

Church & State

A Cultural Review Of Ireland And The World

Lest we forget: a record of Empire:

UK war dead 1914 - 2010*

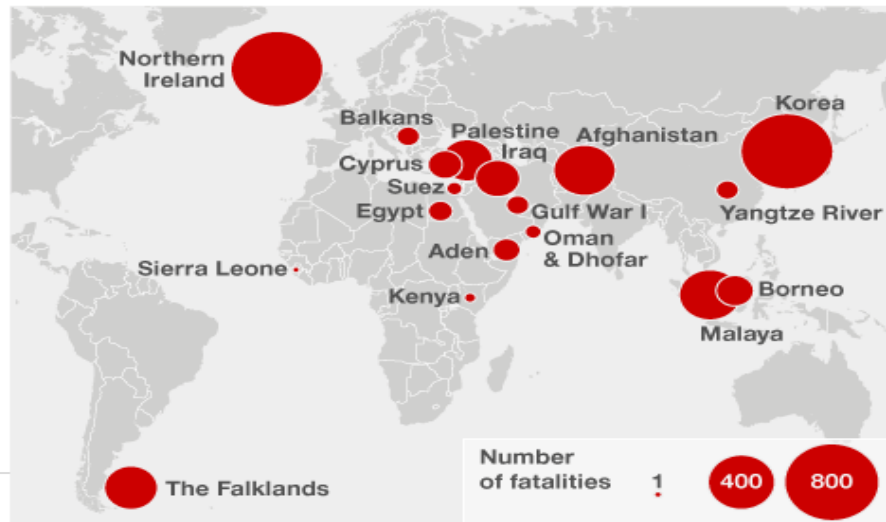
World War I 1914-1918



World War II 1939-1945



Total since 1945



*Except for Iraq and Afghanistan figures do not include those killed on non-active service, training or in accidents
Source: Imperial War Museum, Commonwealth War Graves Commission

Home Truths About State And Church

The Great Eoghan Ruadh

Trinity: Its Works & Poms

Darwin, Malthus And Cobbett

Marshal Petain Show Trial

A Modest Proposal—For Real

Editorial

Some Home Truths About State And Church

In modern democracies the populace has structured public existence in the form of political parties. It does not, as in ancient Athens, exist as a general assembly of itself. It is divided into parties in order to have durable political existence in large states—and by the standard of ancient Athens the Irish Republic is a large state.

Memory is said to be indispensable to human existence. Political memory, which is indispensable to development in the State, is maintained by political parties—or else it lapses. It is certainly not maintained by lectures in the History Departments of Universities, whose content is in extreme flux.

The party-politics of the Irish state was determined by the way the system of government was re-made according to a British ultimatum in 1922. The part of Sinn Fein which submitted to the ultimatum was established in power by British arms and was placed in control of the State direction of national life: the part which would not submit was subordinated by military action and its representatives were excluded from the Dail for many years by means of the Oath to the Crown that was insisted upon as a ritual of admission.

A competent Anti-Treaty Party was formed on a basis of Republican sentiment and, despite all the obstacles placed in its way, it won a General Election ten years after its defeat and went on to be the hegemonic party in the state for the next three generations.

The Treaty Party was established in power by Britain in 1922 and governed until 1932. It was put in place by actual British power in the first instance, and in later years it sought to frighten the electorate with the threat of a return of British power if the Treaty system was broken. It has often been described as a conservative party, but it was something quite different. It was a doctrinaire party relying on the routine of a power system which it did not itself establish. It was not sufficiently conservative even to conserve itself.

In the matter of elections as an element in the life of a democratic state: it won an election in 1923. But it was not by means of elections that the Free State was constituted. A republican Government was freely elected in 1918 and confirmed in 1921 but Britain refused to recognise it and set about destroying it. So it was not because it won an election that the Treaty Party formed the Free State. It was established by British power as the Government of the Free State—being established as a “*Provisional Government*” most of a year before a state was provided for it to govern. (It was set up as a Government on British authority in January 1922: the Free State came into being in December 1922.)

In 1923 it sought the consent of the electorate to the accomplished fact that it was the Government of the Free State, and it got it. But, if the electorate had voted against the Free State and for the Republic, the power that established the Free State would not have recognised the result as valid. In power terms the function of the electorate was to consent—or to rebel. In the

British view Ireland was no more entitled to become a Republic in 1923 than it had been in 1918.

Electoral sovereignty was established by the Anti-Treaty Party, Fianna Fail, in the 1930s when it broke the Treaty and dared Britain to do anything about it, and British power and confidence had declined so far that it did nothing.

Fianna Fail took office in 1932 with the support of the Labour Party. In 1933 it called an election which it won outright. The Treaty Party—called *Cumann na nGaedheal*—was jolted out of its doctrinaire routines. It merged with a small Redmondite party, called itself *Fine Gael*, and declared itself Fascist. It retained a more or less Fascist orientation until 1939, when it supported Fianna Fail’s declaration of neutrality against Britain’s World War. After the War *Fine Gael* made an alliance with a Republican Party recently formed out of the IRA, *Sean MacBride’s Clanna na Poblachta*, returned to office in 1948 (for the first time since 1932) in Coalition with the Clann and the Labour Party, and cast aside the last, meaningless, remnant of the Treaty by formally leaving the British Empire and Commonwealth, in whose affairs the series of Fianna Fail Governments had taken no part.

The pattern of Fianna Fail Governments with Coalition interludes then lasted for about half-a-century.

That pattern fell apart in early 2011 when the electorate, apparently holding the Fianna Fail party responsible for the existence of capitalism, almost gave *Fine Gael* an absolute majority, and Fianna Fail suffered internal collapse.

To summarise: The state had no regular party-political system during the period of Treatyite dominance (1922-1932), or during the many years after 1932 that it took the Treaty Party to remake itself into a republican party within the Fianna Fail system. After 1948 there was a lopsided system in which the alternative to Fianna Fail Government was a merely opportunist alliance between the former Fascist, now something like *Christian Democratic Party* and a Labour Party that became increasingly confused about where it stood in the world.

The long series of Fianna Fail electoral victories in the 1930s and 1940s had to do with *Fine Gael’s* difficulty in weaning itself off the Treaty. Its long series of election victories half a century later had to do with the inability of the Opposition to function as an effective Opposition, because it consisted of at least two parties, and because those two parties, which were a Coalition pair whether in office or out of it, were an extreme ideological mismatch, the one being simply capitalist and the other supposedly socialist.

Fianna Fail’s electoral collapse in February 2011 provided an opportunity for a drastic re-structuring of party-politics. *Fine Gael* almost gained an overall majority and would have been able to form a Government without the Labour Party. And the Labour Party, having overtaken Fianna Fail, might have constituted itself the main Opposition party.

The party structure shaped by the Treaty division was often deplored as abnormal by the Labour Party. It was held that the normal party division as based on class, or at least on an ideology relating to class. But, when Labour got the opportunity in February 2012 to reform the party system on class lines, it backed away from it and went into Coalition with the capitalist party yet again. It gave no convincing reason for why it felt it was necessary to do this. It seems to have been that it just could not imagine acting on its own. It had grown into an unbreakable relationship of dependency with *Fine Gael*. It was Tweedledum, and the project of re-ordering Irish politics as the opposition to

Tweedledee and brushing the hated and broken Fianna Fail party aside was out of the question for it.

And it seems that Tweedledee reciprocated the feeling and was happy to have Labour once again propping it up as its junior partner instead of standing alone.

One of the first noticeable acts of the new Taoiseach was a Declaration of Independence from Rome.

If the Irish State had been a dependency of Rome, it was the Taoiseach's party that made it so during its ten years in Office when the Treaty State was being constructed to Britain's specifications. But who was in a position to say that? Fianna Fail does not exist any more as the agent of memory in the State—and it had in fact been erasing its own memory for many years before its electoral collapse. One could hardly expect the princes of the Church to say it. And Sinn Fein, which is re-emerging as a mainstream force, as the parties that hived off from it over the decades lose their bearings, is not yet in a position to say it. But, if Sinn Fein is to consolidate its position as a major party of the state, it can only be as an agent of political memory, able to see such things and say them.

The position of the Catholic Church in the Irish State founded in 1922 was abnormal. Insofar as this abnormality brought about a relationship of dependency between the Irish State and Rome, that was not the work of Rome but of the Treaty Party directed by Britain.

The Treaty Party, by agreeing to form a State under British direction to replace the Republic, lost the support of the force that had compelled Britain to negotiate. It turned for support to elements that had not supported the elected Republic. Chief among these elements was the Catholic Hierarchy.

That Hierarchy had not recognised the elected Republican Government as the legitimate Government, and the Bishop of Cork went as far as excommunicating the Army of the Republic. But in 1922 it recognised the Provisional Government set up on British authority as legitimate, even while that Government was waiting for Britain to give it a state to govern. And it recognised the war to enforce the Treaty system as legitimate, and issued Decrees of Excommunication against those who resisted it.

Britain had for a couple of generations been attempting to use the Roman Church as an instrument for curbing nationalist development. It had diplomatic influence in Rome, and Rome was paranoid on the subject of Republican conspiracy because of its experience of Italian nationalism. When the Treaty Party in 1922 came to depend on the ideological influence of the Roman Hierarchy, that Hierarchy used the opportunity to build itself into the *de facto* structure of the new Irish State, consolidating and enhancing the position that Britain had accorded it for anti-national purposes.

It seems very unlikely that this would have happened if Britain had recognised the Republic of 1919-21 instead of making war on it.

The Church/State relationship established in the formation of the Treaty State, when those of a strong Republican spirit were being defeated by British arms in Irish hands, was abnormal. But it was abnormal in Romanist, rather than in Reformationist or British, terms.

The distinction between Church and State, with the allocation of different spheres to each, is a Romanist distinction. The Reformation rejected this distinction and proclaimed the unity of Church and State.

It was through the formation of the British Empire that Protestantism became a world force, and in Britain Church and

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Editorial Note: We hope to carry Part Two of Brendan Clifford's article on John McGahern in the next issue of *Church & State*.

