long time, there are plenty of oddities (some of them pretty repellent) to ramble around. The most serious of these is a refusal to look squarely at the great God, 'science'. Eugenics (scientised racism) did more damage in the twentieth century than any religion. Dawkins is the author of *The Selfish Gene*, which is part of the attempted resurrection of this dubious science. ■

*Les Orphelins de la République  
Destinées des députés et sénateurs français (1940-1945)*  
By Olivier Wieviorka. 2001

Translated and published in the USA as *Orphans of the Republic, the Nation's Legislators in Vichy France*.

## Vichy France Reviewed

France was defeated militarily by Germany in 1940, after Britain had withdrawn from the field of battle. France signed an armistice on 22nd June and fighting ceased. The country was divided into an occupied zone (the Northern half, along with the Channel and Atlantic coasts) and an unoccupied zone (the remaining two-fifths of the territory). Paris was in the occupied zone.

As German troops approached Paris, the French Government, the President of the Republic, the Council of Ministers and Parliament moved first to Bordeaux on June 10th, then to Vichy, where Parliament, in a way, resigned. How did the transition from Republic to authoritarian state happen? The Prime Minister of the time, Paul Reynaud, stood down rather than sign the Armistice. Marshall Pétain was called to head the Government in his place. It was Pétain who signed the Armistice. Then on 10th July 1940, Parliament voted by 570 votes to 80 to give Pétain full powers to change the Constitution. The next day Pétain promulgated three constitutional decrees establishing a personal regime that would function without a Parliament.

In the circumstances the Armistice was an unavoidable necessity, but the 10th July vote was not.

The case that signing the Armistice was unavoidable seems to me clear. In the words of Charles Glass, reviewing in the *London Review of Books* a 2009 book about the period by Colin Smith (*England's Last War Against France*):

"French defeat had been absolute: more than 90,000 soldiers killed, another 200,000 wounded, nearly two million taken prisoner, the army routed and demoralised, the population defenceless. Most French men and women distrusted Britain, whom they blamed for bringing France into a war for which it was unprepared, and for skimping on its own military contribution to the Allied cause: France fielded 67 army divisions along the front to Britain's five. (Germany had 107.)"

Britain withdrew from the field of battle from May 26th. Churchill returned to France on 11th June and met Reynaud's War Council in Briare, but turned down French appeals for extra support

from the RAF. On 3rd July, the British navy attacked and destroyed much of the French fleet in the Algerian port of Mers-el-Kebir, killing 1 297.

In the face of "*absolute defeat*", the alternative to signing an armistice was the continuation of hostilities and in the circumstances enduring pointless loss of life and territory.

The Armistice was meant to be a temporary measure pending the cessation of hostilities with Britain.

The French Government could have gone into exile, as the Polish and other Governments did. It did not do so. It was envisaged that Germany would soon negotiate a peace with Britain, with a restoration of full French sovereignty. Meanwhile, maintaining French institutions in unoccupied France would shield the people from direct German rule.

That the regime that followed the Armistice should have been an authoritarian one was not an unavoidable necessity. Olivier Wieviorka, the author of the book reviewed here, quotes Emmanuel Temple, who expressed this thought. Temple was MP for the Aveyron region and Prefect of Algiers at the time. Defending himself in 1945 against accusation of collaboration, he gave this account of what had been intended by the vote to abrogate the powers of Parliament:

"I had always thought that between a government preparing from abroad the liberation of the country and a government ensuring on French territory the social service of the nation... there should not have been a contradiction. The latter should have done its utmost to limit the consequences of the defeat and to go against the implementation of the laws of the victor of the moment. It would thus have reached the day fighting recommenced without incurring blame for the abuses and excesses that it had not been in its power to avoid. ... In spite of everything we trusted in intentions. This idea explains the behaviour of numerous patriots who, although they were in the orbit of Vichy, have never stopped thinking of the Liberation. The attitude taken by the Vichy government on November 8, 1942, and the following days, were for them a tragic disillusionment. At least sincere and

energetic men found in the events started by the landing {in North Africa} the opportunity to align their acts with their thoughts and their intentions." (Evidence of 27 August 1945 in *mémoire en défense* to the Conseil d'Etat/Jury d'Honneur, bodies responsible for the '*épuration*' (purging) of collaborators).

Wieviorka is not convinced; he says sarcastically that Temple here gives a definition of a "*Vichysto-resistant*", meaning that the MP was equating Vichy with the Resistance. It seems to me however that the situation described by Emmanuel Temple could have occurred. Why didn't it?

Why did Parliament vote in effect for its own abolition?

Wieviorka gives the number of Parliamentarians, Chambre des Députés and Sénat as a total: 538 'Left' and 362 'Right'. The Left in 1940 however was weakened by the absence of Communist MPs—who had been removed (some imprisoned) after the dissolution of the Communist Party by the Government in 1939—and by the divisions among the Socialists. The SFIO leader and ex-Prime Minister of the 1936 Popular Front, Léon Blum, remained silent during the debate on the vote. It is possible that, at the time, it seemed appropriate for civilians to put their trust in the military, Pétain being a Marshall who had earned his vast prestige in WW1.

The 1875 Constitution of the Third Republic (1871-1940) gave weak powers to the President of the Republic, which is why there is little mention of Albert Lebrun, the President in 1940. He later explained in his memoirs that the 10th July vote did not indicate support for fascism or for collaboration with fascism.

But what did the vote mean?

In his book *The Orphans Of The Republic* the French historian Olivier Wieviorka has examined the positions and the destinies of those who were Members of the 1940 Parliament between 1940 and 1944. Eighty voted against the full powers to Pétain. In 1945 the rest were made ineligible for public service during the anti-collaboration purge—unless they could prove they had taken part in the Resistance. The mere fact that they had been

members of that Parliament was enough to disqualify them from office, according in particular to De Gaulle. Three quarters of the elected representatives were eliminated from political life in 1945. (Amnesties however took place in the following 10 years.)

