Church & State

A Cultural Review Of Ireland And The World

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Trinity: Its Works And Pomps

Catholic Wealth And The Making Of Protestant Imperial England

The Great Eoghan Ruadh

Part Two

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Editorial

The Usury Crisis

The financial crisis threatening to engulf Europe is a usury crisis. Usury is the making of money out of money at several removes from the production of things. An element of usury has always been present in capitalist economy, but it is only in the last twenty or thirty years that it became the controlling element of capitalism as a world system.

Shortly before the usury crisis struck us, the Politics Professor at the National University, Tom Garvin, wrote a very popular book called *Preventing The Future*. He said that De Valera and the Catholic Church had cheated us out of the future we ought to have had, a future of all-out capitalism. Well, we achieved that future just in time to experience its inevitable crisis, which might be described as the second general usury crisis. The first was 80 years ago.

An *Irish Times* opinion columnist now offers the thought that nationalist Ireland has been overwhelmed by this crisis because it is Catholic and that Protestantism might have saved it:

> "The Irish people who know how to run banks are on the wrong side of the Border… Just 100 miles away, in Belfast, sits a whole culture of caution and conformity and conservative rectitude… Is it not possible that the whole economic meltdown which the Republic has brought upon itself is a direct result of partition. The late Charles Haughey once said that Northern Ireland was a failed political entity—which was true but offensive. Our neighbours in the North have kindly refrained in recent months from making similar, and similarly justified remarks. But the fact is that we need Presbyterians, and we need them now…
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> "I think it was George V who remarked that he feared that Northern Ireland would become left wing (if only . . .) and that the South would become corrupt. George V saw that the two parts of Ireland needed each other, and they still do. They're Calvinist and we're cute.
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> "If northern Protestants would run our banks for us we could, er, help them win Eurovision. It's just that management isn't really our thing… At heart we've a good time culture…" (Ann Marie Hourihane, 13.12.2010).

Old stereotypes die hard: The Presbyterians are attached to the half-crown rather than the Crown, so why don't we let them run after our half-crowns for us?

There is a passing mention of the "*Presbyterian Mutual Society*". If the stereotype was sound, there should be no sounder financial body on earth than the Presbyterian Mutual. Unfortunately, the Presbyterian Mutual went in for the good-time culture big time, and the feckless Fenian, Martin McGuinness, is doing his best to save something from the wreckage for these Calvinists.

The Ascendancy Protestantism of the South never had any understanding of, or sympathy with, the vigorous popular Protestantism of the North, so it would be unreasonable to expect Catholic proteges of the *Irish Times* to have much understanding of them.

Northern Ireland is a failed political entity. Is that a truth which should not be uttered, lest it give offence?

Northern Ireland is a political entity that should never have been set up. It is a pseudo-state within the British state, cut off from the political life of the British state. Its function was to maintain British leverage on 26 County affairs. If there had to be Partition, and if good government of the Six Counties was the object, there would have been simple Partition without a 'Northern Ireland state'.

It's now a bit late to sentimentalise about the Presbyterian middle class. It has been undermined by the vigorous Catholic economic development that accompanied the war—as economic development often does. A generation ago we campaigned against the Fair Employment chicanery directed against the Protestant middle class in the North. The *Irish Times* maintained a determined silence. And we retrieved elements of Presbyterian culture that we thought should not be lost. The *Irish Times* preferred the stereotypes.

We did not know about the views of George V revealed here. We wonder what he could have meant by 'corruption'. The City of London, an engine of British prosperity, was strictly corrupt. Its affairs were efficiently controlled by informal relations by financial oligarchs.

And the more capitalism progresses from competition between a multitude of independent producers who use banks as a place to keep real money in, and the use of bank notes as a convenient means of taking money from place to place, towards global competition between multi-national enterprises, the less tangible money becomes, and the more it is distanced from the visible activity of producing actual goods, and the more need there is for competent cronyism.

The opportunity for making money out of money, at many removes from the physical production process, increases—and the financial devices by which this is done get more esoteric every year. And access to this kind of money-making is made easier year by year, until any individual with a computer can engage in it directly, by-passing the stockbroker. The money-market becomes wild. But, within this wild money-market, the importance of informal groupings increases.

A Secretive Banking Elite Rules Trading In Derivatives was a headline in the *New York Times* on December 11th. Crony capitalism rules, OK! And it would be a poor show if it didn't: if there was total individualist competition of each against all on a world scale. But that seems to be the ideal of capitalism postulated by *Irish Times* opinion-formers for the purpose of condemning as corruption any forms of collective activity in the market on the part of the new native capitalism that has been emerging in recent decades and displacing the old Anglo-Irish elite. We do not recall that the Anglo-Irish economic elite was ever mentioned, let alone subjected to such criticism.

Whether there is a special relationship between Protestantism and money-making is a question that has long been mulled over without any definite conclusion being reached. The predominant view has been that there is. And certainly the

fundamentalist Protestant view, in the great religious war between free-ranging Biblicalism and Anglican elitism in mid-17th century England, was that commercial profit was a sign of grace. And the great money-making centres in Europe are on the sites of fundamentalist Protestant developments—Geneva, Zurich, Holland. And the City of London was at the heart of the English fundamentalist upsurge connected with Cromwell.

Jonathan Swift was a Tory Jacobite. He wrote a pamphlet which is credited with cutting short England's first Great War in the early 18th century. His opposition to the war was on the ground that it was being financed by National Debt, and that the increase in National Debt was bringing about a situation in which money would be the only value. Half a century later Edmund Burke had a similar view. Swift and Burke, English pamphleteers, have in recent decades been hailed as Irish, but those who hailed them took little heed of what they said.

The ideals of Swift and Burke were unrealisable in England. Their magnificent statements were only protests against a course of events that had become inevitable in England. But that ideal came close to realisation in Christian Democratic Germany after 1945. Christian Democracy was inspired by Papal Encyclicals but was not exclusively Catholic. German Protestantism, in recoil from its love affair with Nazism, was happy to find refuge in it, and the main body of Protestants was separated off in East Germany. The Papal injunction against usury was put into effect by binding the banks into local industrial developments. By that means the making of money out of money was curtailed.

This restriction on money manipulation was ended when Christian Democracy was undermined by spurious corruption scandals after the end of the Cold War, when Anglo-American capital demanded free access to every corner of the world. German Social Democracy, always subject to British influence, set about breaking up the local banking-industrial arrangements. Then the European Court under British influence destabilised the banking arrangements of the socialised banking sector, declaring them to be illegal obstacles to globalist competition. Angela Merkel, a half-baked Christian Democrat from the Former East, has continued the work.

The German banks, prevented from doing what they did well, were forced onto the international money markets and helped to bring about the financial crisis.

If there is a religious element to the crisis, as the *Irish Times* columnist declares, it is not quite as she suggests. It is the destruction of Catholic curbs on usury by Protestant free market globalist imperialism.

But it should be noted that this is primarily an Anglo-American phenomenon. The Swiss, for example, who undertook long ago to be the shepherds of money, maintain tight communal curbs on their own lives, by which the devaluing of all other values by money as *"universal equivalent"* is held in check.

Ireland, bedevilled by the ghosts of Anglo-Ireland, has been singularly open, innocent, naive, unprotected, and malleable by outside forces.

Contents

Some web addresses for associated sites—

The Heresiarch:

http://heresiarch.org

Athol Books:

http://www.atholbooks.org

There is a great deal of interesting reading. Go surf and see!

Sales:

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Brendan Clifford

How the English Parliamentary rebellion against a lawful King is morphed into an Irish Rebellion: it's all about undermining the Provos!

1641: The Massacre Propaganda

Almost fifty years ago I spent a month in isolation in a remote and English part of England, called Winchester, with nothing to do and nothing to read except a volume of Edmund Spenser's Poems that somehow came to hand. I read it because it was there, and nothing else was there. And so I read about the Fairy Queen, who never actually appears in that never-ending poem with her name to it as far as I recall, and about Knights and Ladies and Chivalry and the Blatant Beast and other strange creatures that lurk in the undergrowth of the English mind. And I got to know about Colin Clout's Homecoming to Buttevant, which had been cleared of the Irish so that Greek Nymphs and Shepherds might play in it, and Greek goddesses along with them, but no gods that I recall. And then I was released from captivity and promptly forgot about Spenser, except to wonder occasionally how that bizarre poem, afflicted with uncoordinated gigantism, remained in print.

For remain in print it did. And Senator Harris has fallen down on the task he has set himself, because I have not heard yet that he has hailed it as the great Irish poem to whose influence we should all submit ourselves in order to be re-created and saved.

It was the reporting by the *Irish Times* of the 1641 massacre as hot news that turned my mind to Spenser again. I looked him up to see what had been written in recent centuries about him and his North Cork killing-ground that he made his playground, and I came across *Spenser In Southern Ireland* by Alexander Corbin Judson, published in Bloomington, Indiana (where the Indians were broken around 1812) in 1933:

> "On a warm, bright afternoon in June, 1929, I found myself standing on a small knoll, knee-deep in grass and flowers, with the fragment of an ivy-grown castle before me, all that is left today of Kilcolman Castle, once possessed by Edmund Spenser. To me it is the best 'home of a poet' that I know. No post card vendors dog your steps, no guide insists on telling you his well-learned tale, indeed not even a path leads to it. You are rejoiced to find yourself alone with your own thoughts and the beauty of the scene…"

I once thought I would take a look at it. It is somewhere near Buttevant, but in Buttevant nobody seemed to know where it was except that it was near. I think we were on the right road, but it was a narrow road with a slow tractor on it so we turned back. I did not get to see it, but I gathered that the interest of natives in it remains just as keen as it was in 1929.

Judson spoke with a farmer who had come from cutting turf close to the ruin: *"He knew that Spenser once owned the castle, but admitted that he had never read any of Spenser's works, as they are not 'easy to come by'…"* I assume that small farmers near Buttevant are as inquisitive about the world as small farmers around Boherbue, in which case that farmer had almost certainly taken a look at *The Fairy Queen* but was too polite to tell a weird foreigner who admired it what he thought of it.

Judson was enraptured by the site to which Colin Clout Came Home Again, *"the most delightful of English pastorals"*. He marvelled at its teeming life:

> "Cattle and sheep are everywhere… The very crows look like well fed, respectable citizens… I saw them peacefully eating with the chickens and dogging the steps of the farmers in the fields. When I asked one farmer whether the crows weren't a nuisance, he replied that 'we mustn't begrudge the birds of the air their food'. To judge by the absence of waste land and the excellence of the crops, I could not think of man or beast in the region ever lacking food…"

I assume that Judson knew that Spenser had taken part in a great campaign of killing, compounded by deliberate famine, to clear the land of savages and make it an idyllic playground for a make-believe paganism in which he coquetted with his hills and streams, from Buttevant up to Aherlow and founded modern English literature—only for the savages to crawl out of the nooks and crannies in which they had somehow managed to survive, and ruin it all on him. But he was too polite to mention it in his book, just as the farmer was too polite to give his opinion of Spenser's verse.

In a later fantasy Goldsmith saw a situation in which *"every prospect pleases but only man is vile"*. That was how Spenser saw North Cork. He thought he he had removed the human blot from the landscape. He was mistaken. We crawled back. So what are we to make of this long-winded genocidal aesthete who founded English literature while looking at the Ballyhoura Hills? All I can do is to suggest what made him go tick-tock.

Spenser was of the sanctimoniously sceptical gentry that sprouted from the strong Reformation of Christianity in England, that could only pretend to believe since it invented what it believed in to suit each occasion.

Belief was a function of policy for that gentry. The object of policy for it was to establish England as an absolutely independent state, disentangled from the life of Europe and therefore anti-European. The process of disentangling was antagonistic.

How Reformationist England might have developed if the European Reformation had swept all before it is a question of such remote abstraction that it is hardly possible even to speculate about it idly. The Reformation in England was not part of the European Reformation. But for the accident that Henry 8 was married to the aunt of the Holy Roman Emperor, who was in conflict with the Pope and in occupation of Rome and would not allow a Papal annulment of Henry's marriage which Henry required for reasons of State, England might have launched an Anti-Reformation crusade. Its own Reformation was a political event. Henry declared himself head of the Church in England in order to annul his marriage, and then one thing led to another.

My first interest in it was in connection with the abolition of theatre in England. Popular theatre had developed in the medium of Catholicism and carried the wrong message. It was not found possible to conjure up on the spur of the moment a popular anti-Catholic theatre, so theatre was suppressed *de facto* as part of the working out of Henry's decision to be his own Pope.

An earnest strain of Protestantism developed that was not content to follow the vagaries of state policy in the matter

of belief. It tried to formulate a consistent and comprehensive body of Biblical belief. One of its conclusions was that theatre was wrong in principle, and not just *de facto* because of the Roman content of the traditional theatre. This attempt at earnest Biblical belief, which came to be called Puritanism, concluded that theatre as such was a form of Roman idolatry, and was one of the deadliest of the Roman devices.

About a hundred years after Henry broke with Rome, Puritanism came to power in the state. In 1641 it killed Strafford after a Show Trial, for governing Ireland without sufficient regard for English interests; it precipitated the 1641 rebellion in Ulster; and it abolished the theatre. There was disagreement amongst the Puritans about many things, but they were all agreed on the suppression of theatre. Theatre was put down by what came to be called the English Revolution (1641-1660), and came back with a bang with the Counter-Revolution of the aristocracy.

This central fact of English history is unacceptable to the progressive intellectual tendency, Whig and Marxist, and was sidelined by them. They constructed for themselves an essentially false picture of the English Revolution, in which it was inconceivable that the great humanist John Milton, poet and Cromwell's Secretary of State, should have taken part in the banning of plays. But he did.

The gentry who took power in the state after 1688 had been developing through zig-zags for a century and a half, beginning with Henry's privatising of the Monasteries and the destruction of the traditional culture and social welfare system. They had become the economic substance of the state. The King governed by means of them. They met in Parliament and did his bidding. He could not have governed without them, but they acted in subordination to him. For many generations they did not even aspire to do without him. Finally, after a hundred years, the Puritan streak within them got out of hand and abolished the monarchy in 1649—only to find that they could not get on without it.

Life without a King and his Court, and without theatre, which was part of the life of the Court, was bleak. And republicanism was barren—it did not reproduce executive authority biologically, as monarchy did.

Now life without theatre is possible. That is proved by the most thriving religion of recent decades: Islam. It was not possible in England. The English experience suggests that Christianity is a theatrical religion in essence. At any rate, the suppression of theatre so that a Biblical Christianity could be lived in England was a failure. And the suppression of theatre for a generation seemed to produce a recoil in which life became utterly theatrical.

I grew up in a community in which theatre was appreciated as a diversion, but there was an actual life unconnected with theatre which was absorbingly interesting. Today there is a social-realist form of the theatre that is made universal by television, the soap-opera, and it seems to be an integral part of actual life. As far as I have been able to see, there is nothing like it in the country that has Rome as its centre, which repelled the Reformation, or even in the country where the reformation was an organic social development. The social-realist 'soap opera'—a misnomer, as the US soap opera from which the term derives was extravagant light relief—seems to be the ultimate artifice of the development which began by concocting a religion for reasons of State and destroying the existing culture of life in order to make way for it. (In Britain the major 'soap opera' was developed on the television channel where the selling of soap is not allowed.)

The State has been the source of English life for almost half a millennium, and the sacred and secular are blended in it.

Dean Church, a famous Dean of St. Paul's in late Victorian times, admired Spenser but was unhistorically critical of him for being Elizabethan. The terms of the relationship between gentry and monarchy had undergone a subtle change since Spenser's time. Then the monarchy governed through the gentry, and now the gentry governed through the monarchy. Spenser's flattery of the ugly old hag may have been ludicrous, but she demanded it, and her apparatus of government controlled the production of images, so that she never appeared as an ugly old hag. and no doubt those who were in her presence saw her through the prism of the mass-produced image. But Church made no allowance for this. He saw it as bad form:

> "This was gross, shameless, lying flattery paid to the Queen. There is really nothing like it in history. It is unique as a phenomenon that proud, able, free-spoken men, with all their high instincts of what was noble and true, with all their admiration of the Queen's high qualities, should have offered it, even as an unmeaning custom; and that a proud and free-spoken people should not, in the very genuineness of their pride in her and their loyalty, have received it with shouts of derision and disgust. The flattery of Roman emperors and Roman Popes, if as extravagant, was not so personal. Even Louis XIV was not celebrated in his dreary old age, as a model of ideal beauty and a paragon of romantic perfection. It was no worship of a secluded and distant object of loyalty: the men who thus flattered knew perfectly well, often by painful experience what Elizabeth was: able, indeed high-spirited, successful, but ungrateful to her servants, capricious, vain, ill-tempered, unjust, and in her old age, ugly. And yet the Gloriana of the Faery Queen, the Empress of all nobleness—Belphoebe, the Princess of all sweetness and Beauty—Britomart, the armed votaress of all purity—Mercilla, the lady of all compassion and grace—were but the reflections of the language in which it was then agreed upon by some of the greatest of Englishmen to speak, and to be supposed to think, of the Queen…" (*Spenser*).

This puts one in mind of the condemnation by English liberals of the praises heaped on Stalin on his 70th birthday by some of the most able men in Russia who under him had made Russia an industrial power and put it in possession of half of Europe. There are socio-political situations in which it makes sense to able people to say such things and humans do not exist *sub speciae eternitatis* but in socio-politico conjunctures which determine both their aesthetic taste and their moral sense. And England in Spenser's time had moved out of such eternity as was available in Europe—the great tract of time covered by Rome—and into the mere present of a rogue state, in which everything was invented or shaped in the service of the current requirements of the State.

What the State required in Ireland was genocide—which it attempted but was unable to perform.

I decided, when dealing with Belfast politics in the 1970s, that the Confederation of Kilkenny was as far back in Irish history as I could go while retaining a sense of continuity. But, since the *Irish Times* and *Trinity College* have made 1641 an issue of current politics, I must go back to what seems to be the start of the sequence of events leading to it.

Two Lord Greys were active militarily in Munster in the mid-16th century. The first was Leonard Grey of Dorset, who was sent on a military mission to Munster in the 1530s, became Lord Grey of Grange, and was executed. His sister was married to Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare. Her stepson, the Fitzgerald heir, was in rebellion when Leonard arrived. Young Fitzgerald offered to surrender to his uncle-in-law on condition of personal safety. The guarantee was given. Grey took his Fitzgerald relative to London, where he was put in the Tower, his rebellion was taken in earnest, and he was sentenced to death. Grey threatened to make a nuisance of himself by pressing for a pardon, until Henry VIII showered him with lands and money and sent him back to Munster with a title. He took his title in the name of the disbanded Convent of Grange, which he had been given.

English government in Ireland was conducted through the great Norman Lords, the chief of which were the Desmonds and the Ormonds—the Fitz geralds and the Butlers. There was little in the way of an independent English Government apparatus of State in Ireland, and in England itself it was only in the process of construction under the Tudors, after the long disruption of the Wars of the Roses. In these circumstances conflicts between the Norman Lords were frequent. On the supposition that there was a State to which allegiance was owed, those conflicts might be held to be treasonable. But, for the Crown, it was a matter of choosing a side in conflicts which it did not have the power to over-ride and declaring it to be loyal. In this game of tacking between the Norman Lords, Grey came to grief in a 1540 conflict. It seems that the Butlers persuaded Henry that Grey had become the partisan of his Fitzgerald relatives, and he was beheaded for treason in 1541.

Lord Grey de Wilton, who was sent on military mission to Munster about forty years later, was not related to his executed namesake, or to any of those he was sent to punish. He was a New Man—the man of a new era—the era of the English Reformation which suppressed the Renaissance and inaugurated religious war.

The English Reformation was in process, in its early stage, when the first Lord Grey was tacking between the Norman Lords. It was still in process at the time of the second Lord Grey, but it was very much more advanced, on its way towards an end which it never reached. The Reform of religion was never accomplished in England. The old religion was destroyed in the name of Eternal Truth as revealed in the Bible—Truth which had been obscured for about 1,200 years by Roman priestcraft. But the Reform was never accomplished. The attempt to accomplish it resulted in war between the Reformers. More than a century and a half after the English Reformation was set in motion, a settlement was made (1689 or 1715, whichever you fancy) not in the shape of an accomplished Reform but of a fudge under which the different kinds of English Protestants agreed to tolerate each other on the ground of a joint effort to conquer the world by war and trade (chiefly the Slave Trade).

The second Lord Grey was guaranteed against the fate of the first by a fundamentalist religious fanaticism that put him out of reach of human sympathy with the Irish. And Spenser was his Secretary.

I don't know how many people were slaughtered by Grey (and Spenser). His most famous slaughter was at Smerwick Harbour, but there were many others.

Grey was not a pioneer of Government by slaughter. Sir Humphrey Gilbert conducted a civilising campaign in Munster for a number of years around 1570 before moving on to America. Here is an account of it given by D.B. Quinn in his Introduction to a 1940 reprint of *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises Of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, published in London by the Hakluyt Society. The reader can rely on it not being an exaggeration in favour of the Irish side. Quinn was a History Lecturer at Queen's University, Belfast, in those good old days of self-confident Unionist misrule:

> "During the next three months, with all the enthusiasm of his first independent command, he drove his forces up and down Munster, destroying, or terrorising into submission, Irish and Anglo-Irish alike. Graphic descriptions of his policy and activities are given by Churchyard and in his own letters. His method of waging war to devastate the country, killing every living creature encountered by his troops. If a castle did not yield at the first demand he would accept no later submission, but would take it by storm and kill every person in it. He made the Irish lords, who came to surrender, walk to his tent between two lines of heads cut off from his dead enemies, and forced them, after abject submission, to enter into bonds and put in pledges of good behaviour. He rode rough-shod over the chartered liberties of the Anglo-Irish towns, 'answering them', he told Sidney, 'that the Prince had a Regular and absolute power, and that which might not be done by the one, I would do it by the other in cases of necessity'—an interesting statement of the doctrine of the prerogative. Churchyard stresses his contempt for the Irish, of whom he said 'that he thought his Dogs ears to be too good, to hear the speech of the greatest noble man among them'. His considered opinion was 'that no Conquered nation will yield willingly their obedience for love but rather for fear'. This ruthlessness made him almost a legendary figure in Ireland, and Raleigh in 1581, pleading that Gilbert should be sent back to Munster, said that no man had been more feared there. His views on the treatment of subject peoples, from a man who might well have formed the first English settlement among the North American Indians, are of some interest" (p16-17; Gilbert was knighted at Drogheda in 1570. Thomas Churchyard, aptly named, was an industrious writer and soldier of the new Henry the Eighthist order. The Sidneys were an influential family of gentry from Elizabeth's time to William of Orange's and Algernon Sidney wrote the Manifesto for the 1688 affair—and was executed for it a few years before that event).

The Elizabethan wars of religion in Ireland were not part of the great European war of religion, the 30 Years War, which Cardinal Mazarin brought to a liberal conclusion with the Treat of Westphalia in 1638. The authentic Reformation—the one in Germany—was being coped with more or less peacefully when Elizabeth was making war on Catholicism in Ireland.

It is an open question whether Elizabethan sectarianism set out to destroy an actually existing Catholicism in Ireland, or whether Ireland was driven towards Catholicism by Elizabeth and her successors. The fact that the English Reformation was coherent and purposeful only as anti-Romanism suggests that the latter was the case. The eternal truth of Christianity as revealed in the Bible was never formulated in England as it was in Zurich and Geneva and parts of Germany—rival eternal truths it is true but each adequately formulated, certain of itself and capable of being lived in. And, if England could not establish a stable Christian framework for itself to

live in, how could it draw the Irish into it?

Carrying on about the Pope being the Whore of Babylon surrounded by idolaters was unlikely to make Protestants of the Irish, whose own marriage customs were usually described by Protestants as a kind of whoredom and who were happy idolaters.

(The word *"protest"* reversed its meaning through being used in the name of the English break with Rome. To Protest, taken etymologically, means to affirm or to assert. In usage it came to mean to reject of dispute. Lutherans, Calvinists, Zwinglians affirmed doctrines and those affirmations became ways of life. Henry the Eighthism protested that the Pope was the Whore of Babylon. Its religious essence was a rejection of Rome in the service of a political project. And now, when somebody says *"I protest"* he is understood to mean *"I disagree"*. The Irish, not being engaged in the political project, were not enraptured by the bad-tempered, problematical religion of disagreeability.)