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:

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

Church & State

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State have formed a unity ever since Henry VIII declared himself Pope of the English Church.

The British case against Catholicism in Ireland over many generations was that it was not nationalist, but owed allegiance to a foreign power. The Leader of the party that made Ireland a Roman province has now declared independence from that foreign power, but there is still no clue of how this independence is to be structured.

The British complaint that Catholicism in Ireland was not nationalist amounted to a complaint that it did not accord comprehensive and unconditional allegiance to the Crown as the supreme authority in politics and religion. Representative Catholics repeatedly declared their willingness to declare allegiance to Caesar in the things that are Caesar's etc. But that was not enough for a State which did not acknowledge the validity of the distinction between Caesar and God.

Where "*Christ and Caesar were hand in glove*" was not Ireland but England—where Christ and Caesar were one.

Christ/Caesar at Westminster decreed the abolition of the prevailing form of Christianity in Ireland, officially declaring it to be a phenomenon of Anti-Christ, and set out to incorporate Ireland into the absolute religious nationalism of England.

It became the fashion with Irish academics a generation ago to deny the reality, or the serious intent, of the Penal Laws. So far removed were those academics from the reality of things, that they imagined that, by debunking the Penal Laws, they were striking a blow at Republicanism of the North.

But the Penal Laws existed. They were inaugurated as a system about three centuries ago by a Christ/Caesar who appears to have actually believed in herself, Queen Anne, and they were systematically enforced for about three generations by Caesars who may not quite have believed but who did not allow disbelief to undermine the system. The structure of the English State carries its agents along with it. They do its work regardless of their private opinions. And thus far England has produced no Emperor Julian—who sought to abort the system of Roman Catholicism by disestablishing it.

Of course Julian failed. Hermes was no match for the Holy Ghost, or Diana for Mary. The exotic Catholic mixture of beliefs, symbols and idols was made an integral part of the life of the world under the name of Christianity. The Emperor

determined what Christianity was, until the Empire decayed, leaving the Church as its viable element. When statecraft revived, it was with both a Pope and an Emperor as two elements of the same system, in conflict with each other within that system, but neither disputing the legitimacy of the other, or of the system. And so in Catholic Europe we get the dichotomy of Church and State, with the associated party-political division, of Guelphs and Ghibellines.

The Reformation sought to resolve that dichotomy back into a simple unity of Church and State forged into a total sovereignty. Ireland was subordinated to this totalitarianism during the century following the Williamite conquest but was not absorbed into it. When it asserted a life of its own, challenging the system of the Penal Laws with a power that the Protestant Church-State had to give way to, Whitehall could not bring itself to negotiate the kind of Church/State relationship for Ireland that was normal in Europe.

The normal arrangement was for the authority of the Vatican over the local Church to be modified by a Concordat with the State. But the nationalist totalitarianism of the British Church-State could not bring itself to make a Concordat with Rome which, while limiting the authority of Rome over the Church in Ireland, would also give formal recognition to a degree of Roman authority within the British state.

Until the late 18th century, while the Penal Laws were maintained as a system, the relation of the Vatican to the Church in Ireland was regulated by the Jacobite Pretender to the British throne. It was only after Jacobitism lapsed and Westminster admitted Catholics to Parliament without any regulation by Concordat, that the Vatican gained direct and unlimited authority over the Irish section of its Church.

The basic Vatican view of this matter, unlike the British, was not totalitarian. The Church/State distinction was inherent in it, and Rome took it to be a matter of course that it would not have authority unrestricted by the State over the branches of the Church in the various countries.

We have explained this many times over the past forty years. We do so again because the Taoiseach's tirade against Rome implies that Rome asserted unrestricted authority over the Church in Ireland and somehow gained it. And that is very far from being historical truth.

It suited Britain, when it could no

longer deny political rights to Catholics in Ireland, to concede Catholic rights without making any limiting arrangements with Rome, even though it had for over a century been justifying the Penal Laws on the grounds that the Catholic Church was an international system directed by a dictator in Rome.

Responsibility for continuing the unprotected condition of Church in Ireland from Roman authority then passed to the Taoiseach's party, which, when agreeing to construct an Irish State subject to British authority in 1922, simply handed over a swathe of public life to the Church.

This magazine in the 1970s and 1980s focussed attention on the abnormal relationship of Church and State in Ireland and suggested that it should be regularised by means of a Concordat. That suggestion was dismissed by clergy who had become accustomed to functioning outside political authority, and also by anti-clericals (of whom there were many, in a private capacity), who saw it as a concession of authority to the Church.

A big book has just been published about the dispute between Robert O'Keefe, Paris Priest of Callan, and his Bishop, in the 1870s. This book, which originated in Cambridge University and is published by University College Dublin, is pretentiously titled *The European Culture Wars In Ireland*.

The O'Keefe affair and other affairs were publicised by this journal in the 1970s and 1980s in an attempt to establish a historically-grounded public opinion that would engage with the established order of things in a practical reformist way. Academia did not want to know then. Now, when the matter is of no practical relevance, it publishes an extensive account of the O'Keefe affair as a historical curiosity.

The "*European Culture Wars*", into which the O'Keefe affair is slotted by UCD, was a conflict between Church and State in a number of European countries during the generation after 1848, when the Catholic Church, which was widely assumed to have been overcome by the all-conquering spirit of Liberalism, was reasserted as a viable international body by Pius IX. The main battleground of these "*wars*" was Germany—though Switzerland fought a literal Civil War over them.

The restoration of the Roman Church, culminating in the adoption of the Decree of Papal Infallibility by the First Vatican Council in 1870, gave a shock to the Liberal world-outlook, which had its

source in England. English Liberalism, triumphant at home with the abolition of the Corn Laws and the Irish Famine, was asserting its power across the world by means of the associated ideologies of Free Trade and Nationalism. It was an active instigator of nationalism in Europe but not in Ireland. It gave Mazzini a safe haven for the preaching of what would now be called terrorist fundamentalism, and Garibaldi was its hero. In the face of the proclamation of nationalism as a universal force (everywhere except Ireland), the Pope—who had been taken to be a Liberal at the start, reasserted doctrines that had been instituted at the time of the Roman Empire and set about making the Church a viable international institution once again. He even appointed Bishops to English dioceses for the first time in centuries, and Gladstone responded with a Penal Law. Until then, Roman Bishops in England held Sees in the Middle East which had been lost to the Moslems. They were Bishops in England but not Bishops of English Dioceses. A Penal Law was enacted making Roman Bishops of English Dioceses illegal, but it was not enforced because it was assumed that the conquering spirit of Liberalism would make legal suppression of Romanism unnecessary.

The First Vatican Council was held during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71—a French war of aggression on Prussia to prevent the unification of Germany, which had the effect of accelerating German unification. France failed to bring its greater military strength to bear in actual battle, and it miscalculated the effect of its declaration of war on Prussia on the Catholic States of Southern Germany, the chief of which was Bavaria. The French aggression, instead of isolating Prussia from the Catholic German States, drove all the German States together into a kind of Federation led by the King of Prussia and which was called the German Empire.

The "*Culture War*" (*Kulturkampf*) launched by Bismarck after unification had the purpose of fostering an integral national body politic for the new State. It was directed against the Decrees of the Vatican Council asserting direct Papal authority.

The new German Empire, proclaimed in Paris in 1871, following the defeat of the French aggression, and while Germany was in occupation of France pending a French agreement to make a settlement, was an Empire of German states. The largest, and in some ways the most authentic, German state was Bavaria.

Prussia was the active force of national construction in 19th century Germany. It was through Prussian action that the fifty states of 1815 Germany—there had been more than a hundred before the French Revolution—became a single German state in 1871. But Prussia was a recently-constructed product of virtuoso statecraft by the Hohenzollern family. It gained a base in Brandenburg, to which bits and pieces were added here and there as the opportunity presented itself. Frederick the Great had expanded it by war on Austria, but it was not chiefly by war that it had expanded.

Prussia was a 'work in progress'. It was an active monarchical dynasty, rather than a historical people or territory. It was predominately Protestant in its base area, but as a State given its character by Frederick the Great it was the European centre of free-thought philosophy.

And Bavaria, the biggest and most historically-definite of the German states, was quite definitely Catholic.

The formation of the German Empire coincided with the dissolution of the Papal States and the assertion by the Papacy of its supremacy as a spiritual power with temporal implications.

Bismarck's object in his "*Culture War*" was to forge a national body politic for the new German state, which was a very decentralised federal structure. Bavaria, for example, remained a Kingdom with its own Army until 1918 (and then there was a possibility that it would revert to independent statehood).

Prussia had been Britain's ally in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries, and British Liberalism could hardly have disapproved of Bismarck's Anti-Catholic laws, designed to reduce the influence of the new, assertive Romanism on the Catholic States of the new German Empire. But, when Britain decided to make war on Germany in 1914, its war propaganda—contributed to by Home Rulers like Tom Kettle and Robert Lynd—constructed a demonic idea of Prussia, and of the federal German Empire as a Prussianised Germany, which has held sway ever since, but which is a total caricature.

When that demonology was being created in 1914-15 James Connolly disputed it. When the Socialist International failed to deliver on its commitment to prevent war between the European States by socialist action, and the workers of the various states were effectively enlisted for the War, Connolly declared his support for Germany on socialist grounds. That is a fact which socialists who like to recite Connolly's name as part of a litany do not wish to know, and any attempt even to mention

it in the presence of academic historians is cut off by a spasm of revulsion. His persistent support of Germany on socialist grounds in the last two years of his life remains the most live issue connected with him. It is the one thing about him that cannot be mentioned. It is not mentioned in the entries on him in the *Dictionary Of National Biography* (British) by Ruth Dudley Edwards, and in the *Dictionary Of Irish Biography* by Fergus D'Arcy.