Wieviorka shows that the actions of the MPs were in fact diverse. Of the 80 who voted against the Full Powers, some became collaborators, some resisters, some neither, and the same is true of the 570 who voted for giving Full Powers. Some supported Pétain for reasons that had nothing to do with the war, thinking he would support agriculture, that he would reinstate the Catholic Church to its old positions, that he would curb the Left. Many were too old to fight in the Resistance. Many, as at present, were also Mayors of their towns, with a very strong sense of their responsibility towards their electors, a responsibility even more important in time of war. They wanted to be with their compatriots and stand between them and the occupier. Wieviorka cites cases of heroism; for example when the occupier asked them to draw up lists of hostages to be killed in reprisals, Mayors refused or put only their own names down. And who else would have stood between the occupier and the population? Leaving the country was seen at the time as a disgrace for elected representatives and leaders of the nation.

A certain number, which Wieviorka says is estimated at between 200 and 250, voted for Pétain because of his political programme: "*revision of the constitution, defence of the family, instauration of a corporative order, promulgation of an anti-Semitic legislation*". Wieviorka notes that "*the desire to revise the constitution, to have the recourse to a strong man, the rejection of the class struggle*" was found among the Left and the Right.

In this context he mentions the deputy and ex-Minister L.O. Frossard, who edited a newspaper called *Le Mot d'Ordre* from Marseilles, during the war. The socialist ex-Prime Minister Léon Blum had expressly encouraged him to accept a post in the first Pétain Government.

I followed up his position by reading the 1941-2 edition of this newspaper which is available on microfilm in the British Library.

Frossard is an example of a Left-wing politician of the time. He had been a communist, then a socialist then part of the unaligned 'Left'; before the war he edited a newspaper called *La Justice*. In 1940 he relocated to Marseille in the unoccupied zone and renamed his paper *le Mot d'Ordre* (the

Watchword). The paper commented on the various Fronts of the war (the French against the British in Syria (the paper's position being anti-British) and the Russian in particular). It reported speeches by Pétain, Hitler and British leaders; gave news of the regulations concerning food and other rationing; and provided listings for the many cinemas and theatres in the Mediterranean city, together with magazine-like items on the arts and fashion. The editorials, however, consisted almost exclusively of political discussions about the kind of regime that should be established after the war. A constant theme, apart from the necessity for maintaining national unity, was an admiration and respect for the working class, the desire for worker participation, the ideal being that workers should no longer have the status of employees, but should be co-owners. Frossard often mentioned Vichy's 'National Revolution' and its new labour code, asking himself what this could amount to.

In April 1942, the editorial celebrated the anniversary of the Commune, Frossard reminiscing on ceremonies he attended in his young days, where two survivors of the Commune were present.

*Le Mot d'Ordre* reported the Riom Trial of 1942, conducted at the instigation of Vichy, to try politicians and military men considered responsible for the defeat. The accused, among them Blum and Daladier, acquitted themselves with eloquence and dignity, and reviving the prestige of the political class. The Trial, since it was not producing results favourable to Vichy and the Reich, was abandoned and Blum and Daladier taken to Buchenwald (they survived).

You get the feeling, reading the newspaper, covering a period of uncertainty in which people are dealing with the unknown, that at the same time they are looking ahead and thinking seriously about the post-war future.

Wieviorka makes the point that the actions of Members of Parliament varied according to their personal situation but also with the evolution of events.

The British continued the war; they bombed Germany, and France from the air. (The bombing of the Renault factory in Billancourt, a crowded suburb, with large loss of life on the ground, caused great resentment according to *Le Mot d'Ordre*. It might be noted that Matthew Cobb in his *The Resistance, The French Fight Against The Nazis* suggests that this bombing was welcomed by its victims.)

British forces also invaded the French colonies.

These unexpected continued hostilities meant that the Armistice,

which was meant to be temporary prior to the signing of the peace, remained in force. A clause had been agreed regarding prisoners of war. They were "*to remain in Germany*" "*until conclusion of a peace*" (Extracts from the text of Armistice will be found below.)

In fact, French Mayors managed to negotiate the release on compassionate grounds of particular segments of the prisoners of war over subsequent years: for instance, those who had fought in 1914-18, and heads of large families, was negotiated by French Mayors over time. Around half, over a million, however, remained in Germany right through the war.

In October 1942 Pétain signed a treaty of collaboration with Hitler, which appalled many Members of Parliament. The French colony Algeria, considered then "*an integral part of France*", was invaded by the United States in November 1942. This led to German occupation of the rest of metropolitan France, which removed to a large extent the justification of Vichy.

Developments on the Russian Front showed that German military success might not last, which induced some Parliamentarians to change sides. Repression against Jews, Freemasons, Socialists, and Communists gave the lie to the idea that Pétain stood for French unity. Shortages of food and heating materials were worsening. All these elements altered the positions of the erstwhile Parliamentarians and gradually reduced the support enjoyed by Vichy in 1940. The great mass of elected representatives ended up rejecting Vichy.

Wieviorka points out that Parliamentarians, believing they were making a temporary arrangement on 10th July 1940, had created a irreversible situation. They no longer possessed any legal means to unseat Marshall Pétain. He says that the activities of the members of Parliament during the War ranged from a minority in active collaboration to a minority in active resistance, with all degrees in between. Around 250 Deputies and Senators engaged in various forms in Resistance work—which in many cases made them eligible for election after the Liberation.

Wieviorka concludes that, on the whole, if the Members of Parliament are representative of the French—and he thinks they are—then "*the country did not behave so badly*" in the Vichy period. This seems to me a much better way of looking at the defeat, and the reaction to it, than the myth that De Gaulle saved the honour of France. He wasn't there.