The form of religion operated by the State did not believe in itself: what it believed in was the State. The believing form of the English Reformation religion proved in its moment of truth to be a-political. It achieved ephemeral political power in 1649 but was unable to make itself a State, even though its doctrine—its way of reading the Bible after the Romanist division of public life into Church and State was rejected—told it that it must be the State as well as the Church.

In practice it was a protest movement, in the sense of a dissenting movement, but it was committed *de jure* to doing what it was incapable of doing. It was what we now call 'fundamentalist' or 'radical'. The regime of sceptical gentry (including Bishops) made space for it after 1688, and believers and sceptics collaborated throughout the 18th century in plundering the world.

Both of these tendencies are evident in the English Reformation from the start. Neither was attractive to the Irish—either to the Norman Irish (or Old English) who remained attached to the Roman Church, or the other Irish who bore their religion very lightly. I would guess that English Christianity was too wild and opportunistic for the one and too earnest, or fanatical, for the other. (The Norman Irish were Normans who came to Ireland on a mandate from Rome to regularise Irish Christianity within the Roman mode.)

Here is an account of 16th century Ireland, given by Standish O'Grady in his Introduction to an 1896 reprint of *Pacata Hibernia: Ireland Appeased And Reduced*, written in the early 16th century by a soldier in the Army of Sir George Carew (President of Munster) in his work of peace. (Standish O'Grady was well known when I was young, in the place where I was young. There were two Standish O'Gradys. I cannot recall which of them this was. Both seem to have been forgotten.):

> "…at the commencement of the 16th century the Crown had hardly any power in Ireland. The country was governed by eight or ten great lords, under whom were from 60 to 80 minor lords; dependent to some extent on the great ones, but practically independent within their own domains. Ireland was a nation of nations—the seat of nearly a hundred distinct governments. Even in the Pale the Crown only maintained itself by committing the Government to the head of one of the great families; usually the representative of the House of Kildare. This was a state of things which could not last. So the Crown almost inevitably came into collision with the dynasts. The history of the century is the history of the wars between the Crown and the great lords… though the great issue was complicated by many minor issues, and religion too, and patriotism possibly helped to embroil the situation. The House of Kildare precipitated the controversy by seeking to wrest from Henry VIII the government of the Pale, the only portion of Ireland which he even pretended to govern. In the collision that great house fell… and the noise of its great and quite unexpected downfalling shook Ireland. The chieftans perceiving that a new power had arisen in Ireland, a power too to which they were aware, traditionally, that their allegiance was due. Rejoicing, they hastened to welcome it. In solemn parliament assembled they proclaimed their Lord Henry no longer Dominus Hiberniae, but Rex, converting his shadowy lordship into an actual sovereignty. They swore themselves the king's men, accepted State titles at his hands, undertook to pay royal rents to keep his peace and follow his war…
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> "From the consequences of that solemn act neither they nor their successors, however they may have repented it, were ever able to shake themselves free. Thenceforward Ireland looked to the Crown as the lawful centre of order and authority and the fountain of honour. As for the chieftains, they still remained virtually kings, each man governing his own people, and with a gallows on his lawn to enforce observance of his will.
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> "Now, obviously, this state of things, so highly obnoxious to the genius of the century, could only be temporary and transitional. In one way or another it was necessary that this host of petty kings should be converted into ruled subjects and, no other centre of authority showing itself, all those converging forces which were compelling the race towards unity, internal peace, and all those institutions, good and bad, which we collectively sum up under the term 'civilization', rallied round the power which the chieftans themselves had so solemnly acknowledged. A masterful king like Henry, endowed with a certain degree of common sense and a certain manly sympathy with men, might have guided the country bloodlessly through the great social and political revolution which was now inevitable, and the outcome of which could have been no other, in any event, than a chieftanry converted into a *noblesse*.
>
> "From Henry's death we seem to see the State not steered or sailed, but drifting, labouring through seas of blood, not guided to its destination by a human understanding, but blindly reeling thither, driven by purblind elemental influences which, for want of a better name, we may call the genius of the age. From wars and rumours of wars thenceforward the island was never free, fratricidal wars, and such wars! murderous, devastitive, sparing neither the poor unarmed peasant, nor the bald head of the ancient, nor the bald head of the infant, nor the women heavy with child. The Shane O'Neill wars and the Desmond wars are somewhat familiar to all readers, but to what extent the State embroiled itself with the chieftans and the chieftans resisted the State will be realised when I mention the fact that, in the time of which our text treats [i.e. 1600-1603], there was no chieftan or considerable lord in the island who had not been at some time in his career out in action of rebellion. For the chieftans often gave as much as they got, and many of them had beaten the State and wru ng their own terms from the Government by sword and fire, and oftentimes the Government shrank from the challenge and permitted the stripped and indignant chieftan to have his own way.
>
> "Of the many insurrections and wars which the conduct of this great controversy made inevitable, the most formidable and successful by far was that which was raised in 1593 by Hugh

> O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and the great lords of the North. Tyrone worsted many times the Queen's armies in the North… His ally, the celebrated Red Hugh O'Donnell, repeated those victories in the West. In short the State was found quite unable to suppress Tyrone… Fitzwilliam, Lord Russell, Lord Burrowes, and the Earl of Essex, successive Viceroys, all failed. Then the Queen appointed Mountjoy as Lord Deputy of Ireland, and the President of Munster [Sir Thomas Norris] having been recently slain in battle by the southern insurgents, nominated Sir George Carew to the Presidency of Munster, the province being at the time in full rebellion. It is at this point that the writer of *Pacata Hibernia* begins his very singular tale…"

O'Grady is circumspect in his reference to *"the genius of the age"* as making it inevitable that the country should be reduced to a system and the chiefs reduced to a nobility of State. As far as I recall he was Jacobite in sentiment and therefore not an ideologue of progress.

The inevitability of what happened in Ireland followed from the fact that an effective structure of State was being established in England by the Tudor monarchy, after the long period of civil war, and it set about reducing Ireland to order along with England.

The English Government in Ireland was one of the parties to the Irish disorder. The idea of Ireland being in disorder hangs on the teleological notion that the country was predestined to be forged into a unitary state. Professor Foster ridiculed this teleological notion of Irish destiny as a delusion of Republican ignorance, and was widely applauded by our important people. But Foster's own approach was no less teleological. He only differed from Republicans in being a propagator of British teleology. British ideologists are in the happy position of not seeing themselves when they criticise others. They have a very serviceable blind spot.

Ireland was destined to be comprehensively remade in furtherance of the destiny that the English State conceived for itself when it was renovated after the Wars of the Roses.

Germany, on the other hand, was destined to live as a hundred kingdoms big and small until the late 19th century because English destiny required that it should be so, as did French destiny. Almost three centuries after Mountjoy was appointed Lord Deputy to do his thing in Ireland, Bismarck united Germany by means of two small purposeful wars and a successful defence against a French invasion. And Nicholas Mansergh, a busy administrator in the service of the British Empire at war, made time to come to Queen Alexandra College in Dublin in 1944 to lecture about the origins of the 1914 War and to tut-tut about Bismarck's two little wars.

I don't know how many British wars of Irish unification there were. Somebody should count them. There were certainly a lot more than two. And not one of them was put to such good use in State construction as Bismarck's two little wars were. The reason for this was that England, while conducting genocidal campaigns for the purpose of reducing Ireland to a state of order—civilising it—remained itself uncivilised.

England was itself the major source of disorder in Ireland. That is why its conquests, instead of being civilising, were barbaric. (I use the word in its popular, pejorative, sense, though it is perhaps inaccurate.) It conquered, wasted the conquest for reasons of its own inadequacy, and since it would not let go, it had to conquer again, and again, and again, and again.

The genocidal conquest in which Spenser did his bit was one of many. It gained him his estate between Buttevant and the Ballyhoura Hills: an English estate in an ethnically cleansed part of Ireland—he would have had no hope of becoming an estate owner if he had stayed in England. He strutted his stuff on his estate for about sixteen years, writing his English *pastorales* and glorifying the conquest allegorically in scores of turgid verses in the *Faery Queen*. Then, when the end was nigh, though he did not know it was nigh, he became Sheriff of Cork. That was in September 1598. In October the Irish crawled out of their holes and wrecked his Castle and he fled to Cork City—where he wrote his *Brief Note* for the Queen, urging that a really thorough job should be done on the Irish this time round.

Sir Thomas Norris and Sir George Carew did their best: but yet again England's best was not good enough for sorting out Ireland. It could not sort out Ireland because it had still not sorted itself out. It was unstable within itself because of antagonisms resulting from its spurious, half-baked Reformation.

Pacata Hibernia tells the story of the workmanlike suppression of the Irish carried out by Carew, Mountjoy and Chichester during the five years after Spenser fled from Kilcolman. An almost functional British regime in Ireland was based on that suppression—British because the monarchy passed to the Stuarts when the Virgin Queen died in 1603. The Ulster Plantation, the only effective Plantation, was carried out. The lands of the Irish chiefs in Ulster were confiscated and conferred on British undertakers on the condition of colonising the region with English and Scottish Protestants. A renovated Irish Parliament, weighted heavily in favour of the colony by the borough system but not excluding the Irish, was established. It was of course entirely corrupt—as we say nowadays. But in the 1630s an administration that was not corrupt, and that did not subordinate Irish affairs to English interests at every turn, was conducted by Thomas Wentworth (Lord Strafford).

England was affronted by Strafford's rule in Ireland. When an English Parliament was called in 1640, it arrested Strafford, subjected him to a Show Trial, passed a Bill to kill him when the Trial proved contentious, went into rebellion against the Crown as soon as Strafford was disposed of, and threw Ireland back into the melting pot.

The Parliament escapade ended in futility twenty years later. The restored monarchy reversed some of Cromwell's Irish confiscations but upheld most of them. Twenty-five years of indecisive government followed, during which the Irish were neither adequately suppressed nor sufficiently free. Then the monarchy enraged England by introducing freedom of religion—freedom for both Catholicism and for Protestant Dissent. But, since English Protestantism was mere anti-Catholicism, the official recognition of Catholicism as an authentic Christian religion, whose practice should be allowed, was experienced in England as religious oppression. The King was overthrown in England in 1688, but not in Ireland. Yet another conquest of Ireland was then undertaken, *"Derry, Aughrim, Enniskillen and the Boyne"*, concluding with the Treaty of Limerick in 1691, under which the last Irish Army moved to the Continent (the Wild Geese) on the understanding that there was to be a degree of freedom of religion in Ireland.

'Religious Freedom' took the form of the system of Anti-Catholic Penal Laws, comparable with the Anti-Jewish Nuremberg Laws in Germany from 1933 to 1940. Under the Penal Law system Catholics were presumed in law not to

exist in Ireland. That lasted until 1760, when a Catholic body was allowed to present a Loyal Address to the King. In 1760 Catholics acquired the status of subjects without rights. In the 1780s they were accorded the right to own land and to own a horse, but continued to be excluded from politics and the professions. In 1793 they were admitted to the professions and to University (Trinity College). It was not until 1829 that, under O'Connell's threat of rebellion, they were admitted to Parliament.

When they entered Parliament they found that Irish national rights, which existed at least as an official notion until 1800, were held to have been extinguished when the unrepresentative and bribed Irish Parliament voted to unite with the British Parliament in 1800. When the Irish voted to establish independent Government (1918 and 1921), the British Prime Minister, said he could not concede this Irish demand because the Irish had bound themselves into a Union with Britain that was of a kind with the Union of the North American States, and that he was constitutionally obliged to put down the separatist movement by whatever means were necessary. That meant that yet another reconquest would have to be undertaken, and was apparently being prepared for. But Britain had emerged from its Great War as the *de facto* subordinate of the United States, and was compelled by US pressure to do things it did not want to do. In 1921 it ended its alliance with Japan on American insistence, thereby undermining its Asian Empire. After a couple of years of Irish military resistance, it arranged a Truce with the *"murder gang"* in Ireland, from which it only partially recovered by the 'Treaty' chicanery. And in 1922 it betrayed the Greeks whom it had impelled into a war of conquest on Turkey.

What Britain did to itself, and to Ireland, by launching the Great War, established the conditions under which a degree of Irish independence became possible.

About 25 years ago in Belfast I noticed the word MOPE being bandied about by superior people in the University, and by Lord Bew in particular. I found that it meant *Most Oppressed People Ever*. As applied to the *ologonings** of constitutional nationalism, I thought it was a fair enough piece of ridicule, especially those who denounced the Provos for doing something other than ologoning. I have never had much patience with *ologoning*. At the same time, the Irish must be seriously in contention for that title if somebody is awarding it.

Trinity College (a Plantation landowner at the time) and the *Irish Times* have recently made a current issue of a minor act of retaliation against the New Order in Ulster in the Autumn of 1641—taking it as an isolated event, unconnected even with the English politics of the preceding year.

A Crown Government in Ireland, conducting an impartial administration in accordance with established laws, was overthrown. Powerful interests which had been subjected to law were encouraged to feel oppressed and to free themselves as a special people, as English Protestants in Ireland. Strafford had established a regime based on prior conquest, genocide and colonisation, but sought to bring all the social elements, old and new, into conjunction under a form of law. The terms of that regime were broken by the English Parliament, and the social elements were precipitated into antagonism.

I can understand why much about that period is sacred to English history and must be protected from factual treatment. But why should it be sacred to Irish historians? I can only suppose that it is because academic history in Ireland has been subjected to English mesmeric myth by Nicholas Mansergh, T.D. Williams etc.

*

A Military History Of Ireland, edited by Thomas Bartlett and British military historian, Keith Jeffrey, was published by Cambridge University in 1996. An editorial Introduction remarks that *"The Easter rising appears to be outside the recognised Irish military tradition"* (p22). What does that mean but that it was not fought *by* the British Army but against it. Irish military tradition after Limerick survived on the Continent. In Ireland there was British militarism—until 1916.

It complains that:

> "A recent history of the Irish army [Duggan's]… traces its history no further back than the setting up of the Irish Volunteers in November 1913, even though substantial numbers of this force in fact joined the British army in 1914" (p25).

I suppose Duggan did make a mistake there. The 1913 Volunteers were ambiguous. They might in one aspect be seen as a kind of British Militia, a complement of the Ulster Volunteers within the British Home Rule conflict. Organised Irish military activity, for a purpose which was neither to hold Ireland in subjugation nor make war for the British Empire, dates from the Volunteer split of September 1914, when Redmond directed his Volunteers to make war on Germany, and they found themselves making war on Turkey. The section of the Volunteers who refused that call can be said to have originated the Irish military tradition. To find an Irish military tradition beyond that—something that is not a form of British Imperial Jingoism—one has to go to France, Spain, and Austria, where strains of the Wild Geese were to be found up to the Great War.

In Ireland since 1921 military tradition worthy of the name has existed in the IRA, the only army that has actually fought a war. The Editors almost concede that, and deal with it by saying that *"the paramilitary tradition… merits a separate volume on its own"*,. There's always a way out of an awkward corner, on paper, with the Oxbridge academic wind behind you.

There is a chapter curiously entitled *The Tudors And the Origins Of The Modern Irish States: A Standing Army* by Steven G. Ellis. It is now 41 years since Jack Lynch, and the Irish Establishment, academic and secular, rejected and denounced the 'two-nations' view of the conflict in the North. They still reject it as far as I know, but they now peddle the absurd notion of two Irish 'States'.

Northern Ireland is not, and never has been, anything but a segment of the British state, given an unusual political arrangement in furtherance of British policy in Ireland.

There is nothing in Ellis's article to warrant putting *"the origins of the modern Irish states"* in its title. There must be a Politburo directive that the words *"Irish states"* must be scattered around regardless of relevance.

Ellis's thesis asserts an obvious fact that was described much more interestingly by Standish O'Grady long ago: that the Tudor State, with superior resources, stuck at the task of subordinating the great lords and chiefs in Ireland to the authority of the English State. His conclusion runs as follows:

> "It is a fallacy to see the assimilation of Gaelic Ireland into the Tudor state as an inevitable consequence of these changes [new military arrangements]. Yet in retrospect the transformation of Tudor rule in Ireland which accompanied the 1534-5 campaign did make a

* wailings, lamentings.

major step towards an ending of Ireland's mediaeval partition and the establishment of Dublin Castle as the headquarters of a united Ireland within the United Kingdom…"

That's one way of describing the subjugation of Ireland to English rule. And I suppose it is put that way as a gesture against the Provos. (Many academics now admit to falsifying history as an Anti-Provo gesture, which they had to do as they lacked the courage to find out what it was that made the Provos possible—and indeed as inevitable as anything ever is in socio-political affairs. But if anything more is meant by *"a united Ireland"* than an Ireland subordinated to English rule by means of ample provision for coercion—well, it never happened: and it was never intended to happen.

Then there is a Chapter on *The Wars Of Religion 1603-1660* by Jane Ohlmeyer, then of Aberdeen University and now of Trinity College, who recently stirred up the 1641 affair by putting Planter depositions about massacres on the Internet so that they might be meditated upon without a political context and so induce feelings of horror.

She devotes two pages to the years 1603-1640 and 19 pages to the years 1640-1660. The Chapter, then, is about the period of the English Civil War which was caused by the Rebellion of the English Parliament against the King's Government, and its subsequent failure to establish a functional Government without the King.

The English Civil War was certainly a war of religion, but that is not what she means by her title.

Ireland was embroiled in the English war of religion by the refusal of English fundamentalism to tolerate the degree of religious tolerance maintained in Ireland in the 1630s by the King's Minister, Strafford.

In her two pages on 1603-1640 Ohlmeyer says that there was almost a war between England and Spain in the mid 1670s, and *"Spain seriously considered invading Ireland"* (p161).

But there wasn't an Anglo-Spanish War, and there was no Spanish intervention in Ireland in the context of that war. So she makes a great leap forward:

"The conclusion of peace in 1629-30 ended this emergency, but within a decade the king was faced with yet another, more sinister national crisis: rebellion in Scotland…"

What happened in Ireland as a consequence is skirted around. The English Parliament, after 11 years in retirement, was called in 1640 to vote money for the war with the Scots. The war was bungled. Another Parliament was called late in 1640. The fundamentalist Protestant interest was prepared for this election. It dominated the new Parliament and set about subverting the Government. Ireland, well-governed by Strafford by means of the Irish Parliament, was at peace, and was loyal, and was willing to support the King with money and arms in his hour of need. That was sufficient reason for the English Parliament to set about wrecking the Irish Government. When Strafford went to London he was arrested, subjected to a sort of Nuremberg Trial, and eventually killed by Parliamentary Bill. All of this was done with great publicity over a period of ten months. Strafford was executed publicly in the midst of a great Carnival. The absurd English Revolution began—the Revolution which abandoned itself because it did not know what to do next, and voluntarily submitted itself to the son of the King it had killed.

With the Government, to which the various social elements in Ireland had been adapting themselves destroyed, and the English Parliament to prepare radically (as it is put nowadays), there was a slight revulsion against the recent Plantation. Ohlmeyer says: *"The 1641 rebellion is a central military event in Irish history"* (p163). She does not explain its circumstances or its consequences. It was the result of the destruction of the Government, which created a situation in which social elements which had consented to be governed were obliged to take their fate into their own hands, rather than a purposeful rebellion against the Government. Even in Ulster it was half-hearted and lacking in adequate ambition. And overall it scarcely deserves notice as a military event.

A final word about Spenser, the genocidal founder of English literature on his ethnically-cleansed estate near Buttevant. I found that he poses a problem for recent English 'humanism', which has gone soft-centred and no longer understands what humanism is. Not all humanists are like that. Christopher Hitchens, the doyen of English humanism just now, still relishes the work of Enlightenment as it is being done in Iraq and Afghanistan. But others are squeamish.

It seems to be agreed among the Spenserists that Book 5 of the *FQ* is an allegorical defence of Lord Grey and his massacres. The hero of the Book is a successor to Herculus, who—

"…monstrous tyrants with his club subdewed:
The club of Justice dread with kingly powre endewed.
And such a one was he of whom I have to tell,
The Champion of true Justice, Artegall…"

Artegall was—

"Appointed by that mightie Faerie Prince.
Great Gloriana, that Tyrant to for doo…"

Artegall has a successor in our time: the comic-book hero, Judge Dredd.

Artegall dedicates himself—through 500 verses— to the avenging of wrongs:

"Nought is more honourable to a knight
Ne better doth beseeme brave chivalry,
Than to defend the feeble in their right
And wrong redresse in such as wend awry…"

The Irish had *"wended awry"* and Grey/Artegall redressed their wrong turn by slaughtering them. It might be interesting to look at the problem this causes for some admirers of Spenser. *

See Also:
1641: Some Context
page 22

WAR FOR SALE. OFFERS

Selling it.
War that ends in blood lakes.
Selling it.
Like tvs, sofas, cornflakes.
Selling it.
Khaki as a fashion blitz.
Selling it.
The mangled as an end product.
Selling it.
Prosthetics becomes the hero.
Selling it.
Stimulation of the tear ducts.
Selling it.
Pathos of legs zero.
Selling it.
A medal on a devastated chest.
Selling it.
A small queen on a raised dais.
Selling it.
To her wrecked subject at the behest,
Selling it.
Of all governments since Henry the Eight.
Selling it.

Wilson John Haire
23rd December, 2010

Malachi Lawless

Report of a meeting in TCD to launch the first phase of its digitalisation of 1641 Settler Depositions

TCD's 1641 Project

Events to launch the 1641 Deposition Project were held on 22nd October 2010. Meetings were held, which were open to the public and a full house of about 200 attended. This was the academic part of a full day of 1641 events in Trinity College. The meeting was followed by an official launch, for invitees only, by President Mary McAleese (reported in the *Irish Times* next day).

Lord Bannville… Bannside… Bannjaxed—sorry …The Rev Ian Paisley—and his wife were prominent in the audience, mainly consisting of the cream of Irish Historiographical academia… the likes of Tom Bartlett and others of whom I'm not yet facially familiar ….however it was a most impressive gathering in a most impressive surrounding. I was very conscious of basking amongst the *crème de la crème*, overhearing conversations before the lectures began amongst the *hoi polloi* of comings and goings between spots of tallyho lecturing in exotic far-off outposts such as Sri Lanka, The North West Frontier(!!), Bangalore, Thailand bejasus—whilst Summering in equally exotic native resorts in Kenmare, Dingle and Dalkey.

Jane Ohlmeyer

Head of the project is Professor Jane Ohlmeyer (17th century specialist), who introduced events by saying the project began in 2007 and this is only the first phase.

She said the 1641 Catholic Rising centred in Ulster and that it was brutally violent. More people lost their lives in the 1641 Rebellion than did in any other Rebellion in any other Century in Irish history. These 1641 Depositions are Protestant depositions only. There are no Catholic depositions. The Depositions are the evidence subsequently used by the British Government to show that there was a premeditated massacre of Protestants by Catholics. The Depositions are a central element in Irish Protestant identity. A Rev. Henry Jones (TCD) was head of the taking of Depositions at the time.

The project is funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council in the UK; the Irish Research Council (250,000 euro) and the Library of TCD; plus Enaclann; and IBM Languageware .It is edited by Aidan Clarke and its objectives are :

1. Conservation
2. Digitisation
3. Transcription and Computer-based markup
4. Publication.

The Irish Manuscripts Commission will publish the 1641 Depositions as hard copy over the next 3 years.

Professor Ohlmeyer emphasised that Ireland is at peace now and the 1641 Protestant Depositions can thus be published without rancour .She made reference to comparative studies of worldwide massacres, putting the 1641 massacres into the context of such as the Mai lai massacre in Vietnam which the second lecturer of two would elaborate (Ben Kiernan…Yale University) .

Professor Morrill

The main half hour lecture was by Professor John Morrill (Selwyn College Cambridge). His title was *"Did the English Overreact to the Massacres of 1641?"*

Professor Morrill said he couldn't answer the question of how many died in the massacre. There was no premeditated intention of a massacre, but nevertheless it was the biggest massacre of Protestants in Irish history. In the Depositions (which he is examining), there is sworn eye-witness evidence and there is hearsay evidence. Only the former could be used in evidence by the English Government against Catholics when the 1652 land confiscations—referred to as land *"redistribution"*—were legalised.