Bismarck's attempt to foster a culture of national unity for the political life of the new German state on liberal grounds was perhaps a partial success, but in the end it was little more than a draw. Under pressure he declared that he would never go to Canossa, and he didn't. (A mediæval Emperor in difficulty was obliged to go to Canossa unarmed to make obeisance to the Pope.) But the contest resulted in a Catholic Party, the Centre Party, becoming a major party of the state.

Poor Robert O'Keeffe of Callan made his lone stand against Ultramontanism (as the Papal Supremacy of Vatican I was called) on the basis of his rights as a Parish Priest. Having set up a Christian Brothers school in his parish, he wanted to set up a convent of teaching nuns too. The Bishop refused permission. O'Keeffe disputed the authority of the Bishop. The Bishop asked Rome to back him and it did. O'Keeffe's curates said things about him which led him to bring libel actions against him. And then he sued the Bishop in a case that was widely reported. (And the proceeding of the Trial were issued as a book.) The Liberalism of England supported him, as did the Liberalism of Ireland—the Orange upholders of "*freedom, religion and law*". He won a token victory that left him worse off than before. He did not give up. He continued with his aggressive assertion of a principle, for which he had diminishing local support, and was backed by the foreign power that ran the country—it was by this time, the 1870s, being definitely relegated to the status of a foreign power. It supported him in principle but had begun to make extensive deals with his enemy for the purpose of running the country. The Roman Church, which Britain hoped to direct in Ireland though diplomatic influence in Rome, was becoming an acknowledged power in the British state, and O'Keeffe was a sad case in his last years.

Insofar as there had been a culture war worthy of the name in 19th century Ireland, it happened about sixty years before O'Keeffe's war with his Bishop. It began in 1808, when Henry Grattan introduced a Bill to admit Catholics to Parliament, with the condition that the Government should have a right of veto

on the selection of Bishops. That condition, which was not unusual, had been cleared by Grattan with the Irish Hierarchy but, when it was published, it set off a great hostile agitation in the Dublin Catholic middle class, involving people who had been active in the United Irish movement a dozen years earlier. A pamphlet dispute on the issue then raged within the Catholic community for a number of years, in the course of which Daniel O'Connell shifted ground from his initial support for Ascendancy Repeal to popular Catholic nationalism. The Bishops were obliged to disown their agreement to the Veto, even though a document supporting it was issued by Rome. The Veto was killed off, not by an ignorant, superstitious peasantry stirred up by Rome, but by the progressive element of the metropolitan middle class.

The strongest voice in support of the Veto was that of a Catholic priest, the Rev. Charles O'Connor, nephew of Charles O'Connor of Belanagare who had founded the Catholic Committee. O'Connor argued a Jacobite case in support of the Veto. If an adequate body of Irish national literature had been compiled by our academics or publishers, O'Connor's Vetoist pamphlets would have a prominent place in it, and there would be less bewilderment and confusion about the recent turn of events. But the Jacobite view was swept aside by the upsurge of progressive Jacobin Ultramontanism that triumphed in the Veto controversy and set the pattern of future development.

The Veto proposal gave rise to the greatest dispute there has ever been amongst Irish Catholics on Church affairs. But, because it makes no sense from the doctrinaire viewpoint of either Liberalism or Catholic-nationalism, it has been virtually excluded from the history books. For example, it is not even mentioned in *Cardinal Cullen And His World* published this year by Four Courts Press. However, without it, what Cullen did must seem to be the work of Roman authoritarianism, shaping an ignorant, passive populace according to its will.

The main article in this book is by Emmet Larkin, who writes of a "*devotional revolution*" without mentioning the startling emergence of Jacobin Ultramontanism that set in motion what Cullen gave organised direction to a generation later. And he also does not mention the Famine/Holocaust as a spiritual event, although it is inconceivable that it should not have had much more profound consequences than reducing the ratio of priests to people by exterminating a big chunk of the people—which is what he mentions.

The Vetoist, O'Connor, was Jacobite and Gallican. Having been educated in

Catholic Europe, while the Penal Laws were in operation in Ireland, he naturally took it for granted that certain arrangements between Church and State were necessary. While each had its distinct sphere, the two could not operate in complete independence of each other.

(In those days it was thought that religion was indispensable to the functioning of the State—and it is still not clear that it isn't: the action of the greatest democracy in the world, at any rate, is largely driven by religion. And the Church likewise could not function without the State.)

Britain banned Catholic seminaries in Ireland after the Glorious Revolution of 1688, driving the Irish to the Continent for education. Then, in the 1790s, in the context of the war against French democracy, it hastily established a seminary at Maynooth, so that priests might be educated at home and not come under subversive Continental influence. But, on the Continent, where Church and State were two institutions within the same society, they made co-habiting arrangements as a matter of course. And Irish priests educated on the Continent took it for granted that the Government must have a say in the running of the Church, and they brought that view back to Ireland with them—even though in Ireland Church and State were not two institutions of the same society, and the State had, since its Glorious Revolution, been committed to the destruction of the Church.

But the priests educated at home, in the Seminary which the State set up for an ulterior purpose, knew very well what the real relationship of Church and State in Ireland was. There may for a while have been Gallican lecturers teaching that the Government had rights in the conduct of the Church, but the Seminarists knew from their own experience—and from the influence of their neighbourhoods—that, while it might be prudent to submit to some degree to the naked power of the State, the State was an alien force from another society.

Maynooth had been functioning for less than twenty years when daring spirits amongst the Anti-Vetoists openly said what was what in the matter and asserted total independence of the Church from the hostile State, which carried the implication that another State should be got. And the subversive statements of the Anti-Vetoists were so reasonable, and so much in accordance with the facts of the situation that denial of them could carry no conviction, that they could not fail to influence Maynooth and make it a subversive institution.

Gallicanism died off with the priests who had been educated on the Continent. Then the State demonstrated its true character in Ireland to anybody who had

hitherto failed to notice it, with its exterminating action in the Famine/Holocaust—which shocked even that good Protestant Imperialist, Isaac Butt. And Cullen came from Rome during the Famine/Holocaust and gave systematic order to the structure of the Church which had been implicit in the rejection of the Veto.

"*Culture war*" on the issue of Roman control had an utterly different socio-political content in Ireland and Germany. The new national State in Germany was strongly federal in structure, and some of its federal components were strongly Catholic. The new state, though called an Empire, was actually a national development. It would not have been functional as anything else in the European circumstances of the time, in which nationalism had been fostered as the norm by the hegemonic ideology of Britain as the world Super-power. The Germany of poets and dreamers in fifty different states, each following its own bent, could not have continued. The Empire had to be a nation. And the nation needed a national culture as the medium of its democratic politics—because democracy and nationalism went together. The point of the *Kulturkampf* was to ensure that the assertion of Papal supremacy by Rome which coincided with the formation of the German state did not determine the conduct of the Catholic components of the state in the overlap between Church and State affairs.

The *Kulturkampf* was played out to a kind of draw. The conflict was not a simple one between the Catholics as a body and the State, or the Catholic federal States and the central authority established through Prussian energy. There were differences amongst Catholics about Vatican I. There was no Catholic will to secede from the German State which the Catholic states had taken part in forming. And the outcome of the affair was the emergence of the Centre Party as a Catholic party of the German State, as national as any other, and one of the major parties of the state.

In Germany the Church and the State were both German. In Ireland, if one takes the Taoiseach's tirade in earnest, the conclusion must be that neither the State nor the Church was Irish. It is indisputable that the State was foreign. But, in its conflict with the foreign State, the society took Romanism to be its religion. And its decisive action in doing this was taken at a time when Rome was in disarray and under French pressure, and was agreeable to giving Britain a say in the conduct of the Church in Ireland. If it was subject to Rome, it was a subjection voluntarily and purposefully—and indeed forcibly—entered into. It compelled Rome to be authoritative in

Ireland because Roman authoritarianism was its counter to British authoritarianism.

O'Keeffe's war was a lost cause. It appealed to the Liberalism of the foreign State, which had tried to exterminate Irish Catholics, and which, when that failed, turned to appeasement and through that appeasement had become practically entangled with the Ultramontanism that O'Keeffe declared war on.

O'Keeffe pursued his war through the Courts of the foreign State. He took his stand on a principle that was detached from socio-political reality in Ireland.

Thirty years ago, when Ultramontanism held sway in the Irish state, it was interesting to discover O'Keeffe's solo rebellion ad tell the story of it as a contemporary act of rebellion. But now, with the Church in collapse, what sense is there in puffing it up into an Irish participation in the European conflict of Church and State and placing it alongside the *Kulturkampf*?

There was a kind of Irish *Kulturkampf* two centuries ago. And there might have been one ninety years ago. The only real opportunity to normalise Church/State relations was when the British State was giving way to an Irish State. But Britain refused to relinquish State control in Ireland to a mere democratic movement that won an election. The new British democracy of 1918 took its stand on the old Imperial principle that the State power of the Empire had precedence over local opinion, and that the issue of Irish independence was one that had to be decided by war—which used to be called "*The reason of Kings*". And, when the Irish electoral mandate had been sufficiently supported by war to make it prudent for Britain to negotiate a settlement and concede a measure of Irish autonomy, Britain, in withdrawing from Southern Ireland, managed to bring about a 'Civil War' there. And the party which it put in place—the present Taoiseach's party—alienated the Republican core of the Independence movement and made itself dependent on the mass influence of the Ultramontanist Church Hierarchy, and accorded it a position of unchecked and unsupervised independence within the state, and the control of areas of public life which should have been within the control of the State, e.g., Education—regardless of whether there was clerical involvement in it.

Now the leader of the party which enlarged the sphere of the Church in the State, when a compromise between Church and State was what was needed, launches a hysterical tirade against Rome. He declares independence from Rome, as if Rome had somehow usurped political power in Ireland, when it would be nearer the truth to say that it had power thrust upon it as a measure to restrict the sphere of the foreign State,

and had that power reinforced by those who were determined to enforce the Treaty at any cost.

Now it is being seriously proposed to abolish the Confessional by subordinating it to policing. The British State failed to do this during the century of its Penal Laws, but it seems that all the Presidential candidates except Dana supported this proposal.