## Annex: Terms of the Armistice (extracts)

(not provided in the book reviewed here)

### ARTICLE III.

In the occupied parts of France the German Reich exercises all rights of an occupying power. The French Government obligates itself to support with every means the regulations resulting from the exercise of these rights and to carry them out with the aid of French administration.

#### Clause 1

All French authorities and officials of the occupied territory, therefore, are to be promptly informed by the French Government to comply with the regulations of the German military commanders and to cooperate with them in a correct manner.

#### Clause 2

It is the intention of the German Government to limit the occupation of the west coast after ending hostilities with England to the extent absolutely necessary.

#### Clause 3

The French Government is permitted to select the seat of its government in unoccupied territory, or, if it wishes, to move to Paris. In this case, the German Government guarantees the French Government and its central authorities every necessary alleviation so that they will be in a position to conduct the administration of unoccupied territory from Paris.

### ARTICLE VIII.

The French war fleet is to collect in ports to be designated more particularly, and under German and/or Italian control to demobilize and lay up—with the exception of those units released to the French Government for protection of French interests in its colonial empire.

### ARTICLE X.

The French Government is obligated to forbid any portion of its remaining armed forces to undertake hostilities against Germany in any manner.

#### Clause 1

French Government also will prevent members of its armed forces from leaving the country and prevent armaments of any sort, including ships, planes, etc., being taken to England or any other place abroad.

#### Clause 2

The French Government will forbid French citizens to fight against Germany in the service of States with which the German Reich is still at war. French citizens who violate this provision are to be treated by German troops as insurgents.

#### Clause 4

The French Government will see to it that in the occupied region necessary technical personnel and rolling stock of the railways and other transportation equipment, to a degree normal in peacetime, be retained in service.

### ARTICLE XIV.

There is an immediate prohibition of transmission for all wireless stations on French soil. Resumption of wireless connections from the unoccupied portion of France requires a special regulation.

### ARTICLE XX.

French troops in German prison camps will remain prisoners of war until conclusion of a peace.

### ARTICLE XXIV.

This agreement is valid until conclusion of a peace treaty. The German Government may terminate this agreement at any time with immediate effect if the French Government fails to fulfil the obligations it assumes under the agreement.

the State from encroaching on personal freedom. It could be said that *The Irish Times* was also in opposition to the State. But there the similarity ends. Its opposition was not based on liberal grounds. It was opposed to the emerging Irish State because it preferred the British State in Ireland. Indeed, as was shown in my article in the previous issue of *Church & State*, it regarded the British Administration in Ireland before the Treaty, as the "*Irish Government*". True Irishmen were loyal to the Crown. The idea of an Irish State independent of Britain was completely anathema to *The Irish Times*.

The support of *The Irish Times* for Cumann na nGaedheal and then Fine Gael; its sympathy for the Blueshirts; and the presence of Socialists, Liberals and even certain types of Nationalists, within its ranks is inexplicable if the newspaper's attitude to the emerging Irish State is ignored. The newspaper was happy to indulge almost any element in Irish society which was antagonistic to the State. It was also an enthusiastic supporter of a United Ireland because it felt that attempts to accommodate the Northern Unionists would put a brake on independent political development in the South.

As was shown in my previous article *The Irish Times* was very far from a liberal newspaper during the War of Independence. Unlike, for example, *The Times* of London it was an enthusiastic supporter of greater oppressive measures in Ireland. If it became a liberal force in Ireland after the Treaty, it could only be in spite of itself.

It is indeed possible that an institution, which had authoritarian instincts when it was aligned with the State power, could discover the virtues of liberalism when it found itself in a minority position. Fintan O'Toole appears to think that objective conditions after the Treaty forced the newspaper to embrace Liberalism and, as a consequence, it began to see things differently when it found itself in a minority position. (O'Toole, of course, is rather coy about how the newspaper saw things when there was no such constraint before the emergence of an Irish State.)

The evidence for the Liberalism of the *The Irish Times* is quite sparse. But, if such evidence exists, it should be found in the one book that *The Irish Times* produced on the subject entitled *The Liberal Ethic*, which was published in 1950. This reproduced a debate, which occurred in the newspaper's Letters pages earlier in that year over a period of nearly two months and with 50 separate contributors. Dermot James in his recently published book *From The Margins To The Centre* says the Editor, R.M.

John Martin

Part Two of a look into the *Irish Times* archives

(Part One: *The Bloody Irish Times* appeared in issue 97 of *Church & State*)

## The Liberalism of *The Irish Times*

*Irish Times* journalists such as Fintan O'Toole give the impression that the newspaper after the Treaty was an oasis of liberalism in a sea of Catholic obscurantism. It is claimed that the newspaper was opposed to Censorship. But, when this proposition is examined more closely, it turns out that the Censorship that it opposed most vigorously was the efforts of the State to curb the newspaper's pro-British views during the Second World War. De Valera's Government felt that this censorship was necessary to preserve Ireland's neutrality.

Histories of the newspaper tend to gloss over—if they mention at all—the newspaper's sympathy for Eoin O'Duffy's Blueshirts and its consistent support for the most Catholic Party in the State, Fine Gael, right up until the 1950s.

As will be seen later in this article Liberalism is not easy to define. But a core element is opposition to—or at least distrust of—the State. The State is seen as a threat to the liberties of the individual and Liberals tend to favour a separation of powers as a means of preventing

Smyllie, considered the debate so important that he held over advertisements to allow space for the participants.

The 90 page booklet has a short Preface of about 300 words advocating a "*union of all Irishmen, irrespective of faith or creed, in the promotion of the common good*". The book is certainly not a liberal manifesto but is nevertheless a valuable social document giving a snapshot of Irish values at that point in time.

The debate was on three distinct themes: the nature of Liberalism; Censorship; and Article 44 the Irish Constitution.