Protestant victims were stripped of their clothes in the depths of Winter and made wade into rivers. When there was resistance there was violence and much violent death. Much of the worst of this is hearsay evidence and much of the hearsay evidence was used to work up sectarian feeling ever after. There is very little eye witness evidence of death, rape, etc., but the hearsay evidence drummed up Protestant reprisals (e.g. the deposition of Philip Taylor of Armagh, 1st February 1642: hearsay evidence).

In the eyewitness accounts the Catholics are restraining rebels. It was the hearsay accounts which did the damage of provoking reprisals. Sir Phelim O Neill was the leader of the rebels. He falsely claimed he had a warrant to disarm the Protestants of Ulster.

Pamphlets and Digests (March 1642) were built up around the hearsay evidence and presented to the Parliament in England. The English response was based on this hearsay evidence which amounted to 90% of the material, e.g. the Jones Pamphlet, *Tears From Ireland* (1647) was a remonstrance from the hearsay evidence, which was in fact a stitch up. In it is a woodcut depicting atrocities supposed to have been perpetuated in Dublin, Professor Morrill said. However, in fact it is clear that the woodcut depicts not Dublin but Magdeburg, which mightn't have been spotted way back then.

The English response to this so-called damning evidence of massacres was a series of Acts, including *The Ventures Act* (1642), a type of 16th Century Lotto Act, certainly an anticipation of modern casino culture. Syndicates were set up to *"invest"* in millions of acres of land, which really meant the planting of war-party Puritans who were against Charles 1st in confiscated Catholic lands. Civil War politics in England dictated events in Ireland, Professor Morrill said. The English Parliament dictated events in Ireland. Adventurers from the Parliamentary Party *"invested"* in Plantations in Ireland which became the Reconquest of Ireland or the so called Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland.

Then Professor Morrill came to the meat of his lecture, Cromwell—looking straight at Dr Paisley (I mean Lord Bannville…Side …jaxed…..!). He continued: There were 3,500 (Catholic civilians) killed at Drogheda… (1649), *"a righteous judgement of God on these barbarian wretches"*, Cromwell said. This was Cromwell's Hiroshima moment. Wexford was his Nagasaki, a moment to try to stop further violence by Shock and Awe methods.

But, John Morrill asked, who exactly were these wretches Cromwell was referring to, who were his intended victims at Drogheda…? He suggested they were not the native Irish but Irish/English Catholics who were Royalists. This

meant Cromwell's acts of slaughter were not revenge for 1641, but part of the English Civil War. Cromwell wanted to extirpate Popery. But he wasn't interested in conversions of Catholics . He was only trying to clear the way for Puritan adventurers. He was trying to get a more modest settlement than the one that emerged in 1652 (*To Hell or to Connaught*) of Henry Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law who succeeded him in Ireland. Ireton was in disagreement with Cromwell's ideas of a settlement. He was much more extreme than Cromwell. He was a sectarian who took over from Cromwell. He proposed mass expropriation of Catholics which Cromwell did not. It was Henry Ireton who cleared Catholics in south Leinster/Munster from the Barrow River to the Suir River. Ireton died of exhaustion from his depredations.

What happened next was a question of whether it would be a minimalist Cromwellian settlement or a maximalist Iretonian settlement. If the latter, it meant a genocidal conquest. In 1652 the Rump Parliament abolished Cromwell's Lord Lieutenancy and banished him to the east English coast. Ireton succeeded Cromwell as Lord Lieutenant in Ireland. The Rev. Henry Jones of Trinity College Dublin gave Parliament the 1641 Depositions. Parliament published them. It was Jones's digest of Depositions that led to the sacking of Cromwell and the push for an Iretonian settlement in Ireland in 1652.

In 1652 Parliament published and implemented "An Act For The Settlement Of Ireland" ("To Hell or To Connacht ").

This put confiscation before redistribution, which was Cromwell's idea, based on loyalty to Parliament whether Catholic or Protestant.

But it was 'to Hell or to Connacht' which decided Ireland's fate. Cromwell actually tried to subvert this process. He was a moderate. He lost out to Ireton and his faction.

Between 1653 and 1660 77% of the land in Meath, Tipperary and Carlow was confiscated by Protestants from Catholics.

The question Professor Morrill posed in his lecture was: *"was it all a vindictive reaction to 1641, or was the settlement finally arrived at, part of a Royalist problem for the English parliament, rather than a sectarian Catholic problem?"*

Editorial Note: Cromwell's role in 1641 will be taken up in the next issue of *Church & State*

Jack Lane

Digitising Trinity

Digitisation of historical records is a standard and welcome feature of the work of libraries and archives these days. The National Library has done a tremendous job in digitising a series of records particularly those of the 1901 and 1911 Census forms. This was a massive task and was done with practically no publicity and self-congratulation. It is now a very authoritative and internationally acclaimed source of information that will benefit thousands of people all over the world for decades and all free of charge.

On the other hand, and by contrast, TCD in digitising the 1641 Depositions is making a great fuss about it. Everyone knows that these are straightforward propaganda for the most part that were used to justify the Cromwellian massacres and Plantations. President Mc Aleese and Ian Paisley were invited to launch the project and in the process it was turned into a political occasion and thereby made into a contribution to the current politics of Northern Ireland.

Commemorating events of centuries ago in relation to Northern Ireland are usually derided by our politicians and we are regularly lectured on the virtues of getting over these things, of moving on, etc. We are advised *ad nauseam* that it is time for everyone to look to the future. The past is bad news. However, the rules change with TCD and these Depositions. Contemplating these propaganda horrors suddenly becomes a good and positive activity. McAleese informed us

> "They bring us deep into that dysfunctional and insane world where neighbour killed neighbour and where a ferociously harsh winter ensured that many more were to perish from the cold as they fled from the encircling violence."

So it was a case of homicidal insanity and cold weather that occasioned the 1641 'massacre'! How does she say such things and keep a straight face? But this is rather typical of what she says these days when obliged to comment on historical events. Her advice seems to be that we should all remember and commemorate this 'massacre' and the Depositions and then forget them for the sake of 'reconciliation' today. Apparently the human mind is capable of remembering these events and then forgetting them at the same time. She may have tuned her mind to be capable of such gymnastics but the normal human mind is not made like that.

Dr. Paisley said that: *"To learn this story I believe is to know who we are, why we have to witness our own trouble and why we have a divided island."* So, for him, these propaganda documents and this one event explain why things are as they are today. He is at least consistent. The many events and developments in the nearly four centuries since are not that important to him.

If you try to put the two statements together—that it was a form of insanity that made us who we are and studying this insanity is how we can learn why we have a divided island—then I am at a loss to know what we can do about it . What can you do with problems based on insanity?

McAleese went on to say about TCD that it was now *"a comfortable yet challenging intellectual meeting place for the forensic examination of facts and perspectives"*. Again, she said this with a straight face. This is the University whose History Department gave Peter Hart a Doctorate for historical research that included interviewing the dead! And let us remind ourselves that this graduate of TCD produced a piece of propaganda worthy of the Depositions when he tried to establish modern day massacres of Protestants by Catholics in West Cork. Fortunately his propaganda effort was not as successful as the Depositions.

Personally, I had forgotten about most of the massacres of that period: they had become something of a blur. But now I am obliged to recollect the others, to understand the context of the Depositions that TCD are promoting and publicising as something to study and contemplate. The 1641 events like any other must be put in some sort of perspective. It was not a stand-alone event and President McAleese's 'insanity' explanation is simply an insult to the intelligence of anyone who seeks to understand them and she knows that very well. This promotion of the Depositions must bring other massacres to mind and, if we get into a sort of politics of the 'last massacre' syndrome, then it is TCD and the President that we have to thank, as they have put these massacres on the agenda for our consideration.

If TCD considers it is a worthwhile thing for us to contemplate massacres of the Plantation era, then why stop at this very unusual, unique and untypical 'mas-

sacre'? Let's digitise the records of all the previous massacres, as listed and described in the *Calendar of State Papers*. By comparison, no propaganda at all is involved in those reports. All are factual and boastful accounts by Grey, Gilbert, Raleigh, Chichester, Spenser, Carew, Drake, Essex, Sidney, and many more of their successful genocidal wars against the native population.

At the very least, those of Chichester in Ulster should be digitised as part and parcel of the background to the Depositions records. His letter to Mountjoy in May 1601 gives a flavour or what is involved:

> "I have often said and written, it is by famine that we must consume the Irish, as our swords and other endeavours worked not that speedy effect which is expected; hunger would be a better, because a speedier, weapon to employ against them than the sword… We have killed, burnt, and spoilt all along the Lough (Neagh) within four miles of Dungannon, from whence we returned hither yesterday; in which journeys we have killed above one hundred people of all sorts, besides such as were burnt, how many I know not. We spare none of what quality or sex soever and it had bred much terror in the people…" .

'Shock and awe' and State terror are not new ideas in the Anglo-Saxon method of war. Can I suggest that TCD follow up a repeat of their launch of the Depositions with a launch of the State Paper and other records of the Smerwick Massacre of November 1580. That was where between 600 and 800 were massacred by Lord Grey, helped in the work by Edmund Spenser and Walter Raleigh, across two days. After betraying the agreed surrender terms, Grey and his cohorts hanged the Irish (including pregnant women), and killed, beheaded and burned the others.

TCD could have a much bigger launch of these records, an impressive international gathering in fact, if they should again decide to have current day representatives of the killers and the killed in attendance. The attendees could include President Mary McAleese, Queen Elizabeth (during her visit?), the King of Spain, the President of Italy and the Papal Nuncio (if not the Pope!). The local TD, Martin Ferris, should attend. And those very cultured admirers of Spenser in TCD and elsewhere should be given pride of place, along with other present-day admirers of the cream of Tudor England, including Spenser's 'nightingale'—Walter Raleigh.

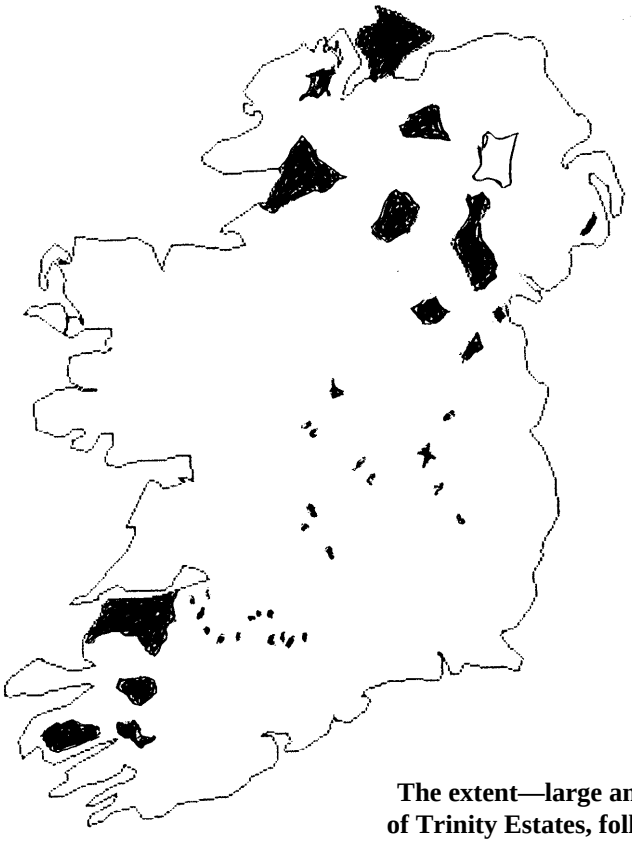
If this event were held on its anniversary date this year, it would have the added advantage of being commemorated on the anniversary of another great massacre—World War I—on Poppy Day, 11 - 11 - 11!

And, of course, to get a complete picture of that era, TCD should also digitise its own records of the part it played in the Plantations, a part which entailed the destruction of Gaelic civilisation. In the division of labour in the work of that destruction, TCD was a special and crucial agency for implementing the Spenser programme of eliminating the Gaelic mind in which Anglicisation and proselytising via education played a crucial role.

It would be useful to have a digitised inventory of the loot it acquired from that vandalism, the leading example of which is the *Book of Kells*—a tip of the iceberg of what that civilisation produced before its destruction.

The College could also digitise the land and rental records of the land it acquired from the Plantations which amounted to over 200,000 Plantation acres. Some of these estates acquired in Munster, Ulster and elsewhere are indicated in the map below.

To give a somewhat fuller background picture of Trinity's role we reproduce below some extracts from *Catholicity And Progress* by Monsignor Michael O'Riordan, published in 1905 as part of a polemic with Sir Horace Plunkett.



The extent—large and small—of Trinity Estates, following the Munster and Ulster Plantations

Rev. Michael O'Riordan

Part One: Extract from *Catholicity And Progress In Ireland* (1905)

Trinity, Its Works And Pomps

…Let us now see what Trinity College has, as landlord, done for the country. It has estates in seventeen counties; over 200,000 acres in all. It is immediate landlord of 14,404 acres in Kerry, Queen's County, Wicklow, and Louth, besides being head landlord of large estates in the other counties. As a specimen of its action in the other counties I take its action in Kerry. It is direct landlord over 10,341 acres around Caherciveen, a part of the confiscated estates of The McCarthy More. The O'Connell family used to be middlemen under it till about forty years ago, and about 80 years ago they transformed Caherciveen from a mere row of huts into the beginning of a prosperous town. They gave sites for houses at small rents, built schools, and helped it to become a thriving place. With its beautiful position, behind it the Iveragh

mountains, before it the expanse of Dingle Bay, and placed directly on the way of the tourist, Trinity College, with its enormous wealth, might have done a great deal for it, and it has done less than nothing. The only progress which can be laid to the credit of its landlord is progress of rent. It takes a large revenue from this town made by the O'Connells and improved by the people. Allowing it that unearned increment to which it is at least by law entitled, it has not the "economic sense" to see that it would be a profitable investment to spend money on the improvement of the place.

There have been schools there under the charge of the Presentation Nuns since the days of O'Connell. The children who attend those schools are the children of the tenants of Trinity College. One would expect that an Educational Institution, and the richest College in Europe, would patronize at least the educational interests of its tenants. Well, the Nuns needed to enlarge their schools some time ago. They bought a plot on which to build, and our wealthy model of educational progress charge them £10 a year rent for it. The Manager, in their behalf, set before Dr. Traill who was then Bursar and is now Provost, of their landlord, the purpose for which the plot was taken, but the reply was a peremptory claim for rent. In the town there is also a Protestant school, attended by a few Protestant children. That school has, I believe, neither rents nor rates to pay; the "non-sectarian" landlord does all.

Its conduct towards the country part of its estate is as bad. It extracts the highest rents it can screw out of wastes of moorland and water, and even a wretched row of wayside huts called the village of Doory, which a village money-lender would be almost ashamed to own, contribute their mite towards educating the students of Trinity. And how do those poor tenants make the rent? They find most of it in the sea beside them, and in America beyond it. The fish they catch and the American letter they get supply the rent. Some bog freedom which they once enjoyed helped them also, for they used to sell whatever turf they cut over and above their needs. But our versatile University has turned bog-ranger, and allows that turbary no more. Its dealing through all its estates is of the same kind.

I am aware that its rents are apparently very low. But the consequent loss to the College brings no gain to its tenants. Only the Provost and Senior Fellows gain by the transaction. Its estates were rented out at short leases, and at every renewal of lease a fine had to be paid. About half a century ago, the law sanctioned the practice of the Provost and Senior Fellows to appropriate the fines, the rents to be devoted to the educational interests of the College. The "economic sense" of the College Governors felt the advantage—not to education, but to themselves—of a system of low rents and high fines. It was all the same to the tenants, but it was not all the same to the Provost and Fellows. The tenants would have to pay in some form; hence they lost nothing, whilst the Provost and Senior Fellows gained a good deal. The College was made the victim, and education became the scape-goat.

Thus it happens that, notwithstanding the enormous wealth of Trinity College, it lags far behind in the educational progress of the day. (Cfr. an article by Prof. Mahaffy in proof thereof, in *The Contemporary Review* for January, 1882; also a Report drawn up by the late Prof. Fitzgerald in the early part of 1899.)

Its revenues which, like food, should pass to and be assimilated by every part of the body, are prevented by a cancer and are in great part consumed in one spot. Thus it happens that, whilst according to its revenues it should be the best, it is in reality one of the worst, equipped Universities in the world. Thus it happens that, with all its wealth, it is a-begging for subsidies; that it has so far failed to fulfil the condition on which Lord Iveagh has offered a subsidy; that the curriculum of its Medical Faculty has been condemned by the Medical authorities. These, however, are incidental to my present argument. What I want to point out is that, like the other landowners as a class, it has given no return to the country for all its has consumed of its substance. It cannot afford to give the country even a first-rate school of science and technics… [pp307-9.]

…Whether Trinity College merits the traditional prestige which is attached to it in Ireland as a seat of learning, we have no such data for determining as the Royal University affords us in the case of the Queen's Colleges. I say, its prestige in Ireland, because outside Ireland it has no prestige.

Whilst the Queen's Colleges stood out in academical aloofness, a prestige was carefully manufactured for them, and they enjoyed it. It was easy; for in those days the mere name of a secular or non-Catholic college at once secured a prestige of academical superiority in Ireland.

Then came the Royal University system which put that prestige to proof by competition, and the prestige proved to be but a bubble. When the bubble was blown off the prestige at once collapsed, and although attempts to revive it have often been made, it has never risen again.

That event makes one reflect whether the prestige which Trinity College still enjoys in Ireland may not be an air-bubble also. One thing is, I believe, certain about that Institution; it is the richest College in Europe. It owns 200,000 acres of land confiscated in Munster and Ulster, besides other considerable sources of income. Its total annual revenue is variously estimated. At any rate, it is enormous. All its revenue is derived from Irish sources, and mostly all from Catholic sources. It has been enjoying its wealth since the 16th century, and one may be excused for enquiring in the 20th century what has it done for Ireland? What value has it given for its wealth?

Its apologists are fond of reminding Irish Catholics in proof of its tolerant tendency always, that it opened its doors to them so long ago as 1793. In any case, that would not be so much the sign of a liberal spirit as of an awakening sense of justice, since it was subsisting on Catholic resources, and Catholics were the vast majority of the nation. The great function of a University claiming to be National is to leaven the nation as a whole, not a favoured fraction of the people. But, setting that consideration aside, Trinity College deserves no credit for that partial concession of right; the privilege came from the Relief Act of 1793. It rather showed its intolerance by restricting the privilege as much as possible. For instance, it was doubtful whether that Act made Catholics eligible for Scholarships. In 1843, Denis Caulfield Heron, afterwards a well-known Catholic lawyer, competed for a Scholarship, thinking he was eligible. He won it by examination, but was denied it because he was a Catholic, and of course had not been registered for attendance at the University chapel. If Trinity College were liberally disposed, even so late as sixty years ago, it would have given him the benefit of the doubt, since there was a doubt. Quite otherwise was its disposition. According to Mr. Heron,

> "it had the honour of causing the last of the Penal Laws to be enacted, and it still remains unrepealed. It was passed in a late year, too, being 1808" (*Constitutional History Of Trinity College*, by D.C. Heron, 1845).

Not until 1873 were Catholics made eligible for Scholarships and other privileges of the University. Dr. Stoney, in his evidence before the recent University Commission, spoke of that as the concession of "a most reasonable Catholic claim". But such liberal acknowledgements have one drawback: they are made in the 20th century. The concession would have come better, had

To page 15, column 1

it come towards the close of the 18th century, or even in the middle of the 19th, when Mr. Heron won his Scholarship. The concession was made, it is worthy of remark, when Trinity College was threatened by Mr. Gladstone's University Bill with a loss of its monopoly, besides £12,000 a year of its revenue.

Since 1873, other influences have softened it unto generosity towards Catholics. The Degrees of the Royal University kept away many students who would otherwise have entered Trinity; many who can afford the cost, pass its doors, notwithstanding its alleged prestige, and go to Oxford, Cambridge, and elsewhere. The number of its students has been steadily lessening for years, and to an alarming extent. Other clouds also have been gathering over it which, had it not been kept exempt from the enquiry of the recent University Commission, might have poured down their contents and drowned its prestige in the deluge.

Such circumstances will hardly let the public allow its latest claim for liberality towards Catholics on the ground that it has within the past year founded new Exhibitions specially for their sake. I cannot say if it pretends that it was a liberal inspiration moved it to grant its Degrees lately to a galaxy of girls who had made their studies in Oxford and Cambridge, passed the necessary examinations, but could not get their Degree, since lady graduates are not admitted in those two Institutions. They lost about £1,500 by their academic fastidiousness, which Trinity College gained as fees by its academic facility.

About the concessions which Trinity College has from time to time made to Catholics it is a remarkable circumstance that after they were made it was a most reasonable thing to have claimed them, before they were made it was monstrous to expect them; and they have always been made under circumstances which suggest the hope of gain or the fear of loss.

Mr. Heron, in the chapter of his book from which I have already quoted records the nickname "silent sister" by which Trinity College has been known across the Channel, and he refers to "the fewness of distinguished names which shine forth as stars from out its long list of lettered obscurity". It is right to remember that, since Trinity did not show itself a true *"Alma Mater"*to him, he, whilst the sense of unfairness was fresh in him, probably did not write its history as an enthusiastic son, nor possible as a quite dispassionate historian. One may dispute his opinions, but one cannot deny his facts…" [pp468-471].

VOX PAT

Sex Abuse
The System
Jewish Unity
Archbishop Croke of Cashel
Mary Kenny & Banks
Gramsci
Dr. Marie Woods
Ataturk
Carey Joyce

Sex Abuse

"By now he is wondering aloud, dangerously, whether the true culprit was not celibacy but the formation of the boy priests. "From the time I was 12 years old until my mid-to-late-20s, I lived in a totally male environment and I think that has some significance in your growing to sexual maturity. I'm very nervous about saying this—it's an issue that hasn't been faced—but practically all the abuse that I've come across has been abuse of boys, and boys of 14, 15 years old.

"Now, that raises some serious questions, and if you really went into them you would be accused of mixing up homosexuality and paedophilia. If a priest abuses a 16-or-17-year old, is that homosexual? It's certainly not paedophilia. Where does the division come? It is a very hazardous area—and there's no question in my mind that I'm not equating homosexuality with sexual abuse by priests. No, I'm not. But I'm saying that at a certain point the distinction is not that clear.

"There's the whole argument: is our sexual orientation there from birth or does it come about from early sexual experience? I think and believe it's not one or the other, but I think that early sexual experience is a factor and that there is a risk in an all-male environment of sexual experimentation, and that can in some way affect their sexual development. I mean, some people would argue that a male who abuses a 15-year-old is really himself a 15-year-old sexually."

And, while the Church was *"very, very strong on the seriousness of sexual sin"*, he says, he wonders if confession offered an *"easy way out"* for some perpetrators. *"He has confessed, he is forgiven and therefore he can go on from here?"* (Willie Walsh, retired Bishop of Killaloe in interview with Cathy Sheridan, *Irish Times*, 6.11.2010).

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The System

"The vice inherent in our system of social and political economy is so settled that it eludes inquiry. You cannot trace it to the source. The poor man on whom the coroner holds an inquest has been murdered, but no-one killed him. Who did it? No-one did it. Yet it was done." (Dr. Hughes, Catholic Bishop of New York, March 20th, 1847.)

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Jewish Unity—

"cannot involve co-operation with reactionaries… Zionism has become an ally of anti-Semitism. The worsening situation of Jews throughout the world is exploited by the Zionists. The Zionists regard themselves as second-class citizens in Poland. Their aim is to be first-class citizens in Palestine and make the Arabs second-class citizens. The Bund therefore cannot see the Zionists as partners in the struggle against the reactionary forces in Poland" (Henryk Erlich, *Bund*—General Union of Jewish Workers—leader, 31.7.1938.

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Archbishop Croke of Cashel:

"Though his flock was facing poverty and starvation, the place they were heading threatened something even worse and the Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, Ireland was determined to save them.

"'Buenos Aires is a most cosmopolitan city into which the Revolution of '48 has brought the scum of European scoundrelism. I most solemnly conjure my poorer countrymen, as they value their happiness hereafter, never to set foot on the Argentine Republic however tempted to do so they may be by offers of passage or an assurance of comfortable homes'…" (*Live Working or Die Fighting : How the Working Class went Global*, Paul Mason, p125, Harvill Secker, 2006).