The tirade against Rome has been followed by a similar tirade against Germany. Ireland is now being depicted as the victim of Roman and German Imperialism—of the Holy Roman Empire, let us say, because Prussia is there no more and the economic driving force of modern Germany is Catholic Bavaria etc.

When the EU development was launched by Adenauer, De Gaulle, De Gasperi and the Benelux countries, Britain—in the self-confidence of Empire—gave its patronising approval but held aloof. Then the Empire was lost very quickly and Europe cohered very quickly, with Germany minus Prussia as its economic power-house. Germany minus Prussia was Catholic Germany. Prussia had been Britain's historic ally in Europe until the strong German economic development that followed unification. Around 1906 the British Liberal Government decided to make war on Germany. The war was launched in 1914 with the enthusiastic support of the Irish Home Rule party. Prussia was demonised in the war propaganda.

The story was that Prussia was the major source of evil in the world, that by means of the unification it had taken control of the good Germans, cast a spell on them, and Prussianised them. The implication of the war propaganda was that, for the future peace of Europe, the unification of Germany would have to be undone, and the good Southern Germans liberated so that they could de-Prussianise themselves. In 1919 France was eager to do that but, since it would have established France in greater dominance in Europe than it had ever enjoyed before, Britain vetoed it. However, after the 2nd World War, Prussia disappeared, becoming East Germany. Only good Germans remained in the free world. And these good Germans quickly made a success of the West European alliance. Then Britain found that it wanted to join what it had refused to join in the first instance. That new Europe was the political creation of Christian Democracy in Germany, Italy and Belgium and Gaullism in France. Christian Democracy had some memory of British action in Europe and kept it out. The British propaganda then began to depict the EU as a restoration of the Holy Roman Empire, which straddled the Alps and was a bad thing.

Eventually Britain gained admission to Europe. Naturally it set about aborting its development. British balance-of-power strategy towards Europe needs a divided Europe. The integrity of the EU was undermined by random expansion following the end of the Cold War, by the persistent British pressure to replace the social market by the free market, and by the undermining of the Commission by means of corruption scandals. Europe was made discontented with itself and its carefully established self-sufficiency arrangements. Its horizons were globalised. Britain had become incapable of self-sufficient existence a century and a half ago. It dominated the world and established a mode of life which can only be sustained by exploitation of global markets. Under its influence Europe was brought to see itself as a player of global markets without having the means of doing so, while at every critical juncture Britain retained the option of playing the world market independently of Europe. And the defensive military arrangements, which Europe had maintained for two generations, were reoriented for aggressive warmaking when the Cold War ended.

Germany did not play a leading part in any of these developments. It tagged along, keeping a low profile, and conducting an old-fashioned economy, making durable products to a high degree of craftsmanship, and neither working nor shopping at weekends.

But an article in the current issue of the Jesuit magazine *Studies* tells us that Germany is a colonial power whose irresponsible conduct is the central cause of Ireland's economic problems:

"...Germany is becoming more nationalistic, and much less committed to the European project that was at the centre of its foreign policy for over half a century. Germany is now led by a generation that does not see itself as having responsibility for past wars, and the birth of the Common Market as a means of unifying and repairing broken Europe has been forgotten..."

"What we are now seeing is a form of German neo-colonialism. Dictionaries define *colonialism* as the practice of a power extending control over weaker peoples or areas and refer to occupation by settlers, but in today's globalised economy, control can be achieved when the economically strong deploy interest rates, market intervention and other financial instruments, to compel the weak, without physical invasion.

"In considering Germany's behaviour, I am not excusing reckless political and fiscal behaviour in Ireland and elsewhere ... My focus here is on the behaviour of international lenders, not the borrowers ...

"Unacceptable German Banking Practices

"To comprehend the centrality of German banking to the eurozone crisis, we need to understand the extraordinary increase in the importance of banking in the world today. The huge growth in global savings and therefore in investment funds... is a major factor in our current crises..."

"George Soros (financier) says "Germany blames the crisis on the countries that have lost competitiveness and run up their debts, and so puts the burden of adjustment on debtor countries. This is a biased view... Truth be told, Germany has been bailing out the heavily indebted countries as a way of protecting its own banking system... Berlin is imposing those arrangements under pressure from German public opinion, but the general public have not been told the truth and so is confused."

"Joschka Fischer... agrees. "In the back rooms in Dublin it was our (state-owned) *landesbanken* earning all the money to the delight of our state governments of all political persuasions. No one tells the people here that part". Henrik Enderlein (political economist) is less diplomatic. "It is clear German state-owned banks... are the key issue in the (Irish problem). But if this got out into the open, we'd have a problem with five state governors and if the German federal system needed to become part of solving European difficulties, then we would have a real problem."

"The core problem is not the Irish banks and other peripheral state banks, or Irish sovereign debt, but European banks generally, and particularly German banks, which have still not fully provided for their bad loans and bad investments..."

"German public opinion does not share this view. *Bild*, Germany's best-selling daily, campaigned relentlessly against the EU's rescue package for Greece, using doubtful statistics to 'prove' that Greeks are lazy, overpaid and retire earlier than Germans. And the German perspective on problems at German banks in the Dublin Financial Services centre blames Ireland for weak regulation, rather than German for management mistakes..."

"The structural need for Germany to export (due to high savings and its corollary, low internal consumption) generated massive surpluses which had to be invested somewhere. Much of these funds were deposited with the *landesbanken*. Investing onwards these huge funds in Germany promised low returns... while investing abroad in higher risk countries/assets promised higher returns. These *landesbanken* pumped billions of euros into sub-prime mortgage-backed securities..."

"The weak rescue the strong, and in doing so weaken themselves further. The Irish taxpayer is paying both for the bad investment decisions of Irish bankers and the bad investments of German bankers..." (*Merkel's Folly: Germany's*

Economic Neo-Colonialism by Fergus Whelan).

This Jesuit whinge goes on to say (or quote somebody else as saying) that: "*the rest of Europe needs to start holding Germany to account*" for its "*Beggar Thy Neighbour Policies*". Germany and Japan recovered economically after defeat in 1945 by means which—

"led to dependence on exports and therefore on the foreign consumer, with much less focus on domestic consumption, which of necessity was at a very low level in the post-war years. This eventually led to limited competition in the home market. The consequent inadequate development of the service sector led to generally highly inefficient and politically controlled banks", which "have cosy ties with local government".

Because of inefficiency; insufficient competitiveness; poor banking practices; crony capitalist relationships between local banks, local government and local industry; rudimentary financial services; and a low level of domestic consumption (poverty?!), the Germans have built up immense trade surpluses and are "*propping up their own economy at the rest of the world's expense*". And it all goes back to The War, which Germany "*no longer sees itself as having responsibility for*".

Germany has abased itself and negated itself so comprehensively on the issue of war guilt that the only conceivable change in its attitude to the War would be to repudiate guilt and indict Britain for having spun a catastrophic World War out of the trivial issue of Danzig—after collaborating with Hitler for five years to break the conditions of the Versailles Treaty by re-militarising the Rhineland, forming an Army and a Navy, merging with Austria, and incorporating the Sudetenland region of Czechoslovakia into the German state. If it did that, the world (or the little bit of it that we take to be 'the world') would be shocked for a moment, but would soon adjust to the fact that Germany was a state once more, and that there was no longer a political blank at the heart of Europe. But there is little prospect of that. Germany will continue to creep around not wanting to be noticed, even though the future of Europe depends on it.

That is the Dresden Effect.

The most representative British historian, who tells it like it is from a British viewpoint (Andrew Roberts), has explained that the purpose of the fire-bombing of Dresden and other cities after the German Army had been defeated—which in other circumstances would have been described as acts of genocide—while they had no military purpose, had the moral purpose of branding into the German soul the conviction that Ger-

many must never again do what Britain does not want it to do. In the immediate post-War era, when it was led by Christian Democrats who had resisted Nazism and who knew how Britain had supported it, Germany did act contrary to British desires. It is since the passing of that generation, and the ending of Cold War security, that the Dresden Effect has been strikingly operative.

For the past generation, while capitalist globalism was being intensively developed by Ameranglia, Germany has been the absent centre of the EU, tending to its own affairs within the framework of the cosy national capitalism—crony capitalism—that was set up for it by Bismarck. But all the while Britain was remaking the EU to serve its own purposes. Eventually the cosy German capitalism was declared illegal by the European Court. The local banks, industry and local government were declared to be in breach of competition rules. The banks were driven by EU law into the world money market—which operated tricky financial devices like packaged mortgage instruments, credit default swaps etc, of which they knew nothing. And now they are accused of neo-colonialism because they sent that money abroad on easy terms, enabling economic developments which otherwise would not have happened!

German capitalist development after unification was not of the *laissez-faire* kind. It was subject to laws designed to prevent the melting down of the pre-capitalist lower classes into a de-socialised proletariat. Arrangements were made for a working class to have rights as part of the system, as part of a civilised structure, instead of having a de-socialised proletariat painfully getting itself together over generations in order to assert rights. That is what James Connolly saw in Germany when he supported it on socialist grounds in 1914-16. But his reasoned argument has never been taken account of. He is depicted as an Anglophobe fantasising about England's enemy in a fit of blind hatred.

The German form of capitalist development was stopped in the international sphere by British militarism. But Germany at home continued to live in its own form. And its backward practice of making products as durable goods and selling them has been so effective that the old-fashioned German economy is the soundest in Europe today, while the capitalism ruled by the money market wonders if it is going to survive.

The implication of the Jesuit whinge is that Germany should give up on the way of life it has held onto so tenaciously, float itself on the finance markets, and go shopping on Sunday. That is what Irish Catholicism has been reduced to!