### The Nature of Liberalism

The debate began with an *Irish Times* report on a lecture by a Father Felim O'Briain, a University College, Galway Philosophy Professor who thought: "*the only freedom that would triumph in the absence of the full Christian code was the freedom of the armed man to suppress the liberty of all who differed from his views*". O'Briain said that Socialists and Liberals shared a belief in "*free love*" and this entailed artificial prevention of births, abortion, divorce and "*the State education of the children who, in the new society, were an obstacle to the pleasures and fun of the parents*".

O'Briain further claimed that the one obstinate opponent to the liberal ethic was the Catholic Church, whereas some Protestants managed to bend the bible to fit every point of liberal morality. Nevertheless, O'Briain conceded that Protestants were not anti-clerical. Anti-clericalism, in his view:

"...was a feature of theism, explicit or implicit, that repudiated all morality. At its most innocent and most futile, it appeared as an occasional letter in the *Irish Times* about 'priest-ridden Irish' or the 'domination of the clergy'. At its most ruthless it found its most vigorous expression in the 34 prelates imprisoned behind the Iron Curtain or exiled from there."

A letter appeared criticising O'Briain from Dr. Owen Sheehy Skeffington, who took a liberal Catholic position quoting from Papal Encyclicals to suggest that Ireland was trying to be more Catholic than the Pope. His main argument was that O'Briain was misrepresenting Liberals and Socialists. But the weakness of Sheehy Skeffington's position was that he himself was unwilling to define what his own views on the matter were or what Liberalism or Socialism mean.

O'Briain, on the other hand, claimed that he was not misrepresenting the views of among others Voltaire, Rousseau, Bentham, Marx, Zola, Proust, Gide, and Bertrand Russell. His comments on Liberalism and Socialism excluded the various "*illogical and spurious deviations from liberalism*" as well as "*pale*

*pink dilutions*" of the "*genuine and logical socialism of the Marxists*".

Brian Inglis, of *The Irish Times*, made three points against O'Briain: the Irish were no more sexually continent than the inhabitants of liberal or socialist countries; an ethic that had such distinguished adherents as Marx, Zola, Voltaire and Rousseau must have something to be said for it; and the golden age of Liberalism (Victorian England) was a period when "*private morality became a byword*".

O'Briain dealt with each of these points in a rigorous fashion. On the first point he quoted Arland Usher's *Face And Mind Of Ireland* to show the continence of the Irish. On the second point he wrote:

"that a man's moral reasonings should derive their value and authority from his scientific or mathematical or literary achievements is too egregious a fallacy to merit refutation".

It is worth quoting at length O'Briain's refutation of Inglis's third point:

"Mr Inglis thinks that 'the golden age of liberalism in England coincided with a period when private morality was so strict that it has become a by-word.' I fear Mr. Inglis is confusing Puritanism and prudery with morality. That excellent liberal, Mr. Lecky, can still inform Mr. Inglis of the morality of liberal England: of moral scandals in the Royal Family, among the highest statesmen and among the people. *The History of the English People* of Professor Halevy, will provide him with minutely documented accounts of the heyday of liberal England with its immoral exploitation of the masses and its sexual depravity: 'Children under 10 years of age ... had to work 12, 16, 17, even 18 hours a day ... The women lived promiscuously with their male companions... In Manchester an almost promiscuous intercourse prevailed in the great mass of the people ...' (Cf. Book ii, pp. 108-9). The great *laissez-faire* liberals forbade defence combinations among the workers or wage laws or anything that might interfere with the freedom of supply and demand. The great liberal moralist, Jeremy Bentham, had made pleasure the supreme good, and told his England that sexual sins were not sins at all—'fictitious sins'. There were, indeed, many moral and upright men; they admitted the general laxity but gave it an explanation flattering to the smugness of empire. An Anglican bishop explained the widespread immorality by gravely assuring the House of Lords that France, 'despairing of overthrowing England by arms, had formed a deliberate and subtle desiring to corrupt her morals' by invading England, not with soldiers, but with ballet-dancers."

O'Briain went on to argue that codeless Liberalism, that can only be defined by its negations, could never be a bulwark of Liberty. Where only Liberty is sought and Duties are non-existent, the law of the strong will prevail and bleating about the "*liberal spirit*" will be as futile as the pathetic Liberalism of Masaryk and Benes. Also, O'Briain claimed "*hybrid socialism*" either "*compromised with communist socialism or fully collaborated in its tyranny*".

In a later letter Brian Inglis wheeled out some more big guns: George Bernard Shaw and Goethe. Quoting from Goethe he defined Liberalism as:

"...the invaluable happiness of liberty consisted not in doing what one pleases, but in being able to, without hindrance or restraint, to do in the direct way what one regards as right and just."

To which O'Briain replied:

"...suppose a tyrant imposes by force on the citizens his own preferential and personal views on liberty; tells them that in the interests of the State or the race all personal liberties must be suppressed; to what principle will Mr. Inglis appeal as a basis for his claim to liberty? It will be no use to say I have a right to be free because I have a right to be free. One must know why freedom matters. The freedom to be free to do what 'one regards as right and just' will be the very pretext seized by the dictator to enslave, and to remove all freedoms that he thinks to be wrong. Mr. Inglis, if he is not to remain in futile tautology, would need to have recourse to an absolute being. If there is no absolute being there is no absolute value, and power belongs to the strongest thug, who will cynically use Goethe's poor principle to suppress freedom. Unless we admit God's absolute sway, His plan for human destiny in each individual, the dignity and immortality of the soul, the right of each man to pursue his God given end according to his sincere lights, we lack any reasoned basis for a claim to liberty. Mr. Inglis may call this 'pietism', for he does not define this well-used word, but it is ignorance of this foundation for liberty that is causing liberty everywhere to yield to expediency, 'realism', and totalitarianism."