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Mary Kenny & Banks—Then and Now!
1997

"It was a Weberian taunt in the early years of the century that the Irish were no good with the management of money, and it is especially piquant to

notice what excellent bankers the Irish now are. Especially in the years when I was a freelance journalist, a bank manager was a key adviser. It is worth pointing out, too, that some of the best bank managers are now women—because banking is about people" (*Goodbye to Catholic Ireland*, Mary Kenny, p339, Sinclair-Stevenson, 1997).

2010

"My experience was that these bankers couldn't address an envelope properly, couldn't be relied on to post a bank draft efficiently, and took so long in supplying a cheque book that it had to be reported lost and was therefore cancelled" (Mary Kenny, *Irish Catholic*, 7.10.2010).

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Gramsci

"During the presentation of the first international catalogue of stamps, Archbishop Luigi De Magistris, prefect emeritus of the Apostolic Penitentiary, revealed this week that the founder of the Italian Communist Party, Antonio Gramsci, returned to the Catholic faith of his childhood and received the sacraments before dying in April of 1937.

"Gramsci was the father of a more sophisticated version of Marxism, which gave rise to so-called 'Euro-Communism'. Under his scheme, the Catholic Church and the Christian family were the main enemies to gaining control of minds and of the culture, which he considered essential to maintaining long-term political power.

"Among the measures he used to achieve what he called 'cultural hegemony', Gramsci proposed ending the beliefs, traditions and customs that speak of the transcendence of man and creating a culture in which transcendence has no place. He also aimed to infiltrate the Church to get dissident bishops and priests to speak out against her. His plan was to destroy the Church from within."

"The Spanish daily *La Razon* reported that the conversion of Gramsci 'has been confirmed and denied on various occasions, but this is the first time that a member of the Curia declares that the rumour is certain'."

During a press conference covered by Vatican Radio, Archbishop De Magistris explained, *"Gramsci had a statue of St. Therese of the Child Jesus in his room (at the hospital where he was dying). During his illness, the nuns at the clinic brought a statue of the Child Jesus to the patients for their veneration. Gramsci complained that they did not bring it to his room. 'Why didn't you bring it to me?' he asked them. So they brought the statue of the Child Jesus to him and he kissed it. He also received the sacraments and returned to the faith of his childhood."*

Gramsci died in Rome at the age of 46 and asked his family members to bury him in a Protestant cemetery, where his tomb is found today.

Gramsci's followers claim there is *"no evidence that he had converted to Catholicism"*. But their claims have been discredited by those who cared for him at the hospital where he died and which was visited often by priests and religious.

Giuseppe Vacca, director of the Gramsci International Institute said that Gramsci's conversion *"wouldn't be a scandal and wouldn't change a thing"*, because in fact his method of cultural hegemony continues to be employed by feminist, pro-abortion and homosexual groups (*Catholic News Agency*, January 8, 2010)

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Dr. Marie Woods

"For some extraordinary reason, the actual building [British Embassy, Dublin 1972] was the property of Dr. Marie Woods, feminist, sometime Leninist and radical—doctor and mother of six, too—who has since been extremely active in women's reproductive rights and right-to-choose campaigns. A beauty and salon wit, Dr. Woods threw a champagne party to celebrate the burning down of her own property, it being, at the time, the vehicle of British Imperialism" (*Goodbye To Catholic Ireland*, Mary Kenny, p339, Sinclair-Stevenson, 1997).

". . . . Woods was living with Cathal Goulding. Trinity educated, Woods had been married twice by the time she met the Official IRA leader. Her previous husband, Bobby Woods, had died in 1970 leaving substantial property interests in Dublin, including the building that housed the British Embassy on Merrion Square. During 1971, Goulding had moved into Woods' home in the exclusive Ailesbury Road area. The relationship caused considerable unease among some of the Official IRA leadership" (*The Lost Revolution : The story of the Official IRA and the Workers' Party*, p.246-Brian Hanley, Scott Millar-Penguin Ireland, 2009).

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Ataturk

"Coming out of Pairc Ui Chaoimh close to seven o'clock last Sunday, we were purring like cats. We'd won the game and had the 'tay' afterwards. Near the Showgrounds we found two flags, which had obviously been lost by a Cork supporter. We took them with us and shortly afterwards we met a man frantically searching for his beloved flags. He was thrilled to get them back. I was puzzled by the image of a man on one of the Cork flags. He had a moustache and wore a Russian type hat. 'That', said the proud owner of the flag 'is Kemal Ataturk'. He went on to explain that Ataturk was the Turkish military officer who prevented British forces landing at Gallipoli in 1915. Strange isn't it, that many young Cork men died at Gallipoli and 95 years later their arch-enemy is featuring on Cork hurling flags!" (John Arnold, Evening Echo, Cork, 3.6.2010).

John, what in Heaven's Name did the Turkish people do to Ireland that *"so many young Cork men"* had to die at Gallipoli? But a single flag is a beginning and a good G.A.A. fan has seen through the lie! Of one thing you can be certain Churchill, Kitchener or Sir Ian Hamilton will never feature on a Cork hurling flag in Pairc Ui Chaoimh!

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Carey Joyce

—died on October last, 2010. Mr. Joyce, a native of Fermoy was a Fianna Fail TD for East Cork between 1981 to 1982.

He was described as one of the *"true characters"* of Cork's County Hall, where he served as a County Councillor for 25 year.

Independent councillor Noel Collins recalled a motion he moved in the late Seventies about the need for an STD clinic at a time when Sexually Transmitted Diseases were rarely spoken about in Ireland.

But innocently, Carey Joyce mistook Cllr. Collins' STD abbreviations for Standard Trunk Dialling and unwittingly announced his support to the motion.

Fianna Fail leader on the council, Alan Coleman, described Mr. Joyce as a philosopher who had a great interest in agriculture throughout his life.

I suppose you could say he had a better grasp of the bulls and cows than he had of the birds and the bees.

More *Vox Pat* : Back Page

Séamas Ó Domhnaill

Eoghan Ruadh Ó Súilleabháin
1748—1784
Aspects of his Life and Work
Part 2

The Great Eoghan Ruadh

The next time you go to visit Killarney I would recommend hiring a bike and cycling south along the N71 towards Muckross in the National Park. After a couple of miles the road bends to the right at the old Muckross Post Office (I think it is now an art gallery). If you stop your bike there to take a break you will see on your left the old Parish Church (which is now a youth centre). Up on the hill behind you will see a large Celtic Cross which marks a graveyard. Two people are buried there who are involved with the story of Eoghan Ruadh. These are Henry Arthur Herbert and Maurice Hussey. I'll talk to you about these some other time. For now however, I want you to hop back up onto your *rothar* and cycle for a few minutes until you reach the entrance to the National Park at Muckross Abbey. As you are cycling in the gate you will see the fine herd of cattle in the fields, the magnificent trees and, beyond that, the lake. Carry on up to the ruins of the Franciscan Friary to your right. Say hello to the cows and lock up your bike.

You have arrived at Mainister Oirbheallaigh, the Monestery of the Eastern Way, which was founded by Domhnall McCárthaigh Mór, King of Desmond, in 1448. The sons of St. Francis ministered here until they were driven out by the Penal Laws in 1698.[1] In the nave of the Friary you will see a plaque erected in honour of the four great poets who are buried in the Friary: Piaras Feiritéar who was hung by the English in 1653, Séafraidh Ó Donnchadh an Ghleanna (1620—1678), Aodhagán Ó Rathaille (1670—1729), and our very own Eoghan Ruadh. Whereas, the first three had received formal education in Bardic Schools, Eoghan was a ragamuffin of the outlaw Hedge School and the Court of Poetry.

To the left of the chapel you will come to the Cloister with an old Yew tree in the middle. Pass on into a dark room at the back of the Cloister. If you are not a scaredy cat, walk into the room and you will see that it is long with a row of tall windows facing East. This is the Scriptorium where the young Friars copied the sacred scriptures in the days before the printing press. Eoghan Ruadh would have had a lot in common with those scholars who lived their lives centuries before he was born.

Daniel Corkery gives us this description of Eoghan:

> "One pictures him as good-looking, with hair as golden as red—not, indeed, far different fron the colour if his sun tanned brow and cheeks—as narrow-headed, high crowned, lithe, tall, sinewy; as full of life, witty, and given to laughing; yet one must also recollect that he could be very still over a book and very patient in copying a manuscript…" [2]

Here we have two images. The first is the outward appearance of the man which would be seen by anyone who happened to bump into him without knowing anything else about him. The second is the image of the inner man. To strangers, Eoghan was simply a peasant farm worker who was perhaps more interested in drinking and singing than in cutting hay. To his impoverished neighbours, to his fellow poets, to the priest who prayed over his grave he was the incarnation of the Irish Literary Tradition, the very essence of Ireland.

The Irish nation has a long history. The Goidelic speaking Celts began to settle in the country around 500 BC. Their language is the ancient form of our modern Gaeilge. No other people in Western Europe has been settled in one place, speaking the same language and sharing a common culture for such a long time. History and knowledge of the land (*dinnshenchas* & *stair*) are wrapped up in language and literature.[3]

The ordinary Irish person today has only a vague idea of Gaelic Civilisation. It's a bit like the beautiful Killarney National Park. We see it as if through fog and drizzle in November. Eoghan Ruadh however was fully conscious of every aspect of it. The tradition breathed in him. He saw it clearly like a bright sunny morning in June.

It is the word, Manuscript—*Láimhscríbhinn*—that ties Eoghan Ruadh Ó Suilleabháin to the Irish tradition. It is likely that he never came across a printed book in the Irish language. He lived in a literary culture in which the tradition was handed on from one generation to the next by scribes writing and copying poetry and prose compositions by hand. Down the centuries Irish literature was written down and copied in manuscript by monks, professional (state) poets and scholars.

Éigse Inis Éilge

Our modern knowledge of the Irish tradition is founded on the 5,000 manusctipts which have managed to survive to to our day. These are a monument to the civilisation of the Gael. The oldest manuscripts were written in monasteries and date from around the year 800 A.D. They include however material from the sixth century and even earlier. From the time of the High King Brian Ború (c. 1000 A.D.) the tradition was passed on to the schools of the lay Bardic Order.[4] The bardic schools flourished until Ireland was finally defeated in the 17th century.

In epic sagas we find the stories of Cú Chulainn, Queen Medbh, Ferdia, Fionn Mac Cumhaill, Oisín and the Fianna, Diarmad & Gráinne. Other *genres* or types of Gaelic writing included history, legal texts, bible commetaries, lyrics and devotional poetry, genealogical books, clan histories and semi-historical romances. The Arthurian legend, *Queste del Sant Graal* was translated into Irish: *Lorgaireacht an tSoidhigh Naomhtha*.[5] Volumes of bardic poetry were composed by professional poets who served the great Gaelic families and provincial kings. The Brehon laws were written down and commented on. There were Irish and Latin grammar books, as well as books on astromomy, geography and music. Elegies were written on the death of great chiefs.

Prior to the reign of King Henry VIII in England all efforts to conquer Ireland had failed. The Vikings, the Normans, and even the continental Religious Orders such as Franciscans and Dominicans, all succumbed to the to the lure of the rich and enticing Irish culture.

> "…just as the Anglo Norman lords, ruling over Irish subjects and marrying Irish wives, became in the proverbial phrase, Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores[6], so the new monastic houses, at first stocked with foreign monks, gradually became assimilated

[1] http://homepage.eircom.net/~franciscanprayercentre/1.htm .
[2] Daniel Corkery: *The Hidden Ireland*, page 198. M.H. Gill & Co. Ltd. Dublin 1956 reprint.
[3] J.E. Caerwyn Williams & Máirín Ní Mhuiríosa, *Traidisiún Liteartha na nGael*, page xvi. An Clóchomhar Teo, 1979.
[4] Robin Flower, *The Irish Tradition*, page 88. The Lilliput Press, Dublin, 1994 (1947 Oxford University Press).
[5] *The Oxford Companion to Irish Literature*, page 22.
[6] More Irish than the Irish themselves.

to their surroundings, were filled with Irish inmates and adopted Irish speech."[7]

The Tudor monarchs however planned the subjugation of Ireland on a cultural as well as a territorial basis.[8] They knew that it was only by robbing the people of their intellectual and spiritual heritage, as well as taking the clan lands, that Ireland could be conquered. Eoghan Ruadh lived the whole of his life as part of that conqured nation. In his day the learned culture was wilting under alien rule. He felt keenly what was being lost.

Eoghan indentified himself completely with poetry. He belonged to the *Éigse*, the academy of learned ones, the assembly of poets. The whole of his artistic effort was dedicated to giving expression to the beauty and majesty of the Irish language and to the heritage which that language had nourished over thousands of years.

The Irish Tradition

I thought you might like to have a look at some examples of Irish writing from across the centuries which shine a light on the Gaelic civilisation in which Eoghan Ruadh delighted. What follows is a selection of devotional verse, state poetry, biography and fable which comes from different centuries and indeed from different parts of Europe. Eoghan would have had access to all of these genres through the manuscripts which continued to be copied and circulated even in the darkest of the Penal days. I have added in little details to show that far from being isolated in the far west of the known world, Ireland was central to the existence of Europe.

To start us off we have a hymn to the Blessed Virgin composed by **Blathmac, son of Cú Brettan**, from Co. Monaghan who lived around the year 760 A.D. It is written in **syllabic verse**:

Tair cucum, a Maire boíd
Do choíniuth frit do rochoím
Dirsan dul fri crioch dot mac
Ba mind már, ba masgérat…

Come to me, loving Mary / that I may keen with you your very dear one / Alas, the going to the cross of your son / That great jewel, that beautiful champion.[9]

A thousand years later **Tadhg Gaelach Ó Súilleabháin** from Tuar na Fola in the barony of Conello, Co. Limerick, gives us another hymn to Our Lady, this time in an **amhrán song metre**:

A Mháthair Chríost, im chroí istigh glaoimse
Do bhláth ghlan shoilseach naofa, a réiltean,
Dom ghárda ar shaighidibh nimhe na péiste
Atá de shíor ar tí mo thraochta… [10]

O Mother of Christ, in my inmost heart I call on you clean shining holy blossom, O fair lady, to guard me from the poisonous arrows of the beast who is perpetually wearing me down.

After the fall of Rome, when Europe was overrun by barbarians, it was Ireland alone which kept Christian civilisation alive in the West. Missionaries such as Columba, Cillian, Columbanus and Gall joined the *Peregrinatio pro Christo* and went into exile to spread the Gospel in pagan Europe.[11]

Here is a little poem written, in the 9th century, on the margins of a book on Latin grammar in the monastery on St. Gallen (Naomh Gall) in Switzerland:

Dom-farcaí fidbaidae fál
Fom-chain loíd luin—lúad nad cél;
Huas mo lebrán, ind línech,
Fom-chain trírech inna n-én.

Fomm-chain coí menn—medair mass—
Hi mbrot glass de dindgnaibhdoss.
Débrad! Nom-choimmdiu coíma,
Caín-scríbaimm fo foída ross.

A wall of forest looms above / and sweetly the blackbird sings / All the birds make melody / over me and my books and things.

There sings to me the cuckoo / from bush-citadels in grey hood / God's doom! May the Lord protect me / writing well, under the great wood.[12]

The original grammar book was written by a Latin scholar named Priscian. He came from Roman North Africa and lived around the time of Saint Patrick. Irish monks using a copy of the book later used the spaces in the Latin text to scribble notes and to record their own thoughts and compositions. Some of these scholars of 1,200 years ago kindly wrote down their names for us: **Maelpátricc**, **Coirbbre**, **Finguine** & **Donngus**.[13] We can thank one of these for the above verse.

The Fiannaíocht is a cycle of stories which centre on the character of Fionn mac Cumhaill and his band of wandering warriors. They were known as the Fianna (Fenians) and spent their lives outdoors hunting, having adventures and sometimes fighting on behalf of the High King of Ireland.[14] One of the best loved stories of the Fianna was that of Oisín, the son of Fionn mac Cumhaill who went with the lovely Niamh to Tír na nÓg. Micheál Coimín (1688—1760) from Cill Chorcráin in the barony of Uí Bhreacáin (Ibrickan), Co. Clare gives us the conversation between Niamh and Oisín. She entices him to leave Fionn and the Fianna forever and to follow her. Oisín replies in the affirmative:

Gheobhair gach ní dá n-dubhras leat
As aoibhneas eile gan chás, gan chaoi,
Gheobhair maise, neart, agus réim,
As biad-sa féin agad mar mhnaoi!

Diúltadh ar bith ní bhéarfad uaim
A ríoghan t-suairc na g-cuacha n-óir—
Is tú mo roghain tar mhnáibh an domhain
As rachadh le fonn go Tír na nÓg

You shall have everything that I have said to you, and other delight without sorrow, without weeping, you shall have beauty, strength and power, and myself you shall have for wife!

Refusal at all I shall not give, O pleasant queen of the tresses of gold, you are my choice beyond the women of the world, and I will go with delight to the Land of the Young.[15]

In March 1716 the scribe **Seán Mha Gabhran mac Cobthaigh** copied down the record of the Maguire Lords of Fermanagh. It includes a sample of a formal elegy composed

[7] Robin Flower, page 114.
[8] Seán Ó Tuama: *Gaelic Culture in Crisis*, in *Repossions*, page 119. Cork University Press 1995.
[9] James Carney: *Medieval Irish Lyrics* with *The Irish Bardic Poet*, page 12.1967(Reprint, Dolmen Press, Mountrath, 1985).
[10] Risteárd Ó Foghludha: *Tadgh Gaelach*—Duan Muire, Lch. 36, Muinntir C.S Ó Fallamhain, Teo. I gComhar le hOifig an tSoláthair, Baile Atha Cliath, 1929.
[11] Christopher Dawson: The Making of Europe, An Introduction to the History of European Unity, 400—1000 A.D. page 158. Sheed & Ward, London, 1932.
[12] James Carney, page 22.
[13] Tomás Ó Fiaich, *Gael Scrínte san Eoraip*, lch. 128. Foilseacháin Ábhair Spioradálta, Baile Átha Cliath, 1986.
[14] Oxford Companion to Irish Literature, page 193.
[15] Michéal Ó Coimín: *Laoi Oisín ar Thír na nÓg* – The Lay of Oisín in the Land of Youth, pages 20 -21. Edited by Tomás Ó Flannghaile, City of London Book Depot, 1896.

by an official bardic poet on the death of one of the Maguire chiefs. The original was written in the 13th century:

> Bládh do ghabháltas agus do bheatha chloinne Dhuinn Mhóir mic Raghnall Mhic Guidhir .i. Maghnus agus Giolla Íosa annso síos ar na thionscanamh aniodh an seismheadh lá fithchead do mhí Márta 1716 agus ar na scríobhadh as an seanleabhar Seanchais do Sheán Mha Gabhran, mac Cobhthaigh 7c.

A fragment of the conquest and of the life of the children and Donn Mór son of Raghnall Ma Guidhir, namely Manus and Giolla Íosa is set down, begun this day, the 26th of the month of March, 1716 and written out of the old historical book by John Ma Gabhran son of Cobhthach, etc…

> Dursan liomsa fa líg luim
> Maghnus mac Duinn adearuim,
> Tréinfhear nachar b'fhallsa d'fhios
> M'annsa, m'éinshearc is m'aigniodh
>
> Fada bhus easbhadh oirne
> A chongnamh 's a chomhairle—
> Gnúis ógmhálla do b'ur dreach—
> Sa rún tógbhála tinnteach.
>
> Faire ar cheathra, comhla ar thigh,
> Ní rigthe a leas re a linnsin,
> Feadh an mhuighe thiormghluis, té
> Sa hoire ionnmhuir uirre…

Lamentable to me that beneath a bare stone / is Manus, I mean the son of Donn / A brave man who was not false to any man / My affection, my only love, and my soul.

Long shall we be in need of / his help and his advice / That young fair face of nable aspect / and his catching and ardent disposition.

A watch over cattle, a door to a house / were not required in his time / Throughout the dry verdant warm plain / charged with its burden of riches… [16]

In the mid-1600s an Ulster poet of the Order of Friars Minor made a translation of the life of St. Francis from Latin into Irish:

> A paruit gratia Dei, Salvatoris nostri, omnibus hominibus (ad Titum secundo) .i. "dob fhollus grása Dé do gach duine" do réir Phóil absdal rena dheisgiobal féin .i. Titus, isin dara caibidil dia eipisdil chum Titus. Agus go háiridhe do fhoillsigh é féin i ngrásaibh & ttrócaire isin aimsir dhéighionaidh si ina shearbhóntaigh suthain féin, .i. San Phroinnsias.

"For the grace of God our Saviour hath appeared to all men" said Saint Paul to his own disciple i.e. Titus, in the second chapter of his epistle to Titus. And He has especially shown His grace and mercy in recent times in his own perpetual servant, i.e. Saint Francis.

The O'Dalys were one of the greatest families of hereditary bardic poets. In the year 1213 **Muireadhach Ó Dálaigh** was forced to flee to Scotland to escape from his Lord, The O'Donnell, whom he had angered. He travelled with a Scottish brigade to join the Fifth Crusade. We still have poems which he wrote on the Adriatic on his journey east. [17]

Another member of that family was **Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh** who was born in Duhallow around 1320 and died in 1387. Here is an extract from one of his poems concerning the coming of the god Lugh to Tara. This poem forms part of a larger poem written in honour of Maurice Fitzmairuce the second earl of Desmond who died around 1357:[18]

> Dúnta an cathair ar cionn Logha
> Laoch ro thoghsam
> Téid gusan múr sleamhain slioschorr
> Beanaidh boschrann.
>
> An an doirseóir ris an deaghlaoch
> Fa doirbh ruaigfhearg:
> "Cáit asa dtig an fear áith, ógard
> Bláith, geal, gruaiddearg."
>
> Ris an doirseóir
> Adubhairt Lugh nár loc iomghuin:
> "File meise a hEamhain Abhlaigh
> Ealaigh, iobhraigh"

He found the city closed before him / our chosen hero / against its portals smooth and tapering / he striles the hammer.

Said the doorman to the hero / stout in combat / "Whence comes the youth so tall and stalwart / smooth, bright , red-cheeked".

To the doorman answered Lugh / who feared no combat / "A poet I from Appled Eamhain / of swans and yew-trees".[19]

Ainnir ba Mhaordha Taithneamh Clódh

Between the Battle of Kinsale in 1601 and the Surrender of Limerick in 1691 the Gaelic order was overthrown. The Irish nobility and the common people were welded together into a single oppressed people who had no civil or religious rights. Where once Gaelic literaure had be nurtured and treasured in monasteries and palaces, it was now in the hovels of the landless poor that the tradition was passed on. The culture and literature inspired a patriotism and national pride which was not found in many other countries.[20]

The *Spéirbhean* of Eoghan Ruadh's *Aisling* songs is indeed Ireland. He is besotted with her. His very language is alive with her. She is his inspiration and his message. With his words he gives her life:

> Ba shaor-oilte téacs-snuidhte a géar-fhriotal chaoin,
> A séis-bhinneas sidhe ag ceart-chanadh sgeoil,
> Is a déid mhiona gléigealla léir-churtha i gcír
> 'Na béal mhiochair mhín gan mhadagh gan mhóid;
> Mar laom-chuipe fraoch-linne a héadan 'sa píop,
> Is mar ghréin-ghloine tre chroistal léirighthe a gnaoi,
> Lér ghéilleadar **éigse Inis Éilge** dá mb'fhíor
> Tar Bhénus i bhfioghair, i maise 's i gclódh.

Her pleasing, keen words were nobly educated, in polished phrase / her magical, melodious sweetness, correctly relating facts / and her fine, bright teeth completely set in rows / in her gentle, affable mouth, without mockery or imprecation. / Her face and her throat were as (white as) the sparkling foam of the stormy sea / and her countenance was of the purity of the sun through a displaying crystal / to whom the poets of Ireland granted supremacy / over Venus in outline, in beauty and in form.[21]

As it happened Saint Francis also joined the Fifth Crusade. In 1219 he walked across the battle lines at Damietta and went in to preach the Gospel to Malik al-Kamil, the Sultan of Egypt. Malik would normally have killed him instantly but he saw that Francis was a Christian unlike any other he had met before. They had a discussion on their beliefs and then Francis was allowed to return to Italy unharmed.

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[16] An tAthair Pádraig ó Duinnín: Me Guidhir Fhearmanach – The Maguires of Fermanagh, M.H. Gill & Teo, Baile Átha Cliath, 1917.