Séamas Ó Domhnaill

Eoghan Ruadh Ó Súilleabháin
1748—1784
Aspects of his Life and Work
Part 5

The Great Eoghan Ruadh: *An Barántas*

The Aisling was held in very high esteem amongst the poets and the Gaelic people of Munster in the 18th century. On the other hand it might be said that the form of composition known as the *Barántas* was located at the other end of the scale of respectability. A typical *Barántas* (Warrant) was a mixture of prose and poetry in which one poet calls for the arrest of one of his companions for some minor crime such as the theft of a hat or for pretending to be a poet or for stealing a girlfriend. The form mimics that of a legal document with terms such as *Ard Sirriam* (High Sheriff), *Fáisnéis* (witness), and of course the *Coirpeach* (criminal).

A *Barántas* is packed with jolly satire, smart comments and 'humourous realism'. It is full of the things of everyday life of the time such as food, drink, clothes, learning and literature, faith and superstitions, houses and rooms, implements and tools. In the *Barántas* we catch a glimpse the poets of Ireland, in the Penal days, letting their hair down and having the *craic*.

Eoghan Ruadh wrote several *Barántas* when his was living in the Cork–Limerick border country. One was for the 'arrest' of his friend, Muiris Ó Gríobhtha (Maurice Griffin). The mock legalistic introduction displays a richness and a majesty of language in which Eoghan and his fellow poets rejoiced:

Críocha mion-áilne Mumhan agus an chuid eile d'Éirinn iathghlas oileánaigh; Le hEoghan Ua Súilleabháin .i. Aon de dheirbh-bhreitheamhain na saoithe-éigse ar feadh na gcríocha roimh-ráidhte go huile. De bhrigh go bhfuarthas fíor-fhaisneis re ceart-áiteamh díse deagh-dhaoine...

The fine, lovely lands of Munster and the other part of Ireland of the green fields and islands; By Eoghan Ua Súilleabháin, to wit, one of the true judges of the noble poets throughout all of the aforesaid territories. In consequence of my receiving true evidence in the assured testimony of a pair of gentlemen...

There are no holds barred in Eoghan's denigration of the criminal who was actually his very good friend:

Sa tan céadna is san chruinn-aimsir i n-ar mhaireadar na taoisigh teagaisc agus na saoithe sár-labharthacha cúirt-ghairmtheacha mianmhara meidhirchaoiteacha dleachta dílse d'fhíor-scoth uasal urramach gréithre gaoismheara Gaedheal, gur neaduigh agus gur dhlúth-ghnáthuigh,

balbh-bháirdín breill-bhriathrach bunscolóige; agus cnáimhsealuidhe ciarsánach cian-aosta; agus dúr-dhradaire díoscar díth-eolach; agus fíor-fhuirseoir foghaltach faon-ghníomhach; agus glimsím glafaoideach glam-ghlórach; agus leamh-lorgaire liadurtha lomthach; agus maol-mheilít maoidhteach míon-ghníomhach; agus níoscóid neanntach neamh-charthannach; agus pótaire pleidhceamhail plámásach; agus ráiméisidhe righin rún-chealgach; agus tirim-tharbhán tim-thoirtéiseach,

i gcluas-phollaibh diamhara agus i gcomraibh doimhne do-eolais an tSléibhe Riabhaigh

At the same time and exact period when lived the chiefs of learning and the eloquent, court-convening (Courts of Poetry), luscious, merriment-producing, faithful poets of the noble, revered true choice of the artistic treasures of the Irish, there nestled and regularly hung out—

a dumb bardeen of blundering words and of amateurishness; and hoarse grumbling, decrepit-old complainer; a dour, buck-toothed, fierce ignoramus; a rapacious, utter mountebank of feeble deeds; a barking, howling-voiced prater; and fleecing, insipid imitator; a boastful, useless, bald clumsy fellow; and a venomous, uncharitable crank; and a stupid, insincere toper; and a sluggish, evil-intentioned ranter; and a flauntingly ostentatious, sterile bullock,

in the obscure, cave-holes and the deep,

ignorant ravines of the Ballyhoura Mountains

The abuse, and the entertainment, does not stop there however:

Áitightheas fós ag an bhfáisnéis seo go mbíonn an búrdúnuidhe beag-náireach so ag imtheacht idir sheasc-chailliche Cois Sléibhe 'na fhear leighis lusa luibhe agus asarlaidheachta fá ghné dhochtúra fhíor-fhoghlumtha ban tabhairt cloinne dhóibh ris na healadhantaibh so .i. an gníomh ná táinig ris do dhéanamh anallód tré dhith dea-uirlse agus lachta lántorthúla giniúna.

It is attested also by these witnesses that this brazen rhymer / goes among the barren women of Coshlea / as a healer with herbal plants and astrology / under the guise of a properly trained gynaecologist / to produce pregnancy for them by means of these arts i.e. / the deed he could never manage / for lack of a proper tool and fertile procreative fluid

The words "*Cois Sléibhe*" might be interpreted to be any "*mountain side*" but, in the context of this composition however, they clearly refer to the Barony of Cois Sléibhe (Coshlea) in the County Limerick.

Muiris was a school master from Baile an Ghadaí (Ballingaddy, close to Kilmallock) in the Barony of Coshlea. He in his turn wrote a *barántas* against Eoghan:

Whereas táinig / fíoráireamh Muiris Ó Gríofa do dhias smísteoirí .i. Eoghan Ó Súilleabháin agus Uilliam Ó hÉichiarainn . Contae Luimnigh to wit.

Ag seo faisnéis agus petition Dháiví Uí Anáin do láthair fíorbhreachán na suadhéigse agus na cúirte gaoise dá thaobh an tSléibhe rathmhair rangá-saigh Riabhaigh, mar atá Seán Ó Ceallaigh, Aindrias Mac Craith, Conchúr Ó Dálaigh, Sean Cundún, Pádraig Ó Cuileannáin, Diarmaid Ó Laoire etc. acht Muiris Ó Gríofa, dá iarraidh orthu mo ghearán do ghlacadh, agus mo mhaslath do dhíoghailt, ar dhís smísteoirí dearfa díthchabharthacha dá gcomharsanaibh dílse féin .i. Uilliam beadaí bladartha binnbhriathrach Ó hÉichiarainn ris a ráitear gile agus milleadh na gcaoingcúileann, agus Eoghan Rua rabairneach ragairneach rástalach, trustalach tóstalach tónmhuinteartha, liosta

leadránach luaithintinneach, iolchear-dach Ó Súilleabháin ris a ráitear Tarbh an Bhóthair nó Lascaíg-íad-Timpeall.

Whereas—a true account

Maurice Griffin for a pair of heavies i.e. Owen O'Sullivan and William Ahern. County Limerick to wit.

Herewith evidence and petition of David Hannon Presented to the true judges of the cultured poets and the wise court on the slopes of prosperous and ordered Bally-houra Mountains which are John O'Kelly, Andrew McGrath, Connor O'Daly, John Condon, Patrick O'Cullinane, Dermot O'Leary etc. Maurice Griffin has resolved to ask them to accept his complaint, and reproach and punish a pair of heavies positively unhelpful from the same lowly district i.e. William fussy flattering sweet spoken Ahern, seducer of fair maidens; and Eoghan wasteful fastliving longstrided tramping proud leather-necked lumbering

thundering quick-witted multiskilled O'Sullivan ...

*

Dear reader, I am only getting going on this composition which has some really great stuff in it but I have run out of time and have to submit this to our kind Editor before I get the sack. The reason for me not having the time to finish this part of the Eoghan Ruadh story is a gentleman named Kaalam John Ó Domhnaill who came into the world at 6.08 a.m. on Tuesday 30th August 2011, weighing 9lb 15oz! He has been the focus of the attention of his lovely Mammy and me since that time. I will continue the story of the *Barántas* for the New Year edition. Hopefully, by that time we will have had a little bit of sleep.

regular visitor to Port Saloon, a dozen miles north of Rathmullan on the shores of Lough Swilly, and his letters show familiarity with Rathmullan too.

In 1940 Lewis gave a talk to the Martlets Society in Oxford entitled *The Kappa Element in Romance*, kappa being the first letter of the Greek word for "hidden". Lewis argues that it's more than plot or characterisation that keeps us going back to particular works of literature. Language yes, but not just language for its own sake, rather for how it's used to convey this hidden quality. Shakespeare's chief achievement in Hamlet was to communicate to us a "vast, empty vision". So we go back to these works in the same way that we go "back to a fruit for its taste; to an air for.....what? for itself; to a region for its whole atmosphere, to Donegal for its Donegality and to London for its Londonness. It is notoriously difficult to put these tastes into words." This word, "donegality" is used by Ward repeatedly as he explores how Lewis demonstrates this same ability in his own writing, where the numinous quality of landscape, whether benign or sinister, is strikingly portrayed. One can find the same thing in most of John Buchan's novels—see especially *Witchwood*—and I would argue that the most believable character in *The Return of the Native* is Egdon Heath.

Some might think that this is to labour an obvious point: the quality or atmosphere of a landscape or town, the *genius loci*, is often palpable. Different places give us different vibes. I suppose the mood of a landscape will often interact with a mood of our own to produce a distinct sort of reaction in each of us as we pass through. Dr. Johnson, no sentimentalist, declared that, "that man is little to be envied, whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona."; which raises the further question as to the extent to which—if at all—places still carry about with them the memories of the things that have happened there, or if our more intense reaction stems simply from our knowledge of these things. Human beings are very suggestible, but I wouldn't like totally to rule out the former.

The Long March

Sadly, I have to say to Ward that for Donegal its *donegality* is a fast fading flower. I very much doubt if there are any readers more familiar with the County than I am, so on this subject if

Stephen Richards

Readers are invited to respond to these views

Lament For Donegal

"Who needs Mauritius when you can have the delights of Donegal?" is the not very snappy headline over an article by the Irish-born Judith Woods in the *Daily Telegraph* of 24th September.

Well, since recent accounts from Mauritius are not very encouraging, I suppose I would have to agree with Ms Woods. Her holiday base, Rathmullan House, is a pleasant place to spend a long weekend; and the chances of being attacked and murdered by hotel staff in your room are comfortingly remote. You can wander along the beach and think about Rory O'Donnell's abduction from there as a fifteen year old, and his later exodus in 1607 with his associates, after they realized that for Gaelic Ulster it was the end of an old song.