Some of the liberal arguments depend on a benign view of human nature; that if human beings were left to their own devices a spirit of toleration would prevail. A correspondent supportive of O'Briain claimed that even Liberals did not believe this and produced the following quotation from Emile Zola's treatise on the *Natural Movement in French Literature*:

"There is no more absolute honesty and virtue in the world than there is perfect health. There is a touch of

human animalism as there is a touch of disease even in the finest natures, and in average natures there is more than a mere touch... We write not for babes and sucklings, but for the world at large, that world which is full of sin, vice, crime, deceit and hypocrisy"

Another defender of O'Briain quoted from the English Catholic Philosopher, Christopher Dawson:

"European liberalism is a temporary phenomenon which belongs to the phase of transition between a Christian culture and one that is completely secularised. European culture had already ceased to be Christian in the eighteenth century, but it still retained the inherited moral standards and values of a Christian civilisation. And so it attempted to erect these standards into an independent system by providing a rational philosophic justification for them. This was the liberal idealism that was the faith of the nineteenth century—not a religious faith, but a quasi-religious substitute for one...."

"This creed—and the social and economic order which arose from it—is entirely inconsistent with Catholic principles, and was, in fact, the most dangerous enemy and rival that the Catholic Church had to meet in modern times. It is a philosophy of separation and irresponsibility which breaks up the moral organism of society into a chaos of competitive individualism. It denies the sovereignty of the moral law in the economic world, the principle of authority in politics, and the existence of an objective divine truth in religion. It makes self-interest the supreme law in economics, the will of the majority the sovereign power in the State, and private opinion the only arbiter in religious matters...."

"Today all this is changed—Liberalism and progress and modern civilisation appear in a very different light from that of seventy years ago... Liberalism is everywhere in decline, and Parliamentarianism and democracy have suffered a general loss of prestige. Nationalism alone is still powerful, but in a grim and menacing shape which bodes little good to the cause of civilisation."

One doesn't have to be a Catholic to agree with many of these points.

But a writer from Tullamore believed that the division was false.

"To my way of thinking, there are only two true divisions of mankind, the gnostics and the agnostics; the former very roughly represented at this moment in history by ecclesiasticism and communism, the latter by liberalism and democracy. One camp is authoritarian, certain, and has many followers. The other has little authority and seeks little, is uncertain, and has

few followers. To one, truth is definable in a frame of words, in a scripture or a manifesto; to the other truth is, shall we say, an impenetrable core, off which all man's thought and mysticism bounce as a rubber off an iron ball."

The correspondent concluded that art was the only antidote:

"For what are all the inarticulate, indefinable, prove-anything-and-nothing, sterile, shifting, alphabet-combinations of all the philosophers and metaphysicians that ever waged their wordy wars, in comparison to the Pieta of Michelangelo, a symphony of Beethoven, an ode of Keats?"

Surprisingly, there was very little written from the Protestant point of view. However, a Rev. W.G. Proctor insisted that the debate should be recognised as a "*three cornered one*":

"Catholicism and Protestantism agree with each other, and differ from liberalism in that each accepts an authority other than human reason as the basis of their systems. The ultimate authority for Catholicism is the Church (more precisely, the Papal Church); that for Protestantism the Bible. Liberalism does not accept any ultimate authority.

There was an intervention by Republican Socialist Peadar O'Donnell denying that the separatist movement was clerical or priest-ridden as suggested by a previous correspondent.

The final word on the nature of liberalism was left to Father O'Briain who took the opportunity to defend the Catholic Church against the charge of intolerance. He distinguished between *de jure* and *de facto* toleration and illustrated this with an example:

"Members of the Church of Ireland who accept the Thirty-nine Articles profess that the central act of Catholic worship, as carried out by 93% of their fellow citizens in this country, is 'a blasphemous fable and a dangerous deceit'. We deny the right of anyone to assert and propagate what we know to be untrue. Untruth has no objective rights. But we should never dream of raising a finger to prevent our separated brethren from holding and maintaining this view. We refuse to tolerate error in itself, for error has no *right* to exist; but we tolerate error in those who profess it, because we respect their human personality, their good faith, and good intentions. We hate error, but we have deep respect for those who err. We are not moved by the fact that the forbears of those whom we tolerate have, ever since their first bishop, George Browne, hanged a friar in his habit in Waterford in January,

1539, used every artifice from swords to soup to compel us to accept their views on the Mass."

Later on he contrasted Catholic Toleration (i.e. *de facto* toleration) with liberal Toleration:

"Liberals, on the contrary, have explicitly repudiated tolerance for others than themselves. The great apostle of liberalism, John Milton, explicitly refused liberty to Episcopalians and Roman Catholics. The great Protestant liberal, Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, protested against giving votes to Jews and opposed their admission to London University."

## Censorship

The next section of the *Liberal Ethic* book dealt with letters to *The Irish Times* on Censorship. The censorship that was at issue was the censorship of publications advocating contraception. A curious aspect of this debate was that one of the leading advocates of liberalisation of the censorship laws described himself as a "*Catholic Sociologist*". He did not dispute the merit of banning publications for advocating contraception. His argument was merely that some of the publications that were banned did not, in fact encourage contraception.

The "*Catholic Sociologist*" (a bit like internet blogging in our time, it was quite common in the 1950s for letters to *The Irish Times* to appear under a pseudonym) objected to the banning of *The Report of the British Royal Commission on Population*, the failure to ban a magazine with advertisements advocating contraception, and the banning of Vogt's *Road To Survival*.

The banning of the Royal Commission's report in October 1949 was revoked in January 1950 (around the time the Catholic Sociologist's letter appeared). Nevertheless it is interesting to read his objection to the ban:

"The Report is, indeed, a squalid document that can give satisfaction to nobody save bitter persons who rejoice in the portrayal of a once great people going down in moral ruin. Yet the excuse for banning it was absurd.