[17] Robin Flower, page 87. Also: http://www.shrinesf.org/francis07.htm

[18] Jean J. McCarthy: T*he O'Dalys.* Seanchas Dúthalla,1997.
Eleanor Knott: Irish Syllabic Poetry 1200—1600, page 101. School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 1934 (Reprint 1994).

[19] James Carney, pages 86 – 89.

[20] J.E. Caerwyn Williams & Máirín Ní Mhuiríosa, page xix - xx.

[21] Pat Muldowney: *Eoghan Ruadh Ó Súilleabháin – Na hAilsingí*, Page 28. Aubane Historical Society, Millstreet, 2002.

Stephen Richards

Review: *Magdeburg* by Heather Richardson, pub. Lagan Press, Belfast, 2010, 349pp. £8.99

Holy Terror In 17 Century Germany

I'm not sure what kind of novel one should expect from someone who teaches creative writing for the Open University, but probably not a thundering historical romance that stands in a line of succession from Scott, Stevenson and Buchan, and one that will keep you reading feverishly into the small hours. Heather Richardson is originally from Northern Ireland and has moved back here after a succession of jobs in England, including a stint as a bus driver. It's especially heartening when an Ulster author is prepared to get out of our own version of the kailyard and tackle the universal themes in an unfamiliar context, in this case that of the Thirty Years' War, which is a blanket term for the succession of horrors that engulfed the Holy Roman Empire from 1618 to 1648. No comparisons are attempted with aspects of seventeenth century Irish history, but they do tend to "come unbidden" to the mind of the reader.

It's nice too that the best novel I read in 2010 should have come as a pre-Christmas bonus (my birthday is on 19th December!), to preoccupy me in the middle of the distinctly central European weather system we've been enjoying.

It comes as a softback, with a plain but elegant cover design, and mercifully free of the hundred and one blurbs on the back and on the inside pages which seem to be *de rigeur* these days. Similarly, the author has resisted the temptation to experiment with postmodern literary tricks and is happy to operate in the framework of a realistic sequential narrative.

Old Magdeburg's Walls

Magdeburg was the Maiden City well before Derry. The citizens revelled in its reputation of having resisted all previous attempts to take it by siege or storm, most recently in 1629 when Wallenstein's besieging army was forced to withdraw. Their civic pride was such that they had erected, to crown the gates, a wooden statue of a virgin with the words "Who will take me?" engraved across her forehead. As events were to prove, this was a dangerous self-conceit. As Jackson Browne sings on *Late for the Sky*, "Don't think it won't happen, just because it hasn't happened yet."

By the end of the 1620s things were looking pretty dire for the future of institutional Protestantism in the German lands. None of the Lutheran or Calvinist principalities could feel remotely secure. The pre-emptive strike by the Bohemian nobles in 1618 in expelling the Hapsburgs and inviting Frederick the Elector Palatine to take the crown of Bohemia had led to the catastrophic defeat of the Protestant forces at the Battle of White Mountain, and the end of Czech independence. The Emperor had capable generals in the shape of Johann Tzerclaes, (aka Count Tilly), Pappenheim and Wallenstein, while the various champions who came to rally the rebel forces, Christian IV of Denmark, Christian of Brunswick, and Ernst von Mansfeld, turned out to be anything from incompetent to certifiably insane.

The ideal of the German Reich as a loose federation to which everybody could owe broad allegiance had been severely damaged as Protestants reached the obvious conclusion that the Empire wouldn't be content until its religious dissidents had been licked into conformity. And besides that, the physical and economic devastation of the country as rival armies rampaged around the country provided sensory (all-too-sensory) evidence that the Empire wasn't working.

The Swedes Are Coming

But by 1630 a new, even more intense phase of the conflict was about to begin with the arrival on the Pomeranian coast of the Swedish king, Gustavus Adolphus. At the same time the Protestants had found a decent general of their own, Hans Georg von Arnim, who had defected from the imperialists after he concluded that he was being used as part of a Counter-Reformationist crusade. As for Gustavus, he reasoned that the only way to preserve some kind of Protestant presence in North Germany would be to establish Swedish hegemony by force of arms, which from his point of view would not be altogether a bad thing. His armies were well organized, with their numbers supplemented by large numbers of well-trained mercenary troops. The race to secure Magdeburg was like the race for Berlin in 1945. Up until then the city had managed to hold itself aloof. It was in effect a city state, lying to the north of Saxony, technically within the Duchy of Anhalt.

In the early months of 1631 the Swedes were slowly making their way south, and after a couple of feints and false alarms it became clear that their objective was Magdeburg. There's no doubt that the city would have opened its gates to the King of Sweden. The Swedes were fellow-Lutherans, and, while the red carpet would probably not have been rolled out for them any more than for any alien occupying force, they would have acted as a guarantee against the advances of the altogether more hostile armies of Count Tilly which were massing to the south.

The Wrong Call

But the orderly progress of the Swedes was just not fast enough to save Magdeburg. The problem was that the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony were reluctant to advance the fortunes of a foreign army, and without their support Gustavus was exposed. Meanwhile in Magdeburg the ruling council was dominated by the mercantile class. As the besieging army tightened its grip the judicious course of action would have been a timely surrender. The wealthy burghers had no desire to die in the last ditch. To use the language applied to modern day bondholders, if the burghers had negotiated terms of surrender they would have had to suffer an expensive "haircut" but not much worse. The imperial forces would probably have garrisoned the city as well, but life would probably have continued much as before. It's not clear what exactly were the terms that were offered, but they were rejected with defiance. Gustavus had arranged for Dietrich von Falkenberg, a general from Hesse, to organize the defence of the city and hold it until he arrived, and probably von Falkenberg and his supporters overbore the more pacific Council members. So they held out for a while, on starvation rations. Awareness of the oncoming Swedes in turn concentrated the minds of the besiegers. They were themselves running out of food, and they didn't want to be caught in the open by the invaders.

All Hell Breaks Loose

Around 17th May the walls were breached in a couple of places at once. Tilly's idea was that the wealth of the

city would keep his army provisioned, and so it would make sense for his commanders to restore some kind of discipline once the initial and understandable bout of rape and pillage was over. But, with little or no attempt to restrain them on that first inrush, the troops ran amok and embarked on a massacre that was shocking even for those rough times. On that one day twenty-our thousand of the inhabitants were slaughtered, leaving just six thousand survivors. Most of the survivors were girls and young women who (after being raped or gang raped) were subjected to forced marriages with their captors. The bodies of the victims were thrown into the Elbe and blocked the river for days.

As part of the general melee, in an echo of mythical Troy, or Old Testament Jerusalem, the city, with its marvellous mediaeval architectural heritage, was burned to the ground. Only the cathedral was spared. It was immediately reconsecrated for Roman Catholic worship. There was an attempt to rename the city Marienburg. Even fifty years later Magdeburg was still a wasteland, with only about 450 inhabitants.

The fate of Magdeburg has given rise to debate. It has been argued that the burning of the city was so counter-intuitive from the imperialist standpoint that the conflagration must have been the work of the Protestant defenders operating a scorched earth policy, and the finger has been pointed at von Falkenberg in particular, who had a reputation as a fanatic. The walls were fired at the time they were breached, but it's said that a number of simultaneous fires then apparently started up, not caused by the invading forces, and so that's how most of the inhabitants lost their lives.

On the other hand, collective self-immolation would seem to be a particularly lunatic response to military defeat, and there is plenty of evidence of massacre by the imperialist troops quite apart from the fires. The fall of Magdeburg galvanised Protestant Europe, apart from England. If this was an example of the Counter-Reformation in action, it looked as if it was a menace that had to be halted. From that time on the imperialists and their supporters could expect little mercy if they surrendered on the battlefield. In the words of Shakespeare in the Scottish play:

> *It will have blood, they say: blood will have blood*.

Or as John Hume commented in one of his wiser utterances, the problem with an eye for an eye is that by the end everybody is blind.

Gustavus had his first great victory the next year, at Breitenfeld, and afterwards at Lutzen, where he was killed in action, so that was a Pyrrhic victory for the Swedes. They penetrated as far south as Swabia but in the first battle of Nordlingen in 1634 they went down to a disastrous defeat by the imperial army. From that time on they ceased to be active participants in the conflict, leaving the stage clear for the intervention of the French. Unlike Gustavus, Richelieu had no concerns over the fate of Protestant Germany. He had lately seen to the crushing of the military resistance of the Huguenots at La Rochelle. But, if the Protestant princes of the Empire were to collapse completely, there would be the prospect of a monolithic and possibly functional Hapsburg state to the east of France, which was not to be borne. And so the struggle raged on for another dozen years.

Coping With The Crisis

As a result of the holocaust of 1631 Magdeburg never really developed into one of the great German cities. It was rebuilt in the eighteenth century but was flattened again, this time by Bomber Harris and his cohorts, in the Second World War. It then endured forty years in the joyless East German wilderness.

Richardson's achievement is to weave a very credible fictional narrative around this hinge of history. She doesn't overwrite for emotional effect, but equally avoids an emotionless impersonal dead style which some mistake for literary elegance. The story moves with pace and vigour towards its climax, and once the climax is over she gets on with the business of reordering the world of her characters.

For the first half of the book the chapters alternate, maybe too regularly, between life in the city, as experienced by Christa, the pious fifteen year old daughter of a printer, and the rougher world of the imperialist army camp, where the focus is on the hotheaded, drunken Lukas Weinsburg, demoted from sergeant to private, but not without some sort of moral compass. The large-scale destruction visited on the city is seen and experienced by these main characters.

There are limitations as with all historical novels, in that we know that Magdeburg isn't going to survive; and we suspect that most the characters in the novel won't either. But there are a few well-worked surprises none the less. The end story with regard to Weinsburg errs a bit on the clunky side, as if the author is too keen to tie up loose ends, but, to her credit, not every loose end is tied, and one is left with a strong sense of continuity beyond the final page, as in the final words of *Gone With the Wind*: tomorrow's another day. A civic culture that has been built up over hundreds of years has been destroyed. It can't be rebuilt overnight but there is a work of reconstruction to be done. The latter-day Germans in the decades after 1945 showed how it could be done.

Ulsterisms In Magdeburg

There is also the discreet injection of a few Ulsterisms into the dialogue, which mostly work very well. We all know that we have a ubiquitous Ulster/Irish ejaculation which is (to my mind) best transcribed as *"uch"*, and is typically used to begin a sentence, by way of a clearing of the throat. Mind you, I've never seen it written down as *"uch"*. We're all familiar with the related Scottish *"och"*, but this never seems to work in an Irish narrative context. It's almost as if it's stage Scottish, redolent of Harry Lauder and Andy Stewart. Richardson is quite keen on this expression but she renders it as *"ach"*, which of course makes it German, all the more so in a novel with a German setting. But I don't think Germans use *"ach"* in the same way we use *"uch"*. We use it in a slightly apologetic way, or half way between apologetic and frustrated, while I think for Germans it's half way between frustrated and annoyed.

A Feminist Novel?

Richardson is too smart to have produced a feminist tract masquerading as a novel. We have had more than enough of those. But in telling the story as she does she highlights the abuse of women that was taken as normality during much of western European history. Of course in the Thirty Years' War civil society was traumatically dislocated, and the fate of Magdeburg was notorious even in those troubled times. That said, the habitual underlying disregard for women that characterized the institutions of church and state was the background against which the atrocious behaviour of the imperial troops was semi-justified. The kinds of scenes that are played out in the novel we know were replicated on a massive scale when Magdeburg fell, and on many other occasions before and since.

Some of this may be due to pre-existing mores, and some due to the prevailing chaos, but there's also the suspicion that men behaving badly is just men doing what they think they can get away with in any age. Only the fear of a hanging judge will keep men honest. This is the basic—and very plausible—position of John Austin and the legal positivists who succeeded him. The feminist mantra that all men are potential rapists may not be the whole truth but it contains an uncomfortable element of truth. The mediaeval code of chivalry, the fear of hellfire, and the more recent ideology of gender equality backed up by complex legislation, seem to be equally impotent to restrain the worst impulses of the masculine sex drive. Even a United Nations relief programme for Congo had to be curtailed a few years ago because the men on the UN teams were coming ashore and raping women and young girls. An edict then went out that the aid workers were forbidden to leave the boats.

Yet in all times and places, and even in war, rape is recognized as an offence of the utmost moral turpitude, that cries out for vengeance (or, as they say in these days of diluted moral discourse, it's *inappropriate behaviour*). What is it about us that we condemn so vehemently conduct that happens as a matter of course in war? We are revolted by the things we do. The (English) *Daily Mail* feels compelled to publish all kinds of salacious material for the purpose of condemning it! As St. Augustine says, every man is a puzzle to himself. For the clue to the puzzle I would suggest we dip into Pauline theology.

Another aspect of rape this novel raises is its use as an instrument of military terror. Once again this was not peculiar to seventeenth century Germany. As the Red Army soldiers advanced into Prussia in 1945 they raped any women they came across, before murdering them and leaving their bodies by the roadside. This was with the encouragement of their superior officers. So human nature hasn't changed that much since 1631.

I hope that these gloomy reflections won't discourage anybody from going out and buying or borrowing this thoroughly worthwhile novel. It may be grim and violent at times but it's basically wholesome. You may be sure I wouldn't recommend a book that was anything less!

Pat Muldowney

REVIEW:
Muzyka Barokowa w Redukcjach Jezuickich,
by *Teresa Krasowska,* published Lublin 2010

1641: Some Context

The Irish Himmler: Settler Massacres and Reduction Baroque

Historic massacres have been in the news recently. Large numbers of British Protestant settlers were killed in horrific circumstances by hordes of rebellious natives in a frenzy of religious hatred. This despite the fact that the settlers, whatever their faults, were bringing civic values, industry, modernity and progress to an antiquated country mired in backwardness and superstition.

In the ensuing chaos, order was finally restored by a determined military campaign in which the Irish Brigadier-General John Nicholson played a leading part, but at the cost of his own life.

The year was 1857. The British East India Company was constitutionally subject to the Moghal Emperor Bahadur Shah II who was the legal sovereign over much of present-day India, Pakistan and Bangla Desh. British victories over the French and their Indian allies in 1759 (the Year of Victories, when the geo-political shape of the modern world was laid down) placed the British East India Company in a good strategic position for further advances, a position which it made full use of, with practically non-stop conquest. Huge territories were grabbed under the Doctrine of Lapse. (On the assumption that Indians did not care who governed them, the Company took over kingdoms whose rulers died without a natural heir.) Though India had been one the world's most prosperous places (otherwise it would have been no attraction), the first decade of East India Company power produced Famine on an unprecedented scale. Famine returned regularly as Indian economy was plundered, land tenure commercialised, and food production wrecked in favour of cotton, indigo and other commercial products to service Britain's World Empire, and in favour of poppies, source of the opium forced on China by the mighty British Navy.

As the British in India became ever more grasping, bigoted and hostile towards the natives, a more widespread and better-organised rebellion broke out in 1857. A siege of British forces in Kanpur (Cawnpore) resulted in their surrender there. The surrendered British forces were massacred by the rebels. A hundred and twenty surviving British women and children were butchered with meat cleavers and their bodies thrown down a well.

Irish Massacres

Two centuries earlier the native Irish were judged to be in rebellion against proper authority. The constitutional ruler in 1641 was King Charles I, to whom the Irish *"rebels"* claimed to be in allegiance. They sought alliance with him against his political and religious enemies in the English Parliament and in Scotland, where war had broken out a couple of years earlier. The Scottish rebels united in a Solemn League and Covenant for—

> "the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy (that is, Church government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissioners, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy), superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound doctrine and the power of Godliness; lest we partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues; and that the Lord may be one, and his name one, in the three kingdoms {of Scotland, England and Ireland}".

The 1641 Irish *"rebels"* seized the property of British settlers in Ulster, slaughtering about 200 Protestant civilians in Portadown and smaller numbers in some other places. An unknown number of civilian settlers died (perhaps five to ten thousand), mostly as a result of hardship when they were turned out of their new properties in Ulster. Propaganda turned this figure into more than 100,000 deliberately murdered by the Irish rebels, helping to fuel the fanaticism of Parliament and Scottish (including Ulster) Covenanters.

Even before Cromwellian reprisals began eight years later, the settler deaths were dwarfed by the scale of native Irish civilian mortality from hardship, Famine

and massacre in a war precipitated by forces outside of Ireland. The Portadown massacre was itself a reprisal for earlier massacres carried out by settlers and Scottish forces. The native Irish had long and bitter experience of massacre and expulsion, and had good reason to fear the rebel forces from Scotland. Reason enough to take action in 1641 and try to take back by force what had been taken from them by force a few years earlier. (When it opposed his own Parliamentary faction, Cromwell himself considered uprooting the original plantation in favour of something else.)

In his book *The Birth Of Ulster*, military historian Cyril Falls extols the Plantation. He describes Sir John Davies organising the distribution of land after the defeat of Hugh O'Neill:

> "{He} had seen Fermanagh before, but its charm made a fresh appeal to him, as it does to all … It was, he said, so pleasant and fruitful a country that, if he should make a full description thereof, it would rather be taken for a poetical fiction than for a true and serious narrative. … He had already determined to make his habitation there… a further proclamation was issued, giving permission to the natives on the undertakers' estates throughout Ulster to remain until the following spring."

Falls chronicles some aspects of the destruction of native society which made the Plantation possible. Leaving aside Elizabeth's first war in Ireland, Falls estimates that several hundred thousand died in her second war. As a working hypothesis we might suppose this was out of a total population of a million or so.

The second conquest was undertaken for Elizabeth by Lord Deputy Mountjoy and Sir George Carew, Lord President of Munster. In charge of the army was Sir Arthur Chichester: "*As energetic as Carew, … he was marked … by a cold savagery very different from the other's ebullient brutality. While to uninstructed Irish Nationalists Cromwell is the English villain of Irish history, the better read reserve that place for Chichester.*" Falls gives examples of Chichester's methods.

> "His policy was for the moment one of extermination pure and simple. … {Writing} to Mountjoy in May {1601, he says:} *We have killed, burnt and spoiled all along {the shores of Lough Neagh} … in which journeys we have killed above one hundred people of all sorts, besides such as were burnt, how many I know not. We spare none of what quality or sex soever … The last service was upon Patrick O'Quin, whose house and town* {baile fearann, townland} *was burnt, wife, son, children, and people slain, himself (as is now reported unto me) dead of a hurt received in flying from his house, and other gentlemen which received blows in following us in our return to the boat.*"
>
> "In the eastern parts {of Ulster} famine had followed upon the devastations practised by Mountjoy and Chichester. The corpses of folk who had starved to death lay upon the highways… Only the kites and the wolves were fat, and the wolves had become so emboldened by lack of resistance that they pulled down grown men in the open country and in broad daylight."

To this day, in a thirty mile radius of Carrickfergus, very little remains of the original population.

The Plantation of Ulster

The collapse of the organised native Ulster resistance facilitated further destruction at gunpoint and swordpoint, using bureaucracy, law and gallows over the following decades. The successful Plantation involved militarization of civilian settlers who remained on a war footing, as in the *"Wild West"*. A *"Little House on the Prairie"* mythology emerged. Falls quotes a chronicler:

> "Now everybody minded their trades, and the ploughs, and the spade, building, and setting fruit-trees, etc., in orchards and gardens, and by ditching in their grounds. The old women spun, and the young girls plied their nimble fingers at knitting, and everybody was innocently busy. Now the Golden peaceable age renewed, no strife, contention, querulous lawyers, or Scottish or Irish feuds, between clans and families, and surnames, disturbing the tranquillity of those times."

Elizabeth's successor King James I/VI made special provision for the subjects of his first kingdom:

> "Forasmeikle as the Kingis Maiestie haueing resolued to reduce and setle vnder obedience the north pairt of the Kingdome of Ireland, which now by the providence of Almichtie God, and by the power and strength of his Maiesties royal army, is fred and disburdynit of the former rebellious and disobedient inhabitants thairof, … his Maiestie, for this effect, hes tane a verie princlie and good course … for planting of coloneis thairin …"

What awaited the colonists?

> "There was now in all Ulster hardly a single rebel of note … Yet in little nests of about half a dozen the shaggy, trousered outlaws still haunted the woodlands, and woe betide the colonist who let his cattle stray after dark. Sir Toby Caulfield at Charlemont was one of the most powerful, experienced and popular Englishmen in Ulster, yet within caliver-shot of his fortress the wood-kerne often shared with the wolf the spoils of his pastures. … According to tradition, almost the only one of the Plantation period still alive in Ulster, the caliver, snap-chaunce, pike, or sword lay always in the furrow last turned, while the ploughman and his team turned the rest." (*The Birth of Ulster*.)

Turning a difficulty into an opportunity, advertisements for colonists sometimes announced the shooting of wolves and woodkerne as one of the sports and entertainments available in the new colony. The woodkerne were native remnants.

But the quarrel of King Charles I with Parliament shifted the balance of power. Parliament, Ulster settlers and Scots feared that the King would empower the Catholics (both Irish and English) in Ireland in order to get his way. The Scots rebelled, giving the remaining native Irish in Ulster good reason to fear another cataclysmic onslaught by the settler forces and their allies. That is the background to the 1641 "rebellion".

As to the massacres, an Irish Times (30.10.2010) article says:

> "During the rising of 1641 Scottish soldiers attached to the garrison at nearby Carrickfergus were inflamed by rumours that Roman Catholics on Island Magee were attacking their Protestant neighbours. In retaliation they marched to the peninsula and massacred the Catholics, throwing dead and live bodies over the Gobbins cliffs into the sea 250 feet below."

Island Magee

Islandmagee is the Antrim peninsula near Carrickfergus. When the 1641 rebels began seizing the property of settlers a number of massacres by settlers took place, including Islandmagee where the Catholics had not joined any rebellion. In reprisal the rebels massacred Protestants in Portadown and elsewhere. A 19th century poem, in the voice of a 1641 rebel, mentions Islandmagee and, implicitly, Portadown.

Joy! joy! the day is come at last, the day of hope and pride –
And see! our crackling bonfires light old Banna's joyful tide,
And gladsome bell and bugle horn from Iubhar's captured Towers,
Hark! how they tell the Saxon swine, this land is ours, IS OURS !

Come, trample down their foreign rule,
and smite its venal spawn,
Their foreign laws, their foreign church,
their ermine and their lawn,
With all the specious fry of fraud that
robbed us of our own,
And plant our ancient laws again, beneath
our lineal throne.

Pity! no, no, you dare not, Priest—not
you, our Father, dare
Preach to us now that Godless creed the
murderer's blood to spare;
To spare his blood, while tombless still,
our slaughtered kin implore
"Graves and revenge", from Guibin-Cliffs,
and Carraig's bloody shore!

Pity!—could we "forget—forgive", if we
were clods of clay,
Our martyred priests, our banished chiefs,
our race in dark decay,
And worse than all—you know it, Priest—
the daughters of our land,
With wrongs we blushed to name until
the sword was in our hand!

They banned our faith, they banned our
lives, they trod us unto earth,
Until our very patience stirred their bitter
hearts to mirth;
Even this great flame that wraps them
now, not *we* but *they* have bred,
Yes, this is their own work, and now,
THEIR WORK BE ON THEIR HEAD.

Banna is the River Bann, Iubhar is Iubhar Chinn Trágha or Newry. Some priests gave refuge and protection to Protestants in Catholic Churches. The author of the poem *The Muster of the North* was Charles Gavan Duffy, a leader, with Thomas Davis and John Mitchel, of the Young Ireland movement of the 1840s, which sought to develop an Irish national movement that, unlike Daniel O'Connell, would involve all religious denominations.

Unlike Mitchel and some other Young Ireland leaders, Duffy did not support the armed rebellion of 1848. He sought to undo the conquest of Ireland, in the sense of establishing tenant rights against landlords, and his pioneering tenant organisation supported and co-operated with the Protestant tenant rights organisation in Ulster. So in a different sense his work involved consolidation of the Plantation. Within fifty years this project bore fruit in the peaceful abolition of landlordism in Ireland as a whole, finally reversing the main feature of the conquest. (You might say the final consolidation of the plantation was achieved with the Good Friday and St. Andrews Agreements.)

Though elected to Parliament Duffy's political efforts were frustrated, and he emigrated to Australia where he was again elected to Parliament, becoming Premier of Victoria.