Uniquely for Donegal, I think, and probably unusually for Ireland, the strand at Rathmullan is fringed by native woodland, criss-crossed by little paths leading to and from the beach. At times it wouldn't take much to persuade me of the truth of the late Jack McCann's dictum that there are more miles of beach in Donegal than in the whole of the United States, and sand of the highest quality too.

Narnia Revisited

I'd now like to take a leap, but not much of a leap, in the direction of C.S.

Lewis, and mention one of the most original and interesting books I've read in recent years. It's called *Planet Narnia: The Seven Heavens in the Imagination of C.S. Lewis*, and it's by Michael Ward, an Anglican clergyman, published by Oxford University Press, 2008. Ward's thesis is that, behind the bluff, masculine, dogmatic image that Lewis presented to the world, there was the subtle, cryptic mind of a Dante-obsessed mediaevalist. So we have the Narnia stories, apparently dashed off, subject to a hodge-podge of influences, and united only by Lewis's storytelling verve. For Ward, however, these are cunningly crafted works, each unobtrusively but (once you have the key) unmistakably themed around one of the planets of mediaeval cosmology. We're not talking here simply about a series of clues but about the whole mood and atmosphere of each story.

Atmosphere, that's the word. We use it as shorthand to refer to something we're not capable of defining, or that maybe is indefinable. I envy those contemporaries who were taken every summer to Donegal, or other parts of Ireland indeed, as children back in the sixties, when the living was easy if you were Northern Irish middle class, Protestant or Catholic. Fifty or so years before then, the young C.S. Lewis was a

on not many others I can speak with total confidence. Over the past twenty years with the same six or seven male friends I've walked from Pettigo up through the spine of the county, the Bluestacks, and then on to Falcarragh, by way of Errigal, a lovely climb but a bit awkward to come down the other side. We then took an unbelievable three years to circumambulate the Inishowen Peninsula. In between times we were involved in other walking projects, but back in February 2007 we started out in the south at the St. John's Point area, near Dunkineely, but stupidly not as far south as we should have started, i.e. Rossknolagh Strand. The idea was, and is, to walk the Donegal coast, and we've now rounded Horn Head. We're intending to do Inishowen again on the way, so it's four and a half years gone and probably about six to go. Never let it be said that we don't think long term.

Of course we've been aging, almost imperceptibly I think, since our first fine careless rapture when we stepped out on the Ulster Way in the mid-1980s, only one or two of us married then, and all then childless. The barbed wire fences, which have been planted in great numbers all over the nine Counties by friendly landowners, may give us a longer pause for thought, and walking poles have become a bit more fashionable among us but, to all intents and purposes we're recognisable as the same sprightly bunch of lads.

Now that I've established my credentials I would like to make a simple observation: Donegal is a mess. The hymn written by the youthful Bishop of Calcutta, Reginald Heber (composed in 20 minutes they say), as frequently quoted by Bertie Wooster, has a verse that goes:

*What though the spicy breezes
Blow soft o'er Ceylon's isle,
Where every prospect pleases,
And only man is vile?*

The vileness of man is I suppose a theological given, but unfortunately that vileness has now been inflicted on the Donegal landscape, so that every prospect certainly doesn't please. The place has been trashed. How has this been allowed to happen? My main focus is on this environmental vandalism, perpetrated over many decades by people who obviously didn't know or care what they were doing. But just in case somebody might accuse me of being precious over this, just in case it's argued that the quality of life, the sense of economic

wellbeing, is the main thing, and the destruction I'm complaining about is the necessary cost of progress.....Well, the economy of Donegal is a mess too. Donegal never got many scraps from the table of the Celtic Tiger, except for the holiday homes, usually bad or indifferent, scattered all over the place as if they had fallen randomly from the sky.

After The Gold Rush

Solid joys and lasting treasure, to quote another hymnwriter, John Newton, have not been the experience of Donegal people after the gold rush, apart from the lucky few who sold development land at the top of the market and held on to the money. The gold rush, we know now, produced only fool's gold. As I understand it, the mainstays of the Donegal economy have historically been fishing, tweeds and knitwear, and tourism, plus, presumably, money sent home by the diaspora.

The EU fishing free-for-all has put paid to the fishing industry; and I was hearing on RTE radio lately that the foreign fleets have been coming closer to the shore all the time and are disturbing traditional spawning grounds. Killybegs may not quite be a ghost town yet, but the fish processing industry there has nearly petered out, and that distinctive and (to me) lovely fishy smell as you come in along the road is much fainter.

The textile industry has gone too, victim of outsourcing and lack of investment.

That basically leaves tourism as the last best hope of Donegal. And tourism, as we know, is a double-edged sword. The imperative to preserve the features that attract tourists in the first place (remote beaches, peaty smells, Gaeltacht, mountain and cliff scenery, fishing, golf, walking, quaint villages with pubs containing cloth-capped men playing the fiddle) comes up against the other imperative to develop proper facilities in terms of accommodation and so on to meet the demand. I could have understood it if the planners (I use the word loosely) and local representatives had grappled with these issues and at times got it wrong. We all make wrong calls from time to time, often discernible only with hindsight. But no, the landscape has been vandalized with no thought for it or for the needs of tourists. The tourists are none the better, rather ten times worse, for it.

About thirty years ago a court report

appeared in one of the Ballymena papers. It concerned a young man who was overheard singing Loyalist songs at the top of his voice as he proceeded on foot along Albert Place in the town. When spoken to about his conduct by a police officer he replied, memorably, "*I intend to sing what I like, where I like, as I like*". If you substitute "*build*" for "*sing*" you have what could be the Donegal county motto.

Paradise Lost

My first real experience of Donegal was in the late seventies. I remember quite liking Dunfanaghy but being surprised at the haphazard housing development around Bunbeg and Derrybeg. It was in the mid-eighties I think that the phenomenon known as 'bungalow blight' was first seriously discussed. But years, decades, went by and nobody did anything about it.

I confess I'm not the most observant of people, and I don't suppose my aesthetic antennae are all that finely developed. Repeated exposure to the rape of Donegal has probably dulled my sensitivity still further. Even so, I still feel the anger rising up inside me at the appalling vistas we encounter hour by hour on the trail. I don't now expect much and I'm not disappointed. I can only imagine how this horrendous archipelago must appear to the eager young backpackers from Germany and Scandinavia, or to the affable trans-atlantic golfing and fishing retirees, if they still come on holiday to Ireland at all. And it would be nice if there was some semblance of a continuous path along the coast, as opposed to little flickering suggestions of paths. The Pembrokeshire Coastal path hasn't done any harm to Pembrokeshire.

The western Counties of Ireland, with their fragile visual amalgam of moorland, lake, bog and mountain, might have been expected to be the subjects of sensitive development. There are parts of alpine Austria and Switzerland that are quite densely populated by Irish standards, but somehow that landscape can cope with development, even ill-considered development, in a way that the west of Ireland can't. There the new dwellings are predominantly wooden in finish, and they nestle into a largely wooded landscape.

By contrast new housing in Donegal and the west tends to make a statement in conflict with the landscape. I don't particularly want to dwell at length on the obvious, and once I start I might

find it hard to stop, but here are a few to be going on with: the random placing of houses, usually bright white against the russet moorland landscape; the inappropriate designs; the non-native plantings; the placing of houses in exposed elevated locations, presumably to maximise the views and "make a statement" (they certainly do that); the sprawling aspect of what used to be fairly compact villages in the Gaeltacht; the raw, unfinished state of many of the houses, sitting in a seemingly permanent untended wilderness, not a GM Hopkins-like wilderness of "wildness and wet", but a dreary suburban wilderness.

That's not to say that there aren't still areas of Donegal that are comparatively unspoiled. I'm thinking of the National Parks (Slieve League and Glenveagh) of course, parts of the Bluestacks, and, as we were reminded at the start of October, the stretch of coast from Magheragorarty to Horn Head.

If....

If Donegal had been done right by, it could have had its identity preserved. This isn't a lament for the era of the John Hinde postcards, the red-haired girls, the donkeys carrying creels of turf etc. I'm certainly not opposed to development, jobs and industry, but I just can't see why it all had to be so ugly; and why there was so little payback in terms of real development of the economy. The National Park status of the Lake District in England has produced a win win situation. It's full of tourists; and the economy and the general culture haven't suffered. In both parts of Ireland a strong sentiment exists that is opposed to National Parks. This is our land and nobody is going to tell us what to do. If we want to foul our own backyard that's our prerogative.

I'm not necessarily arguing either that if only Donegal had been included in the Six (Seven?) Counties, it would have been saved. But it might have been spared the extremes of devastation. My own view is that everything west of Letterkenny should have become a National Park. I wonder sometimes whether the Dublin Government could really have cared less about Donegal or whether anything has changed. Some of the Dublin academic and political class had holiday homes up there and that was all they wanted to know. I seem to recall a report of a murder of an elderly farmer in Donegal in which it was stated that the local Gardai seemed

to treat the County as their own private fiefdom. And that was because at a national level nobody cared. Northerners are more engaged, geographically, culturally and emotionally with Donegal, which after all is a very Ulster County. But it belongs to all of us, and we have abused the trust.

Brendan Clifford has commented that for rural Cork the capital city was London; for most of Donegal it was Glasgow, and the Scottish connection left its mark on Donegal fiddling. And Donegal Gaelic-speakers are easily understandable by their counterparts in the Hebrides. But Dublin didn't take any interest in the peculiar cultural and visual eco-system of the county.

I view this inaction as a form of madness. For historical reasons—and I'm not unmindful of the scandalous evictions in Donegal by the Adair family in 1861—Ireland isn't blessed with a plethora of cute historic villages and small towns. In many parts of England it can be seen how the built environment has dovetailed with the natural environment to produce a very pleasing ambience. In the absence of this it was incumbent on the Irish State to make every effort to preserve the numinous quality of the western seaboard counties, where the beauty came straight from the hand of God (or, if you prefer, unguided natural processes). It wasn't that the effort failed, which might have been excusable, but that the effort wasn't made.