"The Report informs us—and this is an important historical fact which we need to know—that the present rulers of Great Britain favour the legislation and public subsidy of the vices that destroyed civilisation in the past. To be so informed is not to be encouraged to the practice of those vices. Rather such information horrifies, and the Report strengthens the hands of decency like a Hogarthian lesson."

As can be seen in the next paragraph his objection is not so much to the censorship of publications advocating family planning but to the inconsistency

of the Board:

"Contrast with the attempted suppression of the Report (now reversed on appeal) the refusal of the Board to prevent the circulation in our country of a magazine which advertises books on the technique of contraception. You are to be denied knowledge that England practises that vice, but young people are to be allowed to learn of the books available for its propagation."

He objected to the banning of the *Road To Survival* because it merely advocated population control but not contraception or abortion.

A letter appeared from F. O'Reilly quoting at length from the legislation, which he was supportive of.

However, on the banning of the Royal Commission Report and then its revocation O'Reilly admitted that there was an ambiguity. In his view the Report contained "*blatant birth control propaganda*" but the legislation did allow members of the Censorship Board to consider the following:

- a) the literary, artistic, scientific or historic merit or importance, and the general tenor, of the book;
- b) the language in which it is written;
- c) the nature and extent of the circulation which, in their opinion, it is likely to have;
- d) the class of reader which, in their opinion, may reasonably be expected to read it;
- e) any other matter relating to the book which appears to them to be relevant."

Presumably, the likelihood that the Report would not achieve a wide circulation was the reason for the revocation of the ban.

On the question of not banning magazine advertisements advocating contraception O'Reilly gives the following extract from the legislation:

"A book or periodical publication containing an advertisement relating to a book or periodical publication which advocates or might reasonably be supposed to advocate within the meaning of sub-section (1) of this section one or more of the matters mentioned in that section {i.e. advocating contraception or abortion—JM} shall not, by reason only of its containing such advertisement, be deemed itself to advocate any of such matters, provided such advertisement is inserted for reward and is not and could not reasonably be supposed to be itself an advocacy of any such matter."

This would seem to exempt commercial advertisements from the remit of the legislation. I find this interesting because after the Pro-Life referendum of 1983 advertisements for abortion published in *Cosmopolitan* magazine

were censored. So the legislation of the 1950s was more liberal, in this instance, to that of the 1980s!

O'Reilly disagreed with the "*Catholic Sociologist*" on the content of Vogt's *Road To Survival*. He claimed that the book did advocate artificial birth control including State subsidies for sterilisation, which O'Reilly calls "*a new souperism*". He also condemned the book for advocating the discredited theories of Malthus.

There followed a letter from a liberal of sorts. P.A. Smart from Co. Limerick denied that Malthus's theories had been discredited. He also made a case for contraception but it was an altruistic case. In other words he didn't advocate contraception for the likes of himself. But he thought it should be used in non-Catholic parts of the world as a means of reducing the misery of famine. He concluded by making a reference to people who were guided by reason and were free of prejudice and went on to say:

"Such people, and I am one of them, believe that the overwhelming motive which is sex can be directed, where environment and teaching allow, into other channels. For a great number of people, however, this is not the case, and such naturally regard sexual intercourse as a gratification in itself so great that to allow themselves to indulge in it only when the desire to conceive a child is either the height of conceit or the height of hypocrisy or both."

This argument strikes me as being possibly influenced by eugenics arguments where it was considered desirable to limit the population of people from a different race or class to those advocating the birth control.

Another correspondent, Stephen Desmond, wrote:

"I am at one with your correspondent in condemning the unnatural practices advocated in the literature in question, but I am also opposed to having to plead with some civil servant in General Mac Eoin's Department for a permit to read facts and opinions of social significance. Moscow couldn't do better."

A Dr. Patrick Heffernan defended the liberal position in more robust terms. He considered the legislation should be expunged because it treated the Irish people as "*moral morons*". This writer also participated in the debate on the meaning of Liberalism and appears to have been a Catholic Liberal.

The debate concluded with another letter from P.A. Smart in which he criticised F. O'Reilly for:

"his refusal to argue on any issue on which a ruling is strictly laid down in his faith".

Smart thinks that the Liberal:

"...believes in the intellect of humanity as its most living force. He believes

in progress towards goodness, and that taking a rational view of the world is a necessity in making such progress."

He hopes that he would not have "*condemned*" the likes of Aristotle, Galileo, Darwin, Owen and Marx, even though he would not "*necessarily have associated himself with such ideas*". It appears that Smart believes that the liberal is superior to the general run of humanity because:

"... by his attitude of questioning the validity of all things and adopting a rational approach to any new beliefs, argues that he will be free of the reactionary trench of prejudice into which all others might, and I believe so often do, let themselves fall."

The Liberal is different from the Catholic because he:

"...substitutes the pursuit of truth for the Catholic's belief in faith as the necessary introduction to all virtue."

But interestingly:

"To the accusation that, because no liberal will condemn outright another's definition of goodness, therefore this will lead to worldwide, anarchism and depravity, I would answer that I believe that man's intellectual realisation of goodness throughout the world is more uniform than such critics would like to believe. Presuming for the sake of the ideal that everyone is capable of rational argument, I cannot see that it is logical to suggest that the result would be unreasonable disorganised chaos or wars of mass destruction, such as appear terribly near to-day.

But why assume the world will progress towards a uniform idea of goodness if one section of humanity seeks virtue through reason and another section by faith?

#### Article 44

The final section of the Liberal Ethic was on Article 44 of the Constitution. The debate arose as a result of the passing of this motion by Westmeath County Council raising the status of the Roman Catholic Church:

"That we call on the Government of the Republic of Ireland to amend drastically Article 44 of our Constitution, thereby putting the one true Church (founded by our Divine Redeemer) on a plane above the man made religions of the world. That copies be sent to the Taoiseach and to every public body in Eire of the resolution."