Here is how the poet Thomas Moore, friend of Lord Byron, described the Islandmagee massacre. In his *Memoirs of Captain Rock*, like Duffy explaining to English readers the sources of *"terrorist violence"* in Ireland, Moore speaks in the voice of *"Captain Rock"*:

> *"November 18 (1641):*
>
> Tidings just come to hand, that on the night of the 13th ult., the English and Scotch of Carrickfergus, did issue forth, and attack and murder, in the island Magee, 3000 men, women and children, all innocent persons, there being as yet no appearance of revolt in that quarter. If this doth not cause all Ireland to rise on the sudden, then is the blood of her Mac's run dry, and her ancient O's become ciphers indeed" (Extracts from *Captain Rock* can be found in **Thomas Moore: Political And Historical Writings On Irish And British Affairs**, published by Athol Books in 1993).

Genocide

Another comment comes down to us from an Irish Jesuit priest Conor O' Mahony writing *An Argument Defending The Right Of the Kingdom Of Ireland* in Portugal in 1645. Much of the book, written in Latin, consists of interesting but archaic legalistic arguments to the effect that Ireland was not obliged to submit to any form of English rule, and should be an independent Catholic kingdom. But one paragraph of O'Mahony's is evergreen and up-to-date:

> "Irishmen of mine, continue and complete the work already begun of defending yourselves and your liberty, and kill your heretical opponents, and drive their supporters and collaborators from your midst. Already you have killed 150,000 of the enemy during these four or five years from 1641 to 1645, when I am writing these words. Your bellowing opponents admit this openly in their writings and you do not deny it; and I believe that even greater numbers of the heretical enemy have been killed, and if only they had all been! It remains for you to kill the remaining heretics or expel them from the territory of Ireland, lest the infection of their heretical errors should spread more widely in our Catholic country." (Aubane Historical Society 2010, translated by John Minahane.)

Living in Portugal O'Mahony appears to have accepted at face value British propaganda about the scale of the Irish rebel massacres. And this implies that, while he must have known plenty about the Chichester campaign of extermination, and about the new and additional existential threat inherent in the Scottish rebellion, he probably did not know that the massacres by the Irish were in direct retaliation for massacres by the settlers. This was an excuse that O'Mahony did not have.

Whether the numbers of settlers killed by the Irish were 200, or 4000, or 100,000, O'Mahony's intent is clear. Is this the voice of the Irish Himmler? Which kind of genocidal maniac was O'Mahony? Is there any comparison that can be made with other exterminations?

Sir Charles Dilke was in the way of becoming leader of the Liberal Party until a messy divorce cleared the way for Gladstone. In his book *Greater Britain* Dilke wrote: "*The Anglo-Saxon is the only extirpating race on earth. Up to the commencement of the now inevitable destruction of the Red Indians of Central North America, of the Maoris, and of the Australians, by the English colonists, no numerous race has ever been blotted out by an invader.*"

In response to the Indian rebellion of 1857 Charles Dickens wrote: *'I wish I were commander-in-chief in India ... I should proclaim to them that I considered my holding that appointment by the leave of God, to mean that I should do my utmost to exterminate the race.'*

Forty years later Professor Gilbert Murray, a founder of the League of Nations and Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford University, wrote that *"… the subject races in the British Empire … whom we cannot utilize we exterminate … Tasmanians were useless, and are all dead"*. Around the same time H.G. Wells wrote: *"There is only one sane and logical thing to be done with a really inferior race, and that is to exterminate it."*

The Editor of the *Times* newspaper, 2nd January 1852:

> "The pure Irish Celt is more than 1000 years behind the civilization of this age. … Men of large means and uncommon force of character may here and there have conquered the natural independence of the Irishman; but, as a general rule, he is intractable. … Hence, that miserable and helpless being the Irish cottier… Their condition and character has been so often described, especially in the memorable pages of the Devon Report, that we need not prove the existence of such a class incompatible with

civilization. The Irish cottier, the man with his half-dozen acres, his bit of common right, but without floor, without chimney, without window, without furniture, and without a separation between the human and the brute inhabitants, was a mere savage; and calamitous as are the events by which it has come to pass, we now thank Heaven that we have lived to speak of the class as a class that has been. … we resign ourselves without reserve, though naturally not entirely without misgiving, to her continued depopulation until only a half or a third of the nine millions claimed for her by O'Connell remain. We may possibly live to see the day when her chief produce will be cattle, and English and Scotch the majority in her population. … Unquestionably there is much that is consolatory, and even comfortable, in the extraordinary turn that we witness in Irish affairs."

In *American Holocaust: The Conquest of the New World,* David Stannard described the attitude of a number of prominent people to extermination. George Washington wrote that Indians *"...were wolves and beasts who deserved nothing from the whites but 'total ruin' ...the gradual extension of our settlements will as certainly cause the savage, as the wolf, to retire; both being beasts of prey, tho' they differ in shape"*.

Thomas Jefferson: *"...to pursue {Indians} to extermination, or drive them to new seats beyond our reach"*.

Andrew Jackson, whose parents were products of the Plantation of Ulster, was founder of the Democratic Party and modern American democracy. The greatest Indian-killer of all American Presidents, he urged United States troops *"...to root out from their dens and kill Indian women and their whelps"*.

The eminent Harvard professor Oliver Wendell Holmes observed in 1855 that Indians were nothing more than a *"half-filled outline of humanity"* whose *"extermination"* was the necessary *"solution of the problem of his relation to the white race"*. Describing native peoples as *"a sketch in red crayons of a rudimental manhood"*, he added that it was only natural for the white man to *"hate"* the Indian and to *"hunt him down like the wild beasts of the forest, and so the red-crayon sketch is rubbed out, and the canvas is ready for a picture of manhood a little more like God's own image"*.

In his testimony to the 1937 Palestine Commission of Lord Peel, Winston Churchill testified: *"I do not admit that a great wrong has been done to the Red Indians of America or the black people of Australia. I do not admit that a wrong has been done to those people by the fact that a stronger race. . . has come in and taken their place."*

Accommodation?

There are numerous examples of American Indians seeking to come to terms with the new society and become part of it, only to meet the same fate as those who took the opposite course and fought back against the exterminating settlers who sought to grab their farms and livelihoods. In their first major war against the Indians, the New England settlers included the *"Praying Indians"* in the general massacre. These were tribes, allied to the settlers, who had adopted Christianity. On 23rd April 1778 Chief White Eyes of the Lenne Lenape (Delawares) on the Tuscarawas River addressed the United States Congress: *"I make the proposal that my entire tribe, the Lenne Lenape, become the 14th fire. We wish to join the other thirteen fires in your fight with Great Britain. We wish to enter the Union of States as a Christian state, and as an all-Indian state. We want to become a full and equal partner with your thirteen states.*" Papers were duly signed, but when the fight with the British was won a crucial signature was found to be missing, and the Delawares went the same way as the Mohicans.

What about the Irish? Did they get any opportunity to give up their barbaric ways and become British/Christian?

Mountjoy, Carew, Davies, Chichester were, like many of their predecessors, closely connected to the first American settlers, many of them from Bristol and the West Country, and experience gained in Ireland was transferred across the Atlantic and *vice versa*. On both the Virginia and Irish frontiers they practised what the poet Edmund Spenser preached in his *View Of The Present State Of Ireland*"—that the easiest and cheapest way to destroy the hostiles was to destroy their food supply. Chichester reported his satisfaction when his Irish enemies killed his Irish allies. Either way the land was cleared of vermin.

Chichester and the others were perfectly rational in their own terms (and probably in our terms these days). Killing out of hatred is mere self-indulgence, and a profligate waste of precious money. That's the losers' way. They did not kill and destroy just for the sake of it. They were businessmen first and foremost, acting on the most rational of financial calculation, which, combined with judicious application of overwhelming military force, is the secret of their world-wide success. Whenever the native occupants were subdued, expropriated and exterminated to manageable numbers, and whenever money could be made out of either the incoming settlers or the surviving natives, in Ireland or elsewhere, they preserved and looked after such resources for as long as they were useful to them. A depopulated wasteland is not a financial resource. They may have regarded the natives as vermin, but they wanted rents above all. And once they had got their hands on the real-estate it did not really matter who paid them the money so long as it kept flowing in.

Could the Irish have transformed themselves so they could be an asset rather than a liability to their new overlords? Sixty years earlier, when the monasteries and monastic lands were grabbed by Henry VIII, the Catholic nobility in Ireland, both native and English, were happy to share in the plunder and they accepted Henry as King—and perhaps also as Pope or leader of the Church. It seems not to be a foregone conclusion that the Irish, native or otherwise, would not conform to the English form of Reformation at that point. The famous Bishop Miler Magrath (Maolmhuire Mac Craith) functioned at various times as either a "Catholic" or a "Protestant" or both.

The lines below are a translation of a poem composed by "Protestant" Minister Pádraig Ó Dungain (Patrick Dunkin) in 1649 or thereabouts. The poem is in the ancient intricate *dán díreach* style. I give the first verse in Irish:

First verse:

Truagh mo thurus ó mo thír
Go Crích Mhanannáin mhín mhic Lir,
Idir triúr piúratán meabhail géar -
Gearr mo shaoghal má's buan na fir.

Translation:

Grievous my exile from my country/ To the sweet land of Manannáin, son of Lear (*Isle of Man*)/ Between three mad, severe puritans—/ My life will be short if these men persist.

The Judgement of Friday on the three

(the Last Judgement, traditionally supposed to take place on Friday)/ Hamilton of Dún (*Dún Phádraig, Downpatrick*) of the Clergy,/ Came to us here from over the sea/ From the land of Scotland, one of the three.

Master Lowe, and Master Browne—/ The King of the Elements (*grant*) harm to the pair:/ They prefer Parliament to King/ They shall have an evil destiny.

Perverse their conscience, wrong-headed their mind,/ Bishop or clergy they do not like:/ They say not prayer or creed,/ I refuse to be of their kind.

Fasting or feastdays of the saints/—Dreadful to relate!—they do not observe;/ (*The Virgin*) Mary is no more to them than a blade of grass—/ A race without (*faithfulness to*) oaths, that do not honour God.

They hate baptism, cross and church,/ The gang of treachery; —the pity, O God,/ The faith of Patrick to be in decline/ And a religion without direction to be in vogue.

Every steel-round-headed churl says:/ "Everlasting expulsion on the clans of the O'Neills,/ And on the seed of kings, the cause of all evil"—/ At the hands of these my own people fell.

My heart is broken in my breast,/ From the reproach (*insult, offence*) of the three of evil disposition/ Against my country and my lord;/ Relieve me, O God, from this pain!

If Fergus mac Róigh *(a knight of the Craobh Rua (Red Branch of Ulster) who went into the service of Queen Maeve of Connacht*) were alive,/ Or Cuchulainn—worthy of love—(*Cuchulainn fought Fergus in single-handed defence of Ulster in the epic Táin Bó Cuailgne*)/ Or Murchadh, son of Brian (*Brian Boru*), leader of the battle-hosts,/ They would soon prevent my torment.

Or Seán (*Shane the Proud*), son of Conn (*Conn Bacach Ó Néill*) of the noble judgements,/ Or the son of Hugh son of Donal Óg (*Ó Néill, early 1500's*),/ Or the descendants of (*Hugh*) Baron (*of Dungannon*) Ó Néill,/ I would not be long without justice.

O messenger going over the sea,/ Tell the descendants of Conn (*Céadchathach (of the hundred battles) 2nd century A.D. king of Connacht, from whom Connacht is named*) of the routs,/ And to the seed of the kings who pursued well-being,/ (*Tell them of*) my grief, my sorrow, my sadness.

If Eoghan son of Art (*Eoghan Rua Ó Néill, commander of the confederate army 1642-49*) should hear,/ Or the descendant of Henry (?), beloved of the battle-hosts,/ Or the descendants of Hugh Buí Ó Néill (*Clandeboye*),

Or the king of the Bannside (*another O'Neill clan*) of warlike measures,/ Or Savage of Strangford (*of Norman descent, settled in the de Courcy era*)/ Or the descendants of Phelim (*Ó Néill ?)* of the fierce routs,

Or the Russells (*of Norman descent, settled in the de Courcy era*) (*should hear of—from previous verse)* my evil (*fate*) and my bondage,/ Their blood and their rage would rise.

O Earl of Derby, generous warrior,/ High King of (*the Isle of*) Man, gifted chief,/ Were it not for your honour and nobility, my love,/ The day of my relief would be long in coming.

A lane off Meath Street in Dublin was named after Dunkin. He was educated in Trinity College Dublin and served as Minister in the parish of Creggan in Co. Armagh in 1615. He was a friend of Archbishop Ussher, and was appointed Prebendary of Dunsfort, Co. Down, in 1640. Expelled from here (presumably by *"Hamilton, Lowe and Browne"*, see below) he found refuge with James Stanley, 7th Earl of Derby, who sheltered royalists in the Isle of Man before being himself beheaded by the Cromwellians in 1651. Dunkin fared better—after the Restoration, he was appointed Precentor of Armagh and Rector of Killeavy. The poem is an indication that, if English purpose was something other than conquest, plunder and extermination, there was a possibility of common ground that could have been built on and extended—that's if any kind of peaceful co-existence was ever actually intended.

No doubt the Glorious Revolution and final conquest saw off the last of Dunkin's kind.

In the Irish Parliament of 1613, with the recently ended Elizabethan war of extermination pointing the way ahead, on the heels of Elizabeth's preceding carnage in Munster, the Irish Catholic leadership voted to accept the Ulster land grab. But nothing seemed to appease their enemies' hatred, nor were they prepared to rest content with their new acquisitions.

Cyril Falls:

> "{The 1613 Bill of Recognition} was an outstanding triumph for the Government, which has left Nationalist historians without an argument, except abuse of the recusant lords, knights and burgesses."

This brings to mind the exchange in the film *Goldfinger* as a deadly laser beam edges towards Bond's crotch and he desperately tries to cut a last-minute deal:

> "- I think you've made your point, Goldfinger, thank you for the demonstration.
>
> - Choose your next witticism carefully, Mr Bond. It may be your last. (*Pause*) The purpose of our two previous encounters is now very clear to me. I do not expect to be distracted by another. (*Walking away, hands in pockets*) Goodnight, Mr. Bond.
>
> - Do you expect me to talk?
>
> - **(***Surprised amusement***) No, Mr Bond, I expect you to die!**"

In 1639 Christian *jihadists* went to war in Scotland, and in England their Parliamentary allies judicially murdered Thomas Wentworth [Strafford], the King's Deputy in Ireland, one of the reasons being that he was not sufficiently militant against the Irish. A pathological hatred had taken hold. Thomas Babington Macaulay's *History Of England* describes approvingly how mere suspicion of leniency towards the treacherous, superstitious, barbarian Irish played a major part in the downfall of two English kings. (Likewise, the mother country's unwillingness to pay up for endless wars of expulsion and extermination against the indigenous peoples contributed to the rebellion of the American colonists, who complained:

> "… {The King} has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands. … He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions…" (Declaration of Independence.)

Macaulay wrote his thoughts about the Irish a few years before the *Times* editorial quoted above, about the same time as a brilliantly opportunist British Government policy decision finally solved this problem, as they thought, by bringing about the deaths of millions of Irish savages and the flight of millions more. (As a member of the Supreme Council of India between 1834 and 1838 Macaulay actively promoted the colonial cultural destruction which helped to provoke the so-called Mutiny of 1857.)

Religious War in Europe

Jan Hus, the first successful modern Christian reformer, was burned for heresy in 1415, but his religious movement took root in Bohemia. In Prague, once the capital of the Holy Roman Empire, the governing Hussite Protestants defenestrated two officials of the Empire, marking the start of religious wars of the 1600s. (Sounds painful, but the window must have been on the

ground floor as the two officials survived.) Defeated massively by Count von Tilly at the Battle of the White Mountain, the Czech nobility were given the choice of converting or emigrating. A Jesuit missionary drive to convert Bohemia was accompanied by over a century of Hapsburg oppression. They had a kind of revenge when a grandson of the deposed Hussite king became George I of England. Later a more tolerant regime admitted the Czechs into a measure of equality in the Empire, and they went on to reconstruct their language and national life in the 19th century. These days it seems that Bohemians and Moravians of all religious persuasions regard Hus as a national hero.

Some of the expelled Hussites settled in Poland, where a strong Calvinist movement grew among the Polish aristocracy. Here too there was a Jesuit missionary drive, and Catholicism recovered in Poland, but without forceful suppression of other religious beliefs. Likewise, in the Calvinist Dutch Republic, Socinians, Catholics, Anabaptists and other Christians were tolerated. (I wonder if this was what the English Puritans couldn't accept in their Dutch exile, causing the Pilgrim Fathers to set off across the Atlantic to construct their "City on a Hill"—on land that other people had been living on for many millennia?)

But in Ireland execution, starvation and expulsion followed military defeats. Unlike the Hussites, conversion, conformity and *"conditional admission to the new order"* do not appear to have been on offer in any serious manner, no more than it was available in practice to the other indigenous peoples. Instead they were shipped as slaves to the Barbadoes or driven off to the barren and ever more congested west coast of Ireland. The objective was Irish land, not Irish souls. No serious, sustained effort was made to explain the truth to them and save them from eternal damnation. (In contrast, the British defeat of French Canada in 1759—the Year of Victories—was not followed by plunder, expulsion and destruction of French Catholic society.)

It seems the Irish conquest overreached itself. Neglecting either to complete the extermination or to build an indigenous social basis of support, the conquest was dependent on its settlers. But these deserted in droves for easier meat in the "City on a Hill". Settler emigration to North America from Ulster and the rest of Ireland weakened the colony. The Irish clung on against the odds. Preserved by the new miracle food from the Andes, their numbers recovered and expanded. As the colony declined, large numbers of the new property owners sold up during the following two centuries, and huge consolidated estates emerged, often extracting unheard-of rental revenues out of indigenous potato subsistence. The writing was on the wall—for both sides.

Reduction Baroque

After a short period in disrepute, Imperialism is coming back into fashion. Historians gloss over the atrocities. *"If the Europeans hadn't done it, some other "advanced" people would have colonised the Americas, and the indigenous peoples would have died out anyway—perhaps of Chinese diseases instead of European ones."* In other words they were naturally destined for extinction in the Darwinian way, and nobody is really to blame for it.

But the natives had diseases of their own, to which the settlers in their turn had no immunity. Syphilis for instance. So why is it that the natives were the ones who succumbed? *War of the Worlds* by the genocide advocate H.G. Wells has an interesting twist. The native earthlings have been completely defeated and are doomed to extinction. And then, all of a sudden, when all seems lost the colonising aliens die off en masse from the natives' common cold.

If we take it that it's inevitable that there was eventually going to be contact and interaction between Europeans and indigenous peoples, is it the case that the extermination itself was inevitable? Was there any other way?

A new book from Poland suggests a possible answer. The book is *Muzyka Barokowa w Redukcjach Jezuickich* (Baroque Music in the Jesuit Reductions), by Teresa Krasowska, published Lublin 2010.

The Reductions were a theocratic communist state, functioning without money, and extending across much of South America in the 17th and 18th centuries. Founded by Jesuit missionaries and populated by indigenous people, they achieved cultural, industrial, civic and municipal standards matching the best there was in Europe and outstripping anything in contemporary colonial North and South America. Their standards of popular health, education and welfare were not matched anywhere in the rest of the world until the end of the 19th century. Everything about the Reductions flies in the face of what we envisage as historical and social reality. Jesuit ideology focussed on the souls of the Indians, not their bodies. According to Philip Caraman (*The Vanished Arcadia*) the Reductions developed, not in accordance with any utopian plan or theory, but by providing *ad hoc* solutions to the necessities of their situation and context.

Indigenous people voluntarily left their forest environment to enter the Reductions. Outside the Reductions the Indians were easy prey for capture, enslavement and mass murder by the Portuguese and Spanish colonists. In the Reductions they protected themselves with their own army, the best in the continent, trained by Jesuit veterans of the European wars. (Whether they would have given up their traditional life if there had been no existential threat from the settlers is another question. Occasionally white people were socialised into traditional indigenous life and refused to return to rigid and psychologically harsh European society. Which was more *"advanced"*? Which was more congenial?)

Each city, often populated by thousands of Indians with armed forces of their own, was overseen by two unarmed Jesuits. No other Europeans were allowed in. Needless to say, the Jesuits and the Reductions were feared and hated, usually for hypocritical reasons of bogus concern for Indian well-being. We rarely hear of the Reductions because the Enlightenment has comprehensively lost the argument against them. Here is an extract from Voltaire's satire Candide:

> "But whither wilt thou carry me? where can we go? what can we do without Cunegund?" cried the disconsolate Candide.
>
> "By St. James of Compostella," said Cacambo, "you were going to fight against the Jesuits of Paraguay; now let us go and fight for them; I know the road perfectly well; I'll conduct you to their kingdom; they will be delighted with a captain that understands the Bulgarian drill; you will certainly make a prodigious fortune. If we cannot succeed in this world we may in another. It is a great pleasure to see new objects and perform new exploits."
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> "Then you have been in Paraguay?" asked Candide.
>
> "Ay, marry, I have," replied Cacam-

An Argument Defending The Right Of The Kingdom Of Ireland (1645) by *Conor O'Mahony*. First translation from Latin. Introduction, *John Minahane*: Conor O'Mahony, the 1641 Rebellion and the Independence of Ireland. 232pp. Index. ISBN 978-085034-122-5. Aubane Historical Society, 2010. **€25, £20.**

bo. "I was a scout in the College of the Assumption, and am as well acquainted with the new government of the Los Padres as I am with the streets of Cadiz. Oh, it is an admirable government, that is most certain! The kingdom is at present upwards of three hundred leagues in diameter, and divided into thirty provinces; the fathers there are masters of everything, and the people have no money at all; this you must allow is the masterpiece of justice and reason. For my part, I see nothing so divine as the good fathers, who wage war in this part of the world against the troops of Spain and Portugal, at the same time that they hear the confessions of those very princes in Europe; who kill Spaniards in America and send them to Heaven at Madrid. This pleases me exceedingly, but let us push forward; you are going to see the happiest and most fortunate of all mortals. How charmed will those fathers be to hear that a captain who understands the Bulgarian military drill is coming to them."

As soon as they reached the first barrier, Cacambo called to the advance guard, and told them that a captain wanted to speak to My Lord, the General. Notice was given to the main guard, and immediately a Paraguayan officer ran to throw himself at the feet of the Commandant to impart this news to him. Candide and Cacambo were immediately disarmed, and their two Andalusian horses were seized. The two strangers were conducted between two files of musketeers, the Commandant was at the further end with a three-cornered cap on his head, his gown tucked up, a sword by his side, and a half-pike in his hand; he made a sign, and instantly four and twenty soldiers drew up round the newcomers. A sergeant told them that they must wait, the Commandant could not speak to them; and that the Reverend Father Provincial did not suffer any Spaniard to open his mouth but in his presence, or to stay above three hours in the province.

"And where is the Reverend Father Provincial?" said Cacambo.

"He has just come from Mass and is at the parade," replied the sergeant, "and in about three hours' time you may possibly have the honor to kiss his spurs."

"But," said Cacambo, "the Captain, who, as well as myself, is perishing of hunger, is no Spaniard, but a German; therefore, pray, might we not be permitted to break our fast till we can be introduced to His Reverence?"

The sergeant immediately went and acquainted the Commandant with what he heard.

"God be praised," said the Reverend Commandant, "since he is a German I will hear what he has to say; let him be brought to my arbor."

He was a very handsome young man, round-faced, fair, and fresh-colored, his eyebrows were finely arched, he had a piercing eye, the tips of his ears were red, his lips vermilion, and he had a bold and commanding air; but such a boldness as neither resembled that of a Spaniard nor of a Jesuit. He ordered Candide and Cacambo to have their arms restored to them, together with their two Andalusian horses. Cacambo gave the poor beasts some oats to eat close by the arbor, keeping a strict eye upon them all the while for fear of surprise.

Candide having kissed the hem of the Commandant's robe, they sat down to table.

"It seems you are a German," said the Jesuit to him in that language.

"Yes, Reverend Father," answered Candide.

As they pronounced these words they looked at each other with great amazement and with an emotion that neither could conceal.

"From what part of Germany do you come?" said the Jesuit.

"From the dirty province of Westphalia," answered Candide. "I was born in the castle of Thunder-ten-tronckh."

"Oh heavens! is it possible?" said the Commandant.

"What a miracle!" cried Candide.