Land Of Lost Content

This raises an interesting (for me) question about Irish patriotism. I'm not an Irish nationalist but I like to think I'm an Irish patriot. Surely the love of a country, region, district or whatever involves an attachment to its physical contours, visual aspect, smell, and feel. In general the Irish haven't behaved as if they love their country. It's like a family protesting about their love for the old homestead, where perhaps their aged parents live, while happily seeing it go to rack and ruin. The Nazis had a slogan about *blut und boden*, blood and land, where the blood stood for the perceived pure ethnicity of the German nation. The aim of the nationalist ideology was to free the land of Ireland, not just to free the Irish people, because they could always free themselves by leaving the land. But once the Free State came along, and the Republic after it, the land seemed to be forgotten. In fact it became enslaved by barbed wire fences, and

pockmarked by a rash of hideous building.

If I had to choose holiday destinations within Ireland I think I would go for Waterford, Wexford and Wicklow, where the damage has been contained to some degree. But when compared with the west coast of Scotland for instance, or with mid and west Wales, most of Ireland fails the test of *donegality*. It's a great mystery to me how such destruction can be spread over such depopulated areas. Meanwhile the traditional *clachans* have been allowed to fade away. And the traditional life of Donegal is now largely a memory:

"There was plenty of life. We used to have an awful lot of country house dancing—ordinary houses, you know. It was a great population up in our area then... and now they're all gone. Half the houses are shut up, including our house now, where I was born; it's a ruin. It's a shame, a shame... There was a crowd in every house, and you could have a dance any night in the week. You could always get a crowd to dance and play music. There was seventeen fiddle players in our townland at one time" (Con McGinley from Meenacross, Donegal, as quoted by Pete Cooper in *The Mel Bay Complete Irish Fiddle Player*).

It's interesting to follow the present planning controversy in England over the new proposal that the default answer to the question of "sustainable development" should be *yes*. If David Cameron means what he says about localism, it's argued, he would leave these decisions to local communities. The inference is that this would put an effective brake on the machinations of the developers. It seems by contrast that in both parts of Ireland it's the locals who often want to say *yes*. Local councillors have been keen to chalk up re-election points by pandering to the get rich quick schemes of local builders and farmers. In the Republic there is supposed to be a system of third party appeal. I'm not sure how it works or if it has worked at all. The absence of any such provision in Northern Ireland means that developers can come back again and again with varied schemes and if the planning authority still says no they can go to the Planning Appeals Tribunal. I suppose that last sentence should now be in the past tense. It has all become academic now, as we survey the wreckage left behind by the boom years, so this is a lament.

✱

Academic Excellence?

Student Numbers

In the September 2011 edition of the *Irish Political Review*, Jeff Dudgeon writes as follows about a point made by me in an article in *Church & State* about Trinity College, Dublin :

"On a separate topic, in the latest *Church and State* (Second Quarter, 2011), Jack Lane wrote an article entitled *Trinity: Rack-Renter*. He made repeated play of the college having "only 183 students by 1902", (p10, quoting from p76 in a book by R.B. McCarthy) to illustrate Trinity's inadequacies, not to mention its greed.

"As a Trinity Seanad candidate, I feel I must make it clear that that figure is quite wrong and the point thereby lost. The figure quoted is, I suspect, a misunderstanding around the number of students who matriculated in 1902 not the total at the college.

"As TCD's courses were four years long you would have to multiply by four to get an approximate total number of students in the college in any one year. The number in 1902 was therefore actually some 800 not 183.

"R.B. McDowell and David Webb note on pages 499-500 of *Trinity College Dublin 1592-1952, an Academic History* (1982) that "the pronounced minimum at 1902 remains, however, a mystery", indicating 1902 was the lowest year for new students to start with..." (Jeff Dudgeon, *Issues*

Of The Middle Past, September *Irish Political Review*; the article he is referring to is in fact called *The Trinity College Estates*, it appeared in Issue 104 of *Church & State*, the Second Quarter).

Comparisons

This is a rather desperate effort by Jeff to explain away the obvious—the abysmally low numbers attending TCD at the time and the reasons why. Even if the number 183 had referred to graduates for that year, it only proves the point of how the low the numbers were that year. If that many had graduated, it is pretty certain that not many more had entered the courses that culminated that year. The standards required were not so demanding as to exclude multitudes.

A graduate of the time, J. Chartres Molony, described the pathetic entrance procedure: "*I entered Trinity College in 1894. The entrance examination is little more than a formality: the man who finds a difficulty in passing it must be so deficient in either natural intelligence or in such rudimentary learning as may be acquired at school, as to have small justification for presenting himself at the gate of any home of scholarship.*" Ouch!

In its peer Universities in 1902, just less than 1,000 graduated at Oxford and just less than 1,400 at Cambridge. That puts TCD's figures in their proper

perspective.

McDowell and Webb in their wisdom say the reason for the low numbers is a mystery. How convenient! McDowell was the very personification of Trinity scholarship, and pomposity, but one could expect that he would be a little more forensic than resorting to mysteries in writing the history of the subject closest to his heart. (And in any case, surely, it's only Catholics who rely on mysteries about life?) It cannot have been for lack of access to relevant information that he needed the intercession of a mystery. He may well have known all the graduates of 1902!

Explanation

The real reason is no mystery to anyone not besotted with the pomposity of TCD. TCD was a dud university, known universally at the time as the "silent sister", compared with its peers, Oxford and Cambridge. Those institutions naturally attracted more students—and the more serious and able students.

The relevant graduates in this debate, Dudgeon and McDowell, are true to that tradition—they are also silent on an explanation for one of the most significant facts about their *alma mater*. It would betray too much to examine it too closely and admit the facts.

TCD's role in life was not to promote academic achievement, except insofar as that helped maintain Ireland as Loyalist and Protestant. However, it was also failing in that project at the time and to survive it eventually had to go cap in hand to an Irish Government that was, by its very existence, the clearest evidence possible of that failure.

Must do better, Jeff!

IT'S GRIM UP NORTH?

They sell out their country: writers,
TV presenters and comedians,
double-faced journalists. Arcadia
they seek, fleeing the backward gauleiter
of Ireland, blaming paedophile clergy,
(a whole new meaning to being priest-ridden)
wear poppy, be stage-Irish when bidden.
The green now grows on their soul as algae.
Up North the Protestant worships his soil,
the Catholic also steadfast in their land.
From touching the forelock they both recoil.
Orangies drum their house is not built on sand.
The Taig solid in identity boils.
But they dignify outside England's plan.

Wilson John Haire
29th September, 2011

ON A VISIT TO EDINBURGH

High up on the sandstone walls of Cowgate
the plaque with a photo of James Connolly,
safe from the hands of drunken loyalist hate,
though not from cold-sober state felony.
The invading tourists file past below,
sunny pub forecourts, the night club their goal.
With scarcely a glance upwards they ignore
the martyred with whom they cannot condole.
Princes Street, The Royal Mile of bazaar brand.
Less industry means little unrest,
money-markets pay chavs to be becalmed.
Illegals let in swamp tradition best.
Born Cowgate's Little Ireland of the crammed
he detonated Ireland's freedom fest.

Wilson John Haire
6th July, 2011

Darwin & Malthus & Cobbett & So On...

Political Economy can be much or little. It can be the texts of an academic argument as to the utility of Government proposals to raise or lower this that or the other tax. Or it can be the main business of generations, the substance of social life and the sticking point of political conflict, such as Malthusian Political Economy has been and, with the unravelling of Ernest Bevin's welfare state, may very well be again.

Malthusianism is a politics of oppression writ large on an economics of greed. It is a Political Economy of class warfare, along the lines of which the English bourgeoisie arranged itself for Imperial domination, against which the English working class first came to an intimation of itself as embodying a collective purpose, the beginnings of its consciousness of itself as a class.

Over the past thirty years the English working class has failed its collective self, fallen into a political unconsciousness and been struck socially dumb. The untimely thought in such a season must then be to enter upon a phase of first principles and go back to that beginning.

Darwin & Malthus & So On...

In his autobiography Darwin described how, fifteen months into his detailed inquiry into the origin of species, he read Malthus's *Essay On Population* for amusement, and discovered therein the principle of a struggle for existence which gave him the core of the theory around which he organised the data of his peculiarly English theory of evolution. His theory, he said, in the 1844 draft of his specimen book, his book of lists of the names of things, is "...the doctrine of Malthus applied in most cases with ten-fold force".

Darwin's war of all against all, survival of the fittest, his theory of devil take the hindmost, was born out of the concerns of the Political Economy of class war. It was developed and promoted most precisely as a weapon in that war, teaching the lesson that throughout the natural as well as the social world the strongest and deadliest, the wealthiest and most vicious always win.

Darwin's apologists constantly excuse their master's appeal to the purposeful language of struggle and war as metaphor; a metaphorical case from the social world being applied to the natural sphere by way of explanation, to make things clearer don't you know. It is nothing of the sort. In Darwin the metaphor is the message, meant for all the worlds of English striving. A simple message: just this, resist us and die.

Malthus's message to the productive classes of England, the men and women who created the wealth of that nation, and their families, was much the same, but even more bluntly stated: resist us or not, it makes no difference, we'll have your lives and the product of your lives, and we'll see you dead.

The Basic Four Pages

The basic principle of Malthusian science is simply that population, if unchecked, increases at a geometric rate while food supply increases at only an arithmetic rate. And that principle is established, insofar as it can be, in the space of four pages at the beginning of a book of some 600 pages (in the two volumes of the Everyman edition):

"...to be perfectly sure that we are far within the truth, we will take the slowest of these rates of increase, a rate in which all concurring testimonies agree, and which has been repeatedly ascertained to be from procreation only.

"It may safely be pronounced, therefore, that population, when unchecked, goes on doubling itself every twenty-five years, or increases in a geometrical ratio.