The Fianna Fáil TD Sean Brady replied by saying that it was unnecessary to amend the Constitution. At the time Catholic Bishops and the Vatican radio among others praised the document.

The Republican George Gilmore pointed out that the motion was rejected by Sligo, Galway Corporation and Dublin



County Council. Only six people attended the meeting of Westmeath County Council at which the motion was approved. Since that meeting the motion had been repudiated by even this County Council and the seconder of the original motion stated that he would not have supported the motion if he had realised its significance.

Canon Bateman, a Church of Ireland clergyman, took the opportunity to denounce the Catholic Church:

"Is it sufficiently recognised that the Papacy is the father and mother of totalitarianism, and that Hitler merely transferred to the political and social spheres the principles which Rome has developed through centuries of auto-cracy? Rome is fighting a battle to the death with Communism to-day, simply because there is not room on the earth for two totalitarian systems, both of which claim world domination. As far as human liberty is concerned, the victory of either would be disastrous."

Another Canon from Kerry weighed in with the comment:

"I think it was Dean Inge who wrote that it was not easy to determine whether the Red or Black International was the worse enemy of human freedom."

It appears that these anti-Catholic comments were ignored. Sean Brady TD returned to the business at hand to make the point that there was a 4 year period after the Constitution was approved in which amendments could be made by a vote passed by the Dail and Seanad without the necessity for a referendum. But during that time no effort was made to amend Article 44.

Interestingly, he also gave the following quotation from a Catholic Priest to the effect that the current Constitution was superior to the Free State Constitution:

"What was the attitude of Masonry in relation of the State? In the former Free State Constitution there was no acknowledgement of the duty of the State or organised society to worship God. By Article viii, of the same Constitution, the Mystical Body of Christ was placed on the same level as other forms of religion. They were thus, as a State, in a wrong attitude before God. The new Constitution did away with these two embodiments of the Masonic principles of the French Revolution. Let them hope that Masonry would not be able to profit by the divisions among Catholics on secondary points to jeopardise those proposals (lecture *The Rise of Christ*, Rev D. Fahy, the *Standard*, 21/5/1937)."

There followed a letter from J.P. Ryan, the Secretary of the Catholic organisation *Maria Duce* on the "liberalism" of Article 44 of the Constitution which in his opinion:

"stands unequivocally condemned for giving equal recognition to all forms of

religious belief, since it is contrary to reason and revelation alike that error and truth should have equal rights (Leo xiii). From repeated Papal pronouncements, it is abundantly clear that the Catholic Church not only does not condone, but vigorously condemns, the much vaunted 'toleration' of most modern constitutions".

Two, presumably Catholic correspondents disagreed with Ryan. One quoted Leo XIII's approval of the Belgian Constitution. The other correspondent, "*1916 Man*", wrote:

"The late William O'Brien, of Mallo, one of the most orthodox and devoted of Catholics, once coined the illuminating phrase, 'the rancid unction of the super-Catholic-politician'. He added that it needed the 1916 Insurrection to purify Irish life from the degradation wrought on the country by 'every knave who would play Defender of the Faith in the soiled vestments of politics'. These criticisms may be read in the preface to the 1919 edition of his novel, '*When We Were Boys*', and might be re-read by some of our careerist pietists to-day, with their detestable Article 44 outcry. Rancid unction characterises, in particular, the secretary of '*Maria Duce*', which appears in your issue of March 7th."

The correspondent went on to quote the *Catholic Encyclopaedia* on tolerance:

"When several religions have firmly established themselves and taken root in the same territory, nothing else remains for the State than either to exercise tolerance towards them all, or, as conditions exist to-day, to make complete religious liberty for individuals and religious bodies a principle of government".

## Conclusion

The above debate was conducted at a high intellectual level and *The Irish Times* deserves credit for facilitating it. As well as being highly intellectual it was also very theoretical. It is difficult to detect any practical grievances aired by the participants.

It appears that Christian values had hegemony over the society in 1950 and there was no substantial feeling of discontent about this either from Catholics, Protestants or other sections of the society. Indeed given the preponderance of Catholic participants in this debate, conducted by a newspaper associated with Protestantism, it could be argued that the society was under Catholic hegemony. Many of the "liberal" arguments were rooted firmly within the framework of Catholic teaching and were supported with quotations from the Pope and Papal Encyclicals.

While there were a couple of Protestant clergymen who expressed dislike for aspects of the Catholic Religion, there was no suggestion that their liberties were infringed by the State. One or two Protestants

expressed alarm concerning the views of *Maria Duce*, but there was no suggestion that the offending views were representative of mainstream Catholic thinking. Indeed the mainstream in the form of Sean Brady TD repudiated the arguments of *Maria Duce*.

I can think of only two correspondents who had objections concerning practical matters. These were from a Catholic (Dr. Patrick Heffernan) and P.A. Smart, who appears to have been a Protestant. In both cases the practical objection related to Censorship. However, in neither case was the censorship a substantial infringement of their intellectual freedom. Heffernan thought that the censorship treated the Irish like "*moral morons*". However, he felt that censorship of the "*garbage*" was making us a "*laughing stock*" in front of the world, rather than being a problem for him personally. Smart was against censorship of publications advocating contraception, not because he wished to avail of artificial birth control in his own relationships, but because contraception might be of benefit to other races and classes and therefore should be discussed.

Apart from the very qualified exception of Smart, no one was prepared to argue the case for Contraception, still less Abortion. No one expressed dissatisfaction with the constitutional ban on Divorce. Apart from Vogt's *Road To Survival* there was no book, magazine or film that any correspondent wished to read or see that had been banned.

Despite the fact that Father Felim O'Brian defined from the out set State Education of children as part of the liberal/socialist ethic, no correspondent wished to advocate Secular State education for Ireland. There was no objection to education in the country being organised along religious lines.