"Can it be you?" said the Commandant.

On this they both drew a few steps backwards, then running into each other's arms, embraced, and wept profusely.

And so on. When the Jesuit order was suppressed by the Pope, the settlers got their opportunity and within a generation the Reductions were in ruins, a setback that the continent is only now beginning to recover from. A small part of the story is told in the 1986 film *The Mission*. Before they were engulfed, the Reduction Indians fought a final war against the Spaniards and Portuguese. The Jesuit most closely linked to this particular war effort was Fr Thaddeus Ennis (an Irishman according to Reductions historian R.B. Cunninghame-Graham. According to Philip Caraman, this was actually the Bohemian Fr. Tadeusz Enis.)

The Indians "owned" the Reductions. More than two centuries after their final defeat, their orchestral scores and manuscripts, tenaciously preserved from the cataclysm, have been restored and brought back into public performance with the help and encouragement of Polish priest Fr. Piotr Nawrot in Bolivia, in a further indication of indigenous revival across the continent. Teresa Krasowska's new book provides a musicological analysis. It has an accompanying DVD recording of selected pieces performed in Lublin Cathedral.

The Irish Himmler?

In the above account of memorable massacres, where do the 1641 Ulster massacres fit in?

At the end of World War II, about 12 million German civilians were expelled from various parts of Europe with the approval of the "international community". Some of these were recent settlers in territories from which the original inhabitants had been massacred or expelled in the course of WW II—as in 17th century Ulster. Some of the Germans expelled at the end of the war had been complicit in, or approved of, or profited from, the Hitler-Himmler war-time atrocities and genocide—as in 17th century Ulster. But on the other hand, unlike 17th century Ulster, many of them had lived in peace in these places for many generations. Königsberg, city of Kant, Euler and Hilbert, is now the all-Russian Kaliningrad. About half a million of the former eastern Germans are known to have died in rapes, starvation, death marches, concentration camps, forced labour and massacres. Another two million or so "disappeared", their fate unknown. The 1945 Decrees of Czech President Edvard Benes against the former Sudeten Germans, 700 years resident, are still in force.

Conor O'Mahony's ideas were rejected in Ireland, and his book was ceremonially burned.

The Portadown massacre of Protestants has been singled out from the other horrors of that time. What about O' Mahony's genocide proposal? Did he propose to invade some other country, plunder it and wipe out much of its people? Or was he proposing retaliation against the agents and/or beneficiaries of such activity in his own country? Or, as in Kanpur, could we say that the innocent women and children of Portadown would never have come to any harm if they had not been induced to leave their own countries in the first place?

Was O'Mahony a Heinrich Himmler, an Edmund Spenser, an Arthur Chichester, a Charles Dickens, a Thomas Jefferson, an Oliver Wendell Holmes, a Winston Churchill, a Tadeusz Ennis, or an Edvard Benes?

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Eamon Dyas

Part One

Catholic Wealth

And The Making Of Protestant Imperial England

Introduction

J.R. Seeley, the 19th century historian who revived the British sense of Imperial purpose in the context of the emerging age of democracy, said in his work *The Expansion Of England* that the British came upon their Empire almost without knowing. It was, he said, as if England had sleep-walked into the role of Empire-builders.

There is a sense of truth in this. The British Empire was essentially a Protestant construction. Its sense of purpose and achievement took place within an historical Protestant context and it first became visible to itself in the 16th century when it defeated the great Roman Catholic power, Spain. The effective history of the British Empire begins when England attained supremacy in the aftermath of that victory. Insofar as there is a history before that date, it only stretches back to the time when the seeds of that victory were laid. Henry VIII's contribution acts as the preface to the great epic that was about to unfold. The age of the great Imperial icons begins in this era. Besides Henry, figures like Elizabeth, Francis Drake, Walter Raleigh and John Hawkins are in a direct line of descent from the likes of Nelson, Wellington, General Gordon, Lord Roberts, and Winston Churchill. There are historical figures that predate Henry, but somehow they are seen as citizens of a different reality. The reality that counts, the one that inspires and provides the sense of identity and purpose is the one that was born with Henry and the reality before Henry, although visible, is not seen in any coherent form. It is in fact the dreamworld from which the English emerged as Empire-builders.

Essentially, that dreamworld was Catholic England: the world which Imperial England had to discard in order to become itself and the world which no longer had any relevance to it. The way that Imperial England emerged from Catholic England is something that historians prefer to remain buried in the mist of its primordial past. Insofar as it is recognised at all, it is only recognised in terms of the birth-pangs of Reformation England. The Dissolution of the Monasteries, the religious martyrs, Mary and Elizabeth, are all acknowledged—but only as the representation of the forces that had to be overcome in order for Protestant Imperial England to emerge into the light of history. What remains unacknowledged is the critical role the plundered wealth of Catholic England played in enabling Imperial England to come into being. The following is an attempt to open up this area to further scrutiny and bring some reality to the English Imperial dreamworld.

Monks, Money, & Rich Men's Daughters

Henry's Dissolution of the monasteries is usually depicted as an act of destruction and religious vandalism. Traditional accounts concentrate upon what was destroyed, in order to avoid investigating what survived—and what survived was to go on to become the original sin in the highly moral soul of Protestant Imperial England. While vandalism was an obvious ingredient of this event, the real impact was not in what was destroyed but what such destruction released. It is sometimes forgotten just how wealthy the Roman Catholic Church in England was during Henry's time and, despite the monasteries bearing the brunt of the appropriation, the Act of 1539 also embraced religious hospitals and university colleges. Such wealth was not only vested in fixed assets like land and buildings, or precious metals like silver and gold, but also the fiscal wealth associated with the existing tithe system by which the Catholic Church was the recipient of a significant proportion of the taxes in the kingdom. The impact of the redistribution of this wealth and the changes to the system of taxation brought about by the Dissolution was critical in the way that English society reformed—in fact without this wealth there would not have been an English Reformation, or, if there was, it would not have been the Reformation that it turned out to be. The awful truth that remains hidden in the dreamworld is that English Catholic wealth was critical to kick-starting Protestant Imperial England's divine date with destiny.

Not only did the Dissolution reduce the tax burden on the ordinary yeomanry and result in the distribution of more land among the gentry, but it resulted in the injection of a huge amount of money into the English economy—a volume of money that the relatively-closed economy at the time found difficulty in digesting. Of course the motivation for this action was tied up with other considerations but, insofar as it touched the actual bedrock of English society, its impact was economic and social and the event was organised and carried out by the King's Chief Minister, Thomas Cromwell. A near contemporary account states:

> "He caused the king of the abbes possessions to make such dispersion, as it behoved infinite multitudes for their owne intrest to joyne with the kinge in holding them downe, which he did by divers means, and these amoung other: by affownding divers bushoprickes and colleges with their possessions, selling many of them to many men four reasonable prises, exchanging many of them with the nobilitie and others for their auncient possession to their greate gaine with whom he exchainged, preferring many sufficient persons to the kinges servis who were sone raised to nobilitie and to worshipe and good calling, and all indewed with maintanance out of the revenewes of abbyes." (*Three Chapters Of Letters Relating To The Suppression Of The Monasteries*, edited from the originals in the British Museum by Thomas Wright, published by Camden Society, London, 1843, p112-115. Part of this letter is quoted in *Economic Factors Tending Towards Secularization Of Church Property in England, 1533-39*, by Oscar A. Marti. Published in 'The Journal of Political Economy', Fol. 37, no. 4, Aug. 1929, p455-456).

The Catholic Church in England influenced the English economy in three ways. In the first instance it was the owner of a vast amount of land. It has been estimated that the Dissolution of the Monasteries involved the transfer of ownership of a quarter of all English property into new hands (see, *Tudors And The Currency, 1526-1560* by C. W.C. Oman, published in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, New Series, Vol. 9 (1895), p180).

This amount of property, originally outside the normal market (most of it had been previously endowed to the monasteries or the Catholic Church by the pious and not so pious rich), suddenly, within a short number of years, came into private hands. Most of it was either granted as a gift absolute to Henry's allies among the aristocracy and gentry or it was granted to them on the

basis of leases or other commercial terms. Secondly, there was the other assets which included substantial amounts of gold and silver plate—an invaluable resource in an economy that was based on bi-metallism (of which more later), and in the third instance there was the payment of tithes. Through the tithes and other taxes the Church was the recipient of a significant amount of the tax income of the kingdom. The Protestant propagandist, John Foxe (of *'Book Of Martyrs'* fame and friend of William Cecil, who became Queen Elizabeth's First Minister and economic planner) estimated that five times as much taxation was raised in England for the Pope as was raised for the King. While this is undoubtedly an exaggeration, the tax received by the Catholic Church was nonetheless very large.

In terms of the land owned by the monasteries, this had long been something that was viewed with envy by the upper gentry and aristocracy:

> "The awarding of confiscated lands and goods of the church to men of the new middle classes on the one hand, and to old established families on the other, was an outstanding feature of the suppression of the monasteries. In this manner apparently the king aimed to build up a party in England that would uphold him in case of a religious reaction. From the attempts made against the alien priories in the time of Henry IV and V it was evident that the property of the monasteries was coveted by the laity. The fact that most of the landed spoils fell into their hands indicated that every great lay interest was united in the attack upon church property. The cupidity of the king and the greed of the influential classes may be seen at work on every hand. The immense wealth of the monasteries presented a temptation to improve private fortunes that proved irresistible and a tendency toward land-grabbing to satisfy personal avarice went on apace. Direct statement and indirect testimony alike give ample proof that the greed of the king and the ruling classes was a prominent motive for the economic reform of the church. The flood of letters and petitions that came to Cromwell asking for portions of the suppressed monastery lands clearly indicate such a situation" (ibid. pp.461-462).

The influence of the non-landed assets, the most important of which was the gold and silver plate confiscated as a result of the Dissolution, turned out to have been substantial. The extent of this influence can be gauged by the fact that the most thorough investigation of the question (although the author cautions against an over-reliance on its accuracy due to the unavailability of sources) estimates that between 1542 and 1549 (the latter years of Henry VII's reign and early years of Edward VI) the amount of coinage circulating in the economy doubled (see J.D. Gould, *The Great Debasement: currency and the economy in Mid-Tudor England*, pub. Oxford, 1970).

The impact of monastic gold and silver plate on the economy made itself directly apparent during what was called the Great Debasement of the coinage between 1542 and 1551. Like the rest of Europe, the coinage in England was based on bi-metallism in which the coinage was composed of the two precious metals, silver and gold, with their face value supposed to have a real relationship to their intrinsic value as precious metals. What happened in the Great Debasement was unique in the English economy:-

> "The Great Debasement—the adulteration of the English coinage in the last years of Henry VIII and during the reign of Edward VI—is a unique event in English history. It was the only occasion, throughout the centuries in which England's circulating medium consisted mainly of coins fashioned from the two precious metals, on which the purity and weight of those coins were seriously reduced for fiscal reasons" (*The Great Debasement: currency and the economy in Mid-Tudor England*, by J.D. Gould, pub. Oxford, 1970, p1).

Although there had been debasements in the past, these were usually undertaken to restore the equilibrium between the relative face value of the coins to reflect any relative changes in the intrinsic value between the two metals. When the intrinsic value of silver and gold fluctuated in terms of each other, for instance when gold bullion experienced a scarcity and began to cost more silver to procure a given amount of gold than was previously the case, the relative intrinsic value between the two metals would change. If this persisted over time it would then become necessary to adjust the quality or amount of one or both of the precious metals in their respective coins to reflect this change. The Great Debasement, however, was the first time when this was undertaken with the specific purpose of increasing the amount or currency in circulation. Because existing quantities of gold and silver were not sufficient to provide the necessary increase in coinage, the Government was compelled, on the one hand, to dilute the purity of the coinage by introducing base metals into the newly-minted coins and also by enforcing a call up ("compulsory delivery") of what remained of the previously confiscated Church gold and silver plate to be minted into coinage. In the meantime, the King and the Government also used the opportunity offered by the re-minting to divert some of the wealth to their own coffers. The Great Debasement remained the only occasion when such action was taken until the abandonment of bi-metallism in 1816 (the later years of Edward VI's reign witnessed an attempt to restore the purity of the coinage but was not very successful. Elizabeth's attempt in 1561 met with more success by reducing the amount of money in circulation by half).

The Great Debasement, which, as has been said, created a doubling of the circulation, involved a highly complicated operation as the Government had to retrieve as much of the circulating coinage as possible in order to re-mint the new coinage containing the degraded amount of precious metals. As part of the process the surviving Church plate was converted to coinage and the whole process involved an activity on an industrial scale.

> "In order to cope with the rush of activity which the debasement of the coins and the monetization of despoiled Church plate provoked, six other Mints {besides the permanent Tower of London mint—ED} were opened or reopened: a second establishment in the Tower, two other metropolitan Mints, at Southwark and in Durham House in Strand; and three in the provinces, at Canterbury, York, and Bristol." (ibid. p3).

However, it is an astonishing fact that nearly 500 years after the event, British academia has failed to properly investigate, not only an exact figure for the amount of Church plate that was transferred into coinage in the aftermath of the Dissolution of the Monasteries, but we do not even have an approximation—a fact commented upon by the author of the above investigation:

> "But what is certain is that during the Great Debasement there was a substantial monetization of plate and ornament from the suppressed religious houses through what we have termed 'compulsory deliveries'. It might be possible for an assiduous researcher, consulting a wider range of records than the present writer, to form a reasonably precise impression as to the relative magnitude of the contribution which this particular source made to the supply of raw materials to the Mints during the Great Debasement. Here we assert only that it was clearly substantial, particularly perhaps in the case of the strategically placed Canterbury Mint. ('Compulsory deliveries' may help to explain not only why Canterbury was the most active of the Mints outside London, but how it came about that the mint price paid for bullion at the provincial Mints, and especially Canterbury,

several times lagged behind that which had to be offered in order to attract it to the London Mints.)" (ibid. p33).

Incidentally, the author of the above work, John D. Gould, a New Zealand academic, was the first to identify and explore the records of the Mints during this process other then the permanent Tower of London Mint—a shocking indictment of British economic historians of the Tudor period.

To return to the question at hand. With regards to the alleviation of taxation, the burden of which was likely to became more acute as a result of Henry VIII's plans to increase his military and naval defences, this is what one contemporary commentator had to say:

"That the King's Exchequer should forever be enriched; the kingdom and the nobility strengthened and increased; the common subjects acquitted and freed from all former taxes and services: and that the abbots, monks, friars, and nuns being suppressed in their places should be created forty earls, sixty barons, three thousand knights, forty thousand soldiers and skilful captains, and competent maintenance for them all forever out of the ancient church revenues. So as in so doing the king and his successors should never want treasure of their own, nor have cause to beholden to the common subjects, neither should the people be charged any more with loans, subsidies, and fifteenths." (From *Ecclesiastical Memorials Relating To Religion Under Henry VIII*, by John Strype Oxford, 1822 edn., Vol. I, 422 f. Quoted in *Economic Factors tending towards secularization of Church property in England, 1533-39*, by Oscar A. Marti. Pub. in 'The Journal of Political Economy', Fol. 37, no. 4, Aug. 1929, p460).

As far as Henry was concerned, the Dissolution of the Monasteries was a 'win, win' situation. The yeomanry were relieved of taxation, the gentry gained more land, and the king filled his boots. Overall, not only did the plunder of Catholic wealth have a dramatic impact on the coinage, but the way that money circulated changed enormously under the new taxation arrangements. A good proportion of the taxation that was previously paid to the clergy and monasteries found its way to Rome and, although barter played a part in the collection of the tithes, the proportion that went to Rome was in currency of gold and silver—something that represented a significant drain of wealth from the country. Once this was stopped, even if previous levels of taxes were only redirected to the new ecclesiastical recipients or eaten up by increased rents charged by the aristocracy and gentry, the fact that it remained in the country and allowed to circulate domestically was bound to have an influence on the economy. All of which, combined with the increase in the amount of land now opened up to the market, led to a surge in the country's wealth which impacted on various areas of social manners and activities. One of these was in the area of upper class marriage patterns. This may seem a trivial side-effect but it proved to be highly significant in the way that Protestant England as a colonial power subsequently evolved:-

"The suppression of nunneries by Henry VIII had exacerbated the situation by closing the one honourable avenue of escape, for they had been used by the aristocracy as 'convenient stowage for their withered daughters', to use Milton's rasping phrase. Though not always cheap, these establishments at any rate avoided the necessity of finding large capital sums in a hurry. To this increased pressure from the abolition of nunneries in the mid-sixteenth century, was added competition from daughters of the rising gentry in the late sixteenth century, and from daughters and widows of City Aldermen in the early seventeenth century. But the supply of eligible husbands of good social standing had failed to keep pace with this rising demand. Daughters of peers had always been ready to marry heirs male of their greater gentry, so there was little compensatory social break-through here to ease the strain. It was still not considered decent to marry your daughter to a mere merchant's son, even though your son and heir might at a pinch marry a merchant's daughter" (*Marriage Among The English Nobility in the 16th and 17th Centuries* by Lawrence Stone, pub. in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol.3, no. 2, Jan., 1961, p190).

The law of supply and demand meant that, if a daughter of the aristocracy was to find an aristocratic husband, she had to bring with her a dowry attractive enough to entice the prospective husband away from the competing dowries being offered by the daughters of the newly wealthy merchants and upper gentry eager to get a foothold among the aristocracy. The increasing success of the merchants and upper gentry in this regard can be gauged by the fact that:-

"Between 1540 and 1569, 54% of the marriages of titular peers and their heirs male were within the peerage class, but between 1570 and 1599 the proportion fell to 33%. Intermarriage with the peerage had declined sharply" (ibid. p196).

The impact of the redistribution of the Catholic wealth was not immediate, at least with regards to the daughters of the Protestant merchant and gentry class. Daughters born to such parents had to grow to a marriageable age after their parents' wealth had accumulated before any change would become apparent. Allowing for extremes at both ends of the marriageable age, this would have been sometime around the late 1560s. Although the above figures do not provide an ideal time-span to allow a neat comparison, the trend would appear to be confirmed.

The eventual result of this was a growing aristocracy. As the wealthy merchants and upper gentry were increasingly providing the wives of the nobles, they or their offspring in turn took their place among the elite:-

"Between 1600 and 1629 the picture is blurred by the rapid elevation of large numbers of the upper gentry into the peerage, with the result that the aristocracy doubled in size. In the succeeding period from 1630 to 1659, when the new peerage may be said to have been absorbed, the nobility as a whole had reverted to its pre-1570 position of marrying rather more than 50% within itself. But since there were now twice as many families, this did nor represent quite that strict exclusiveness that had characterised the mid-sixteenth century" (ibid. p196).

Thus, by the mid-17th century the English aristocracy appears to have responded to the demographic impact of the fiscal changes unleashed in large part by the Dissolution by becoming a larger segment of society while at the same time creating an overlay through family ties with the upper gentry and merchant class at its outer edges.

Cloth, and Fish and Ships

Henry's Dissolution was undertaken in two stages. What was called the minor monasteries were dissolved in 1536 and the more significant monasteries in 1539. Because the extensive Catholic wealth was released and redistributed in the economy was the result of political actions, it could not easily be accommodated within the existing economy. The wealth thereby introduced was not the result of any normal growth in the economy and consequently it had nowhere to go beyond existing avenues of investment or spending. As a result of this it found its way into the traditional woollen industry or into the purchase and consumption of luxury goods by the newly arrived, or newly enhanced, rich (it could also of course be spent on leisure activities of which the playhouse is one example). The woollen industry benefited through this investment by developing the ability to manufacture cloth more efficiently. However, because of over-investment in this area, it soon created a situation where it dominated the economy and the country's exports. By the time Elizabeth took the throne in 1558 the reliance on cloth as the country's main export had become almost

absolute.

> "England's overseas trade at the beginning of the Elizabethan era thus consisted of bartering a single produce, cloth—the result of what, for the age, was a truly gigantic industrialization, involving a great agrarian revolution and a change, in the whole pattern of internal economy—in return for a number of articles, many of which this country was climatically unable to produce, together with a range of industrial finished products of every kind to serve the growing needs of the civilized and luxury-loving upper and middle classes. England clothed the North European peasant and in return absorbed a great proportion of the products contrived by Europe's technical skills and imported from the East and South by Europe's merchant marine. The balance of trade hung entirely upon the capacity of Europe to handle, transport, and purchase the cloth of which England was an almost unlimited purveyor. A 10% alteration in the volume of cloth exports was more than sufficient to tip this balance markedly one way or the other" (*Elizabethan Overseas Trade*, by Lawrence Stone, pub. in Economic History Review, New Series, Vol.2. no. 1 (1949), p39).

This reliance on a single export, in the context of imports of unprecedented levels of luxury goods to satisfy the tastes of the expanding middle and upper class, generated a situation which left the country vulnerable to any downturn in demand on mainland Europe for its cloth exports. It was apparent to Elizabeth's Government that the profile of the economy needed to be remoulded into one not so reliant on the market in a single staple commodity. However, this could only begin to happen when circumstances permitted.

The financial collapse of the great Powers under the strain of the European War in the late 1550s created just such a situation. The Peace of Cateau-Cambresis, which brought the European hostilities to a close, was signed by Elizabeth I of England and Henry II of France on 2nd April 1559, and between Henry II and Philip II of Spain on 3rd April. In the course of these hostilities both France and Spain had defaulted on their debt in order to sustain their war activities. With both Spain and France damaged financially as a result of the war, Elizabeth and her advisors began to reorganise government and explore ways in which the country could expand into new markets. This, also required changes to England's now depleted mercantile shipping fleet

The shipping resources of England had reflected the requirements of trade at the beginning or the Elizabethan period.

> "The countries with which England traded were almost exclusively limited to those ports in Western Europe from Cadiz to the Zuider Zee which were directly accessible to the Channel. English wares found their way to the Baltic, but only via Hanseatic shippers. When Christopher Hoddeston toured the whole southern Baltic littoral from Danzig westward in 1544, he 'found no Englishman trading nor cloth to be sold but by Stillyard men'. Twenty years later, of the 3,283 ships which were registered as passing through the Baltic Sound, only 66 were English (in W. Kirchner, *England And Denmark 1558-1588*, in *Journal of Modern History*, xvii, 5, II). As for the Mediterranean, such trading experiments as had been indulged in had now almost entirely ceased in the face of Turkish piracy, and competition from the overland route to Antwerp. The fundamental fact of England' overseas commerce was the extraordinary and unique position enjoyed by Antwerp as the *entrepot* of the world trade. Exotic products such as East Indian pepper and Barbary sugar, West German metallurgical goods, Low Countries manufactures like fustians and worsteds, raw materials like madder and hops, Baltic timber, pitch and cordage, Italian small arms, silks and alum, all were funnelled through this single great port. And thither went almost the entire English cloth export. Second only in importance to Antwerp were the French ports notably Rouen, which bartered canvas for almost all England's tin exports, La Rochelle for wine and salt, and Bordeaux for wine, prunes and woad. Of the London imports in this period, much of the linen, all the canvas and over one-half of the wine came from France, while all the oil and one third of the wine was imported from Spain. Spain and France between them thus provided over one-third of the total imports by value. The Spanish products were more than paid for by exports, but the great French staple commodities had to be bought principally with bullion due to the heavy adverse balance.
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> "Such were the broad lines of English foreign trade at the beginning of the Elizabethan period: two-thirds of traffic concentrated on Antwerp and most of the remaining third on France and the Iberian peninsula; the bullion to cover the deficit trade balance with France being acquired by a favourable balance with the other two areas, maintained by a huge cloth export" (ibid. pp.40-41).

At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign the vessels handling the English trade were overwhelmingly foreign and the fact that English cloth had only to travel across the Channel on its way to Antwerp meant that the existing English mercantile fleet had no inducement to improve ship design or increase in size. Likewise, English imports of the more exotic and luxury goods were transported from their place of origin to Antwerp in Italian, Portuguese, Dutch and Hanseatic ships with very few English ships involved. Even the cross-Channel traffic was by no means all English. *"In 1552, the English merchant Thomas Bernabe, lamenting 'this worly borly of our ships', declared that with his own eyes he had counted thirty-seven hoys sail out of Rye at a single tide, laden with timber, and not one of the thirty-seven was English"* (ibid. p41). The profile of the entire English mercantile fleet had come to reflect the country's reliance on cloth exports.

> "The principal document that deals with the decay of shipping is unfortunately not dated. It is divided into two parts, covering the decay from 1544 to 1553 and from 1553 to 'this presente'. In view of Burghley's {Lord Burghley, William Cecil as was, Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth—ED} known great concern over shipping in 1561-4, the document may not unreasonably be attributed to these years. This survey shows that between 1544 and 1553, thirty-five ships of a total tonnage of 5,540 'decayed' while from 1553 to 'this presente' no less than sixty-two ships of 9,580 aggregate tonnage suffered the same fate. The largest ship in the list was a Bristol giant of 500 tons, the smallest a 70-tonner from a Norfolk port. In the previous twenty-odd years, therefore, ninety-two ships of over 100 tons had fallen into decay. If this figure is of little value without the accompanying statistics for new construction, it may nevertheless profitably be compared with the total of seventy-six of over 100 tons returned in 1560 as belonging to all ports in the country, except Bristol and the nearby ports of Wales and Somerset. Even twelve years later, in 1572, England's tonnage of ships over 100 tons was still put at under 11,000, only a little more in fact than the tonnage which had decayed between 1553 and 'this presente'. Moreover, she apparently could not boast of a single ship of more than 240 tons, whereas seven of above that figure appear in the list of ships decayed. Apart from the swarms of hoys ferrying to and fro between the Thames and the Scheldt, the only English merchant fleets of any consequence by the middle years of the century were the seventy-odd little ships of the annual Bordeaux wine fleet, the thirty or so even smaller vessels that annually visited Brouage and La Rochelle for salt, and the hundred-odd that by 1557 were passing through the Baltic" (ibid. pp41-42).

Associated with the maritime fleet, was the decline of the fishing fleet. While historians and economists are loathe to make an association between the Dissolution and the subsequent political

economy of England, there is no such reluctance when it comes to social customs, like marriage patterns or eating habits:

> "Equally serious was the ruin of the English fishing fleet. The cause for this collapse appears principally to have derived from the change in the feeding habits of the nation. With the Reformation there came a breakdown of the ancient restraints imposed by the Church upon the eating of meat, and the consumption of fish consequently fell heavily. Prices dropped, and the fishermen found that it no longer paid them to pursue their calling. Thus in 1560, Yarmouth explained that 'the expense of fyshe being so smale in comparison of tyme past, that town is exceedingly decayed in welthe'… At the end of the reign of Edward VI the fishmongers declared that, whereas in 1529 the English fishing fleets in the North Sea, Scottish and Icelandic waters had totalled 440 ships, they were now reduced to a mere 133. In 1563 it was certified that, whereas thirty years before the Cinque ports of Hastings, Winchelsea, Rye, Romney, Hythe, Folkestone, Dover and Sandwich had possessed 259 fishing boats and small coasters, they were now reduced to sixty-eight. Allowing for the exaggeration of despair, the decay still remains unquestionable and of the most serious proportions" (ibid. p42).

During all of this England remained a wealthy country. As has been observed, "the country was clearly wealthy, being in a position to sell such left-overs as 'Butter Corrupt', 'Old Shoes' and poor quality kersies to its pauper neighbours in France" (ibid. p38). As the Elizabethan period progressed the issues confronting foreign trade continued to be more or less what they were at the beginning:

> "There were three major factors operative throughout this period which caused such changes in English foreign trade as may be observed to have taken place. The first was an undoubted increase in the demand by the English middle and upper classes for luxury goods of every description. This fact is attested beyond all possibility of doubt by the unanimous voices of all contemporary commentators, though the cause of this increase in purchasing power in large sections of the population is still far from clear. The second factor was the destruction of that remarkable monument to early sixteenth-century European organization, the great *entrepot* centre and foreign exchange mart at Antwerp, once 'the warehouse of all Christendome'. Fortunately political conditions deteriorated slowly over a long period thus giving England time to reorientate her commerce before civil war finally sealed off the mouth of the Scheldt. So far as exports were concerned, the problem was largely solved by diverting cloth to a more northerly port, whether Hamburg or Stade, which was still close to the final consumers in the great North German plains. But this alternative was unable fully to absorb English production, while English merchants were at last compelled to seek for themselves at source those multifarious commodities that they had previously purchased at second hand on the Antwerp market. The third powerful factor that dictated the pattern of Elizabethan foreign trade was the all-pervading effect of government intervention. The official statistics that have already been described served to convince Burghley {William Cecil—ED} that it was the duty of the State to legislate in order to arrest the decay in shipping and to turn the supposed adverse trade balance once more in England's favour. All statesmen and publicists were agreed that the import of superfluous luxuries should be rigidly pruned…
>
> "In the second place, every effort was to be made to encourage the growth within the country of those raw materials such as woad, flax and hops which it might reasonably be hoped would prosper, besides artificially stimulating the production of a wide range of industrial goods which had hitherto been imported from abroad. There was no hope of developing native production of wines, oils, pepper or sugar. But four other very large items were capable of responding to governmental intervention and Burghley was given detailed information on their nature and origin. Fustians came from Italy via the Low Countries, being made up of linen and of cotton wools imported from Syria and Egypt, or from Barbary and the Portuguese Empire. It was suggested that such cotton wools might be imported direct from Crete by the ships bringing Malmsey wine, and used to make up the fustians in England. Worsteds were made in the Valenciennes area out of English wool, and it should therefore be easy to substitute native manufacture. Linen and canvas came mostly from Western France and a little from Flanders, but could be made in England and Ireland since both countries could grow flax. Finally, there was a plentiful supply of iron, particularly in the Weald of Sussex and in the Forest of Dean, from which a native iron and steel manufacture could be built up. England could thus free herself from dependence on Spain for raw iron and upon the Liege metallurgical centre and the Low Countries generally for all kinds of metallurgical products. There is a clear connexion between the presentation of these statistics and reports to Lord Burghley, and the immediate foundation of the two government-sponsored mining and metallurgical companies of the age. The sixteenth-century drive for self-sufficiency was now under way in earnest. Thirdly, financial inducements in the form of subsidies and differential treatment were to be offered for the construction of ocean-going vessels, and the fishing trade revived by the imposition of political lent" (ibid. pp43-44).

A few observations on the above account. The claim that the *"cause of this increase in purchasing power in large sections of the (Elizabethan) population is still far from clear"* is symptomatic of the blind spot that the Catholic dreamworld continued to exert on English historians. The failure to link it in any way with the impact of the release of Catholic wealth resulting from the Dissolution reveals a lot about the point of departure from which such historians took their bearings. The reference to the decline of Antwerp and the impact of civil war on English trade is something that post-dates our period (Antwerp in 1559 was experiencing one of its boom phases and its decline and civil war was the result of the religious wars that began in 1566 and continued for the rest of the century). Putting such things aside, the conditions described above (which relate to a later period) remained more or less what they were at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. One critical omission however, is the failure to give sufficient weight to the policy of aggressive pursuit of new trade routes to the West that increasingly became part of the English Government's strategy in the years immediately after 1559. (The more 'legitimate' mercantile activities of the Muscovy Company—the first Chartered joint stock company occurred in 1555 under Mary's reign—is not covered here as it is not representative of what came to be those enterprises which opened up the route to English colonialism.)

England came out of the European war of 1559 in a stronger position than its main rivals France and Spain, both countries having to default on their debts as a result of the cost of the war. The English Government took advantage of the opportunity to strengthen the State and its armed forces in order to challenge the existing trade and trading routes of the other European Powers.

The Role of the Privateer in the re-orientation of trading perspective

The first object of Elizabeth in the aftermath of the 1559 war was to strengthen the State and this initially took the form of extending Government control over various sectors of the economy. To do this first required the gathering of statistics. William Cecil, Elizabeth's Secretary of State, was probably the first statistically-minded statesman in England. He laid down the plan for a General Registry Office to

maintain statistics and also recognised that effective policy on customs and excise can only be possible with the aid of proper statistics:-

> "It is therefore highly significant that now for the first time the Exchequer and customs officials were ordered to produce figures designed specifically to give information on the nature, amount and direction of English overseas trade. The old enrolled Customs accounts remained in their traditional and almost unusable form, but in Burghley's {William Cecil—ED} office appeared lists and statistics that at least were relevant and informative for the statesman and the planner. It is even possible to observe a rudimentary economic information service at work in this period. In the early years, Burghley's greatest stand-by in planning his economic policy was Peter Osborne, the remarkable Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in the Exchequer. Himself a merchant of wide experience he regularly provided his master with accurate and informative advice upon imports and exports, company organization, currency and exchange dealings, prices and restrictive practices" (ibid. p33).

Thus was the Government armed with the information necessary to inform policy and exert control over its imports and exports. While this was going on the Government introduced subsidies to encourage the building of a new mercantile fleet capable of trading further afield than across the Channel and the Iberian Peninsula. But trading beyond existing well-tried and profitable areas is not something that can be switched on automatically. Changes in trading patterns can take place because of market-driven reasons or for merchant-driven reasons. In the former, things like the sudden destruction or gradual decline of existing markets will cause merchants to seek out alternative markets in which to procure or sell their goods. In the case of the latter, the failure, through lack of capacity, of existing markets to accommodate the volume of specific produce held by a merchant can also lead to the seeking out of new markets. The latter is also the case when the merchant has new products to sell which have yet to find a settled market.

All things being normal however, merchants are usually cautious creatures and prefer to continue to operate along established lines dealing in products with a proven market. In these circumstances changes in trading patterns usually occur over time, the time taken being dependent upon the rate of return on investment —the bigger the proven returns the quicker will investors move into these new areas.

But changes, whether sudden of gradual, happen as a result of the more adventurous spirits following their instincts or acting on judgements that have arisen out of circumstances beyond that experienced by conventional traders. It was here that Elizabeth's strategy of encouraging the exploration of new trading routes came to rely on the privateers. The privateer was not hindered by the conservative mindset that dominated the merchant's thinking. Used to open horizons and a 'seize it and take it' mentality, he provided the necessary mixture of commercial ruthlessness and adventurous exploration to point the way to possible new opportunities. But the privateer, acting alone, could not provide trade routes. The very things that he brought to the table worked against what was needed to establish the trade routes. Trade routes need to be constructed over time as a relationship of confidence is built up between buyer and seller. The privateer's 'hit and run' technique is something that in itself precludes such a relationship. The instincts of the privateer needed to be allied with the more protracted outlook of the merchant for the thing to be successful. But, not all merchants would have the stomach for such an undertaking. The vast majority of them, while willing to fall in when a new trade route has been established, prefer to hold back from the cut and thrust that is required in the opening up of these new routes. What was required was the involvement of the more adventurous merchants. Those, who having succeeded in exhausting the existing areas of investment, were now eager to find a new areas in which to invest. It was here that the mercantile pressures opened up by the infusion and redistribution of Catholic wealth in the aftermath of the Dissolution came to play its part.

As has been shown, the radical redistribution of wealth in the wake of the plunder of Catholic resources resulted in the creation of a more porous social boundary between the aristocracy on the one hand and the upper gentry and merchants on the other. This in turn generated the social channels by which wealth generated from agricultural and other land-based activities could find its way into trade. This was also a critical ingredient in the creation of the conditions by which English maritime activity could expand. But it needed to be combined with the adventurous spirit of the privateer in order to make the necessary leap. Elizabeth's Government had been encouraging privateering activities for a number of years before she became directly involved with John Hawkins in the slave trade in 1564. In fact the Hawkins family had been involved in privateering as early as Henry VIII's time.

John Hawkins's father, William Hawkins, commenced his maritime activities as a trader undertaking voyages to France, Spain, and Newfoundland and became the first Englishman to regularly trade between upper Guinea and Brazil. He was Mayor of Plymouth in 1532-33 and again in 1538-39. A favourite of Thomas Cromwell, during the Dissolution he acted as a middle-man in the sale of the Catholic Church silver plate in the region of Plymouth and appears to have benefited from these transactions. In the 1530s Thomas Cromwell also championed his cause in the factional conflict between Plymouth and Saltash for control of maritime activities in the area of the Sound (the area which controls the southern entry to the English Channel). It was Cromwell's support that ensured Hawkins supremacy at Plymouth —a fact that is of some significance in ensuring that the town, a bastion of Puritanism, became the headquarters of Huguenot privateers in the Channel. It appears that, up to this time, Hawkins's involvement with privateering had been an indirect one and had been restricted to acting as the patron and facilitator of privateering ventures undertaken by others. His own expeditions appear to have been in the area of more legitimate trading activities but that was to change in the mid 1540s:-

> "During the Anglo-French hostility and invasion fears of the 1540s Hawkins abandoned transatlantic trading for privateering nearer home. In September 1544 he received letters of marque for up to eight ships to take prizes from the French.. His lack of scruple sometimes led him into trouble. In 1545 one of his ships captured a Spanish vessel, whose cargo he correctly alleged was really French; the case reached the Admiralty Court, and when Hawkins arrogantly sold the goods before the case was settled, he was imprisoned for contempt, probably a gesture to appease Charles V. Hawkins was in trouble again which his frigate, the Mary Figge, illegally captured some Flemish goods, and he took a Breton ship just after the peace with France was signed in 1546" (*Dictionary Of National Biography, DNB,* entry).

In the meantime he was Member of Parliament for Plymouth in 1539, 1547 and October 1553. Primarily because of his involvement with privateering he become one of the five wealthiest men in Plymouth.

It was his sons, John Hawkins and William Hawkins jnr., who became the pioneers of the English slave trade, or at least pioneers of the English slave trade on a commercial scale. Their father appears to have died in late 1553 and the sons inherited his business. The sons, like the father were respectable citizens of Plymouth with both being made Freemen of Plymouth within a few years of their father's death and, like their

father they continued what had become the family privateering activities, combining these with their patriotic duties in the English Channel during the war with France in 1557-8.

Ships owned by privateers were armed vessels and were expected to make themselves available for service under the Crown when the country was at war, with the trade-off being the State's accommodation of their activities during times of peace. The distinction between the English navy and the activities of English privateers was sometimes not easily discerned.

> "A great deal of the work of expansion, conquest, and discovery was done by adventurers whose connection with the national Navy was loose enough; so far as the Hawkinses were concerned, though they came to the front in the first instance as merchant adventurers and the patrons of privateers, their association with the Navy was close." (*A Sea-dog of Devon: a life of Sir John Hawkins*, by R.A.J. Walling, pub. John Lane, New York, 1907, p9).

It was in the form of the Hawkins' family that the association between privateering, merchant adventurers, the English state and new trading activities (including the slave trade) first took shape.

English State Sponsors Privateering

Although John Hawkins's second slave-trading expedition of 1564 was the first time that the English State became directly involved with the commercialization of the slave trade, Elizabeth's sponsorship of that expedition was not the first time that the State was directly involved with privateering activities. This took place in the following context:

> "The old channels of English seaborne trade had led mainly to Holland and Spain: even the Mediterranean was as yet but seldom penetrated, and with these openings our commerce had long been satisfied. With the awakening of Tudor times came a new spirit of enterprise. Merchants began to feel discontented 'with the short voyages commonly then made to the known coasts of Europe'. The elder William Hawkins had ventured to break the old traditions with his famous voyages to the Guinea Coast and Brazil, and others followed from time to time in his steps, at least as far as Guinea, but it was not till the reign of Edward VI that the new force began seriously to show itself. The obstacles in the way were enormous. To the North and East the road was barred by the gigantic monopoly of the Hansa; to the South and West by the Spaniards and the Portuguese taking their stand upon the Papal Bulls of Partition, which had apportioned the new worlds between them. In face of the difficulty two schools of opinion seem to have formed themselves. The one more peaceful, though none the less adventurous, was in favour of seeking new outlets in the undiscovered and unappropriated parts of the earth, while the other, more unruly, inclined to disputing the new monopolies" (*Drake And The Tudor Navy: with a history of the rise of England as a maritime power*, by Julian S. Corbett, pub. Longmans, Green, and Co. London, New York and Bombay, 1899, 2 vols., Vol. 1, p76).

It was with the 'more unruly' school of merchant endeavour that Elizabeth was later to invest her favours. The activities of privateering cannot be separated from trade and trading rights. In the area of international Treaties involving such rights, the only body with sufficient standing to oversee the terms of any such agreements was the Papacy. When the Spanish discoveries in the West brought about a potential area of conflict between Spain and Portugal, the Pope was asked to mediate. This resulted in the Vatican assigning each its own sphere of influence with a line drawn vaguely between the 41st and 44th meridian west of Greenwich. Under the terms of this award Portugal claimed the Coast of Brazil, the East Indies, and all of Africa that lay to the South of the Canaries, with Spain being awarded the rest of America and everything else westward of the line of partition. However, Protestant commerce was never going to recognise such demarcation:

> "… in spite of all the Portuguese could do by violence or artifice, English vessels continued to penetrate their sphere and trade upon the Guinea Coasts. The Portuguese affected to confound them with the French corsairs who infested those waters, and to treat them as pirates. For this there was no shadow of ground beyond the Pope's award. The men who sent them out were the merchant princes of London, with Sir William Garrard at their head, a man who in 1556 was Lord Mayor and who continued to be one of {William} Cecil's most trusted advisors and agents in financial operations of the Government. But, bold and persistent as he and his fellows were in their determination to expand the area of English commerce, as yet they had not ventured into the Spanish sphere. Spain was too powerful, trade to the Netherlands {then under Spanish control—ED} and the Peninsular ports too valuable to be risked…" (ibid. p77).

The William Cecil (later Lord Burghley) mentioned above was one of those Tudor statesmen who managed to survive the Byzantine twists and turns of post-Reformation English politics. He spent two months incarcerated in the Tower of London in November 1549 to January 1550 but by September 1550 he was a Privy Councillor and Third Secretary of State under the Protestant regime of Edward VI. Although offered a position under the Catholic Queen Mary's Government, he declined. According to his DNB entry, in declining the offer—

> "His motives were religious; he would not have felt at ease as the executor of Catholic policy, but he remained on good terms with the new regime. He had, in the meantime entered the service of the then Princess Elizabeth and when she assumed the throne in November 1558 she immediately appointed him Secretary of State. Cecil was a Protestant humanist who managed to avoid becoming identified with either the Puritan or Anglican wings of English Protestantism until such time, under Elizabeth, when it was obvious what side of the theological coin had fallen face-up. He continued to serve Elizabeth up to her death".

The 1556 expedition referred to above took place under the reign of Catholic Mary but without her or her court's involvement. It was the effort of a combination of English and French merchants. The goal was to establish a fort at Benin in West Africa in order to facilitate the mining for gold. However, the expedition was unable to get through the Portuguese protection vessels and declared a failure. The man who was the main sponsor of the expedition was Sir William Garrard who had risen from humble beginnings to make his wealth in the cloth trade and was eager to explore alternative markets. Garrard resumed his efforts in 1561, this time under the more supportive regime of Elizabeth. He went into partnership with Benjamin Gonson (later John Hawins's father-in-law), Treasurer of the Navy, and Captain William Wynter, the Master of the Naval Ordnance—the involvement of these two individuals indicated the support of Elizabeth's Government. It was also supposed that Elizabeth herself was a shareholder in the venture. In all events she provided a very public announcement of her support by loaning one of her Royal Navy vessels, the 'Minion' to the expedition.

Although the second expedition to establish a fort in West Africa in 1561 also proved a failure, it represents a watershed in terms of direct official Government support for privateering activity and helped establish the future direction of English maritime trade.

Part 2 will deal with the Elizabethan Government's role in encouraging the development of the English slave trade and the influence of the Irish experience in the formulation of English ideas for American plantation.

VOX PAT

Moore's Melodies

Journalist Training?

Newspaper Sales

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Moore's Melodies

"In the eyes of Fr. John O'Sullivan, obsession with pedigree and pretension to illustrious lineage had reached well-nigh pathological proportions among his parishioners. In a lengthy homily to his flock in 1861, dilating on the subversive potential of an unlikely compendium—namely, 'Moore's Melodies'—he declared that he looked upon the work in question as 'a most mischievous book in the hands of young lads, particularly in this Union, where the firm belief seems to be among all classes from the farmer to the cow boy, that they are all "gentlemen born" . . . . He added: 'That's a great misfortune for the people . . . .' He went on to remind his congregation that in the entire union there were only three castles two of them in Templenoe, the very parish . . . . where the least noise is made of their ancestors and their cousins, and all that came before them . . . . if the other parishes had these castles . . . . what end would there be of their boasting? . . . . To this [Kenmare] and the other parishes of the Union belong the foolish nonsensical ideas of blood and lineage that so pervade all classes, make idlers of them, make discontented subjects of them, fill them with pride, nonsense and vanity, and render them the laughing stock of every thinking person . . . . of all the books printed . . . . Moore's Melodies tends to foster and keep up such notions . . . .". (*The Lansdowne Estate in Kerry under W. S. Trench 1849-72* , Gerard J. Lyne, Geography Publications, 2001, p546).

NOTE:

The Life and Poems of Thomas Moore by Brendan Clifford including Memoirs of Captain Rock (which defended Irish "agrarian terrorism" to the British establishment). €10; £7.50.

Thomas Moore: Political and Historical Writings on Irish and British Affairs. Extracts from works on Lord Edward Fitzgerald/Whiteboys/Byron/ Sheridan/Whig Politics/ Irish History/ Religion. Introduction by Brendan Clifford. 268pp. €20; £15.

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Journalist Training?

You don't need to go to journalism college to be a journalist *: Hot Press* is putting its name to a diploma in music journalism. Its sessions will include *"music and society"*, *"music and popular culture"* and *"popular culture and music in Ireland since independence"*.

"I suppose you've got to find a way to fill one night a week for 12 weeks at a cost of €895.

"Which brings us to lesson two: you don't need to go to journalism college to be a journalist. You don't need a three-year degree or a 12-week course. Certainly not to be a music or features journalist.

"The truth is that over a decade or more during which journalism courses have spread like an Asian flu, from the perspective of editors one thing is clear: you could scoop any six journalists at random off the street, ask them to pitch and write and do it to length and on time, and you would still not be able to tell which ones had a bit of paper saying they're a journalist.

"It is not to suggest that courses are pointless. They are no doubt helpful for learning elements of libel law, shorthand and sub-editing. They may well be good for the more technical aspects of radio and television. They are definitely good for getting work placements—and that can be a crucial opportunity for those who get it. But if that is the chief benefit some graduates get from their courses, their colleges are little but expensive recruitment companies.

"In my experience, some of the best journalists are those who have avoided that path, whose writing, eye, curiosity and personality were developed through experience, whose tutors were the writers they read." (Shane Hegarty, *Irish Times*, 16.10.2010).

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Newspaper Sales

Dramatic falls have been recorded in the sales of Irish newspapers in the first half of 2010, compared with the same period in 2009.

The *Irish Times* shows the biggest fall among the daily papers, and hardest hit at the weekend was the Independent Media owned *Sunday Tribune*.

Sales of the *Irish Times* have fallen by 7.6% to 105,742 according to figures from the Audit Bureau of Circulation.

There was further prices increases at end of November, 2010: the *Sunday Independent* now costing €2.70; *Sunday Business Post* €2.50 and the three daily broadsheets: €1.90.

Advertising has taken a real hammering, and highlights an aspect of the property bubble seldom referred to in the media itself, that newspaper proprietors were one of the big winners during the boom with their exorbitant advertising rates.

The *Irish Independent* has lost almost one in 20 readers with its average daily circulation now at 144,896. The *Irish Examiner* is down 7.3% to 46,687 copies per day and is being slowly overhauled by the British-owned *Irish Mail*.

Among Sunday newspapers, the *Sunday Tribune* has lost almost a fifth of its readers (a staggering 17%) and now sells just 54,400 copies per week.

Down also are the *Sunday Independent* (2.5% to 265,455), the *Sunday World* (3.7% to 267,130) and the *Sunday Business Post* (14% to 49,637).

The Dublin *Evening Herald* fell by 5% to 67,657 while the Cork *Evening Echo* lost almost 8% of its readers, now selling 22,288 copies per day.

To save face, many of the proprietors revert to the readership of their titles in what must be the most unscientific form of measurement imaginable—as the paid copies decrease, the readership seems to immediately increase.

The *Irish Independent* is literally giving their paper for free : stacks of *Irish Independents* pile up in the foyers of hotels and universities throughout the country available to anyone who wants a copy *gratis*.

NOTE

Due to pressure of space a number of features, including Julianne Herlihy's *Fall Of The Catholic Church,* and the continuation of the Index, have been held of to the next issue.