No one was prepared to advocate reforms which would enable the individual to pursue a life of pleasure providing that he did not interfere with the liberty of other individuals in the society.

In short, there was no substantial liberal discontent within the society in 1950. What there might have been, was a substantial minority who wished to retain the trappings of Empire and regretted the emergence of an Irish State. It was to this constituency that *The Irish Times* appealed to. And it was censorship of *The Irish Times*'s pro-British views during the Second World War that the newspaper most vigorously objected to. However, even this nostalgia for Empire was on the wane following the declaration of a Republic by the Pro-Treaty party in the previous year.

The idea that *The Irish Times* was "*liberal*" in any conventional meaning of that word is a piece of wishful thinking by some of the current ideologues of that newspaper. ■

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Mauritius  
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**Mauritius**

Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform Dermot Ahern has confirmed that one in 250 of the Republic of Mauritius's inhabitants have opted for life in the Irish Republic.

A total of 5,000 of the island's 1.25 million Mauritian nationals are registered with the Garda National Immigration Bureau.

So great is the lure of Ireland that the Mr. Ahern has been forced to clamp down on Mauritians' visa requirements.

"At present, nationals of Mauritius are not visa required as set out in Statutory Instrument No 239 of 2009. However, with effect from January 1, 2010, this position will change and nationals of Mauritius will require an entry visa", Mr. Ahern told the Dáil following a parliamentary question by Fine Gael's Charlie Flanagan on 8th December 2009.

"Visa and pre-entry clearance systems are at the core of immigration controls and the inclusion of nationalities on lists of persons who require visas is usually the result of experience regarding the nationalities concerned. There are currently over 5,000 Mauritian nationals registered with the Garda National Immigration Bureau, mostly as students. Taking the population of Mauritius as being approximately 1.25 million this means that one in every 250 Mauritian nationals is in Ireland."

The European Union has an agreement with the Republic of Mauritius whereby Mauritian citizens can travel around the continent on a holiday visa for a maximum of 90 days.

This agreement is only binding on the countries that, unlike Ireland, are signed up to the Schengen Accord and that is why the Irish can set new rules.

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**Tom Gill**

"The demise of Tomas Mac Giolla was mourned by his old comrades, although it remains to be seen how historians will evaluate the contribution his Moscow-orientated Workers' Party made to the shaping of modern Ireland.

"Interestingly, the eulogies to Mac Giolla did not mention the little-known fact that in the 1950s, when he sought to join the IRA, his application was held up while his membership of Maria

Duce, an extreme right-wing Catholic organisation, was investigated. The IRA was wary of him after they learned from John Charles McQuaid, Archbishop of Dublin, that Maria Duce was a secret organisation..." (Archon, *Southern Star*, Skibbereen, 13.2.2010).

Tomas Mac Giolla died on 4th February 2010 and was buried on 8th February 2010 after a non-religious tribute.

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**Protestant Orphanage**

"A former resident of a Dublin institution for young Protestants has called for a memorial to be erected for the infants and children who died in its care.

"Derek Leinster, who spent his early childhood in Bethany Home in Rathgar after being born to an unwed Protestant teenager, claims to have found evidence of a high mortality rate among young residents of the institution.

"The home was founded in 1922 and run for unwed Protestant women and their children by members of the city's Protestant community" (*Irish News*, Belfast, 3.2.2010).

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**Cardinal Manning**

Gladstone on Cardinal Manning: "*The man is gone out... and has left nothing but the priest. No shirt collar ever took such a quantity of starch.*"

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**Israelis?**

"Israel is looking into adopting Haitians orphaned by the January 12 earthquake, Minister of Welfare and Social Services Isaac Herzog told *The Jerusalem Post* on Saturday.

"We see this as part of Israel's humanitarian outreach", Herzog said, referring to the IDF medical operation and the Israeli rescue efforts in the Caribbean nation.

"Haiti was one of the countries that supported us on November 29, 1947, {in

the UN vote on the establishment of the state}, and now it's our turn to support them," he said.

Representatives of the Foreign and Welfare Ministries held an emergency meeting on Thursday to discuss the fine details of possible adoptions. The Welfare Ministry's Child Welfare Services division is responsible for overseeing all international adoptions in Israel.

While Israel already has agreements with several countries such as China and Russia on the procedure for international adoptions, with nearly 200 children per year adopted, no such protocol exists with Haiti, Herzog said.

He added that Israel's Ambassador to the neighbouring Dominican Republic, Amos Radian, had already started looking into reaching an agreement with Haitian authorities to begin adoptions as soon as possible.

"We first need an agreement with the country's government", explained Herzog. "However, with all the chaos in Haiti, this could take a while."

He said Israel would work with local charities operating in the disaster zone to identify children who need adopting and highlighted that families in Israel had already come forward offering to adopt Haitian children.

On Friday, UNICEF warned that the possibility of child trafficking following the earthquake had become a significant concern. Many children separated from parents have become vulnerable to trafficking and sexual exploitation, it said.

In Israel, families who adopt children from abroad receive €22,000 (\$31,097) from the state to help cover the high international adoption fees. Herzog said that all children adopted from Haiti would undergo the standard conversion process to Judaism.

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**Emigrating To Canada—**

"...a country with none of the high moral guardianship of public behaviour which was a fixation of Irish governments then. Not long before we left home *The Irish Times* had reported Labour Party Leader and Minister for Social Welfare Brendan Corish at a meeting in Wexford saying: '*We ought to pay tribute to the type of censorship we have and jealously guard it*' (2.6.1956). Three months previously a ban had been imposed on the circulation of the UK newspaper *The Observer* because it contained an article on family planning. Where we were headed these tentacles of repression would not reach" (Nuala Fennell, *Political Woman, A Memoir*, Currach Press, 2009, p34, on her departure to Canada as an emigrant).

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