"The rate according to which the productions of the earth may be supposed to increase, it will not be so easy to determine. Of this, however, we may be perfectly certain, that the ratio of their increase in a limited territory must be of a totally different nature from the ratio of the increase of population. A thousand millions are just as easily doubled every twenty-five years by the power of population as a thousand. But the food to support the increase from the greater number will by no means be obtained with the same facility...

"...if it be allowed that the subsistence for man which the earth affords might be increased every twenty-five years by a quantity equal to what it at present produces, this will be supposing a rate of increase much greater than we can imagine that any possible exertions of mankind could make it.

"It may be fairly pronounced, therefore, that, considering the present average state of the earth, the means of subsistence, under circumstances the most favourable to human industry, could not possibly be made to increase faster than in an arithmetical ratio.

...

"In this supposition no limits whatever are placed to the produce of the earth. It may increase for ever and be greater than any assignable quantity; yet still the power of population being in every period so much superior, the increase of the human species can only be kept down to the level of the means of subsistence by the constant operation of the strong law of necessity, acting as a check upon the greater power" (*Essay On Population*, Vol. 1, pp8 - 11).

Four pages to argue his principle of population, a great deal of the rest to consider how population growth of the lower orders might best be "*checked*". And so...

But first...

A Moment Set Aside To Praise The Parson And To Savour The Parson's Joke

Such of Parson Malthus's defenders as I have read are usually driven to complain on his behalf that Malthus didn't say this or he didn't mean that. When they are referring to claims that Malthus advocated contraception they are quite right, he didn't. But for the rest of it they are mostly splitting hairs.

However, there is this to be said for him, which really is quite a lot to be said for anyone from his time and in his place.

In the same early section of the book where he expounds his principle, Malthus says this:

"There are many parts of the globe, indeed, hitherto uncultivated, and almost unoccupied; but the right of exterminating, or driving into a corner where they must starve, even the inhabitants of these thinly-peopled regions, will be questioned in a moral view" (*ibid.*, pp8-9).

That is a remarkably human position for any English writer to put his name to at that time. Quite a brave thing to do as well.

It certainly infuriated the poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge who was in no doubt about the perfect morality of genocide.

In 1803 or thereabouts, when the second edition of Malthus's *Essay* was published, Coleridge was living with his friend and brother-in-law, another poet, Robert Southey. Southey received a review copy of the book and both he and Coleridge annotated the margins of the book with notes for the review.

(For what follows I rely on George Reuben Potter's article, '*Unpublished Marginalia in Coleridge's Copy of Malthus's Essay on Population*' from the *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. 51, No. 4 (Dec., 1936), pp1061-1068, as corrected and added to by Kenneth Curry in '*A Note on Coleridge's Copy of Malthus*', *PMLA*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (Jun., 1939), pp613-615.)

A marginal note by Coleridge refers to Malthus's comments on the immorality of genocide:

"The stupid Ignorance of the Man! a moral View!—And to begin such a book as this without stating what a moral View is!—If it be immoral to kill a few Savages in order to get possession of a country capable of sustaining a 1000 times as many enlightened and happy men, is it not immoral to kill millions of Infants and Men by crowded Cities, by Hunger, and by the Pox?"

On page 45 of Coleridge's copy of his book (page 41 of mine) Malthus had written that the food supply of Indians was decreasing and Southey this time commented:

"The fur trade has been the main cause of their latter diminution, they destroy all the animals they can find—not for food! but for their skins & these they exchange immediately or ultimately for spirits. & by thus destroying their meat to obtain drink they are making room for better tenants."

So the Parson had more of a sense of honest decency in this regard than the Poets. And good for him! If only he could have maintained that for his recommendations on Poor Law Reform! But we'll get to that soon enough.

And now there's the matter of the Parson's Joke.

When I came across the statement in Darwin's *Autobiography* that he read Malthus's book "*for amusement*" I assumed he was indulging in some species or other of irony or the like. I hadn't found anything in the least amusing about the *Essay On Population* and

couldn't imagine that anyone else might do so. But then I had to go through it more carefully and came across this passage, the conclusion to which I am fairly sure is intended to be, not to put too fine a point on it, not altogether serious.

"The foundations, therefore, on which the arguments for the organic perfectibility of man rest are unusually weak, and can only be considered as mere conjectures. It does not, however, by any means, seem impossible that, by an attention to breed, a certain degree of improvement similar to that among animals might take place among men. Whether intellect could be communicated may be a matter of doubt; but size, strength, beauty, complexion, and, perhaps, even longevity, are in a degree transmissible. The error does not lie in supposing a small degree of improvement possible, but in not discriminating between a small improvement, the limit of which is undefined, and an improvement really unlimited. As the human race, however, could not be improved in this way without condemning all the bad specimens to celibacy, it is not probable that an attention to breed should ever become general; indeed I know of no well-directed attempts of this kind, except in the ancient family of the Bickerstaffs, who are said to have been very successful in whitening the skins and increasing the height of their race by prudent marriages, particularly by that very judicious cross with Maud the milkmaid, by which some capital defects in the constitutions of the family were corrected." (Malthus, *ibid*, Vol. 2., p9).

I suppose Maud the milkmaid immediately stands out as a hint and a half, but really the giveaway is the name Bickerstaff. Isaac Bickerstaff, esq. was Richard Steele's *nom de whig* when he founded *The Tatler* in 1709. The Bickerstaff family, in which Maud married Sir Walter, was a running joke in the magazine, and finally appeared just about 100 years later as a humorous touch in Parson Malthus's book on population and the restraining of it. And, for all I know, there are a hundred other such humorous touches there that I didn't happen to pick up on. And perhaps Darwin did indeed read it "*for amusement*". And so, back now to serious.

Malthus & Cobbett & So On...

In the first edition of his *Essay*, Malthus allowed only two checks on population growth: misery and vice. One way or another the excess population of

the lower orders, which the available food supply could not sustain, had to die; die of hunger or disease or die in war, but surely die.

In the second edition, following some amicable correspondence with William Godwin (who was, along with the Girondin, Condorcet, the original target of the book), he allowed that "*moral restraint*" might have a role to play in keeping the birth rate among the lower orders down. If the poor could learn to marry later and have fewer children not so many of them would, in the normal course of things, have to die.

All of which was summed up in a passage which appeared in the second edition—before being removed from all subsequent editions, presumably as being simply too convenient for quotation (and hence is not in the *Everyman* edition of the book, that being based on the seventh, possibly a posthumous, edition):

"A man who is born into a world already possessed, if he cannot get subsistence from his parents, on whom he has a just demand, and if the society do not want his labour, has no claim of right to the smallest portion of food, and, in fact, has no business to be where he is. At nature's mighty feast there is no vacant cover for him. She tells him to be gone, and will quickly execute her own orders, if he do not work upon the compassion of some of her guests. If these guests get up and make room for him, other intruders immediately appear demanding the same favour. The report of a provision for all that come, fills the hall with numerous claimants. The order and harmony of the feast is disturbed, the plenty that before reigned is changed into scarcity; and the happiness of the guests is destroyed by the spectacle of misery and dependence in every part of the hall, and by the clamorous importunity of those who are justly enraged at not finding the provision which they had been taught to expect. The guests learn too late their error, in counteracting those strict orders to all intruders, issued by the great mistress of the feast, who, wishing that all her guests should have plenty, and knowing that she could not provide for unlimited numbers, humanely refused to admit fresh comers when her table was already full" (quoted in '*William Cobbett and Malthusianism*' by Charles H. Kegel, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Jun., 1958), pp. 348-362).

The upper classes of course could fornicate and propagate to their hearts' delight and their bodies' outer limits. Malthus considered the way of life of the Regency upper set an adornment to

English civilisation; so no restraint, moral or otherwise, in that quarter, thank you very much. Adorn away! was the Parson's message to the wealthy.

Initially, Cobbett, being originally very much an anti-Jacobin, was quite taken with the Parson's book. In 1805, in his *Political Register*, he spoke of "*the profound work of Mr. Malthus*", adding, "*It is a principle founded in nature that, population will, unless checked by some extraordinary means, always keep pace, and, indeed, tread upon the heels of, subsistence*" (quoted in Kegel, *ibid.*).

Then it became clear to him that Malthus's arguments were directed to dismantling the existing Poor Law, which inadequate and all as it was, seemed to Cobbett a basically human piece of work that permitted the poor a social space in which to live, however humbly, after a human fashion. In 1807 the *Political Register* published three letters attacking the *Essay on Population* (signed A. O., these were in fact written by William Hazlitt). From that point until his death in 1835 Cobbett maintained a root and branch assault on Malthus, Malthusianism and all the unrestrained population of its variants and by-blows without exception.

I hope to write more extensively about Cobbett, the very many multifarious works of his incredible career and his legacy, elsewhere in the near to medium down the line. For now, I can't help but be much too general and far too specific. Anyway, however inadequately to the glorious memory of a great man, here goes...

Cobbett & So On...

William Cobbett was himself at his peak when the industrial revolution tied together a number of developing strands of the self-regulating market economy; its commodification of land and labour and its heroic use of starvation as the dominant mode of labour relations. Cobbett opposed all that in papers, pamphlets and books which had a huge circulation for the time, and an influence much beyond that. The strength in argument, the knockabout style and fierce tone of his journalism created something that was neither a movement nor a party but a definite thread of shared experience, common thought and communal feeling among English working people. Not class consciousness as such, perhaps still far from that, but, all in all, all the essential preconditions of an independent working class political awareness are there.

So, when Cobbett realised what Malthus was about, the gloves came off and stayed off until Malthus won and Cobbett shortly afterwards died.

And this is Malthus's statement of the practical point of himself:

"As a previous step even to any considerable alteration in the present system, which would contract or stop the increase of the relief to be given, it appears to me that we are bound in justice and honour formally to disclaim the right of the poor to support.

"To this end, I should propose a regulation to be made, declaring that no child born from any marriage, taking place after the expiration of a year from the date of the law, and no illegitimate child born two years from the same date, should ever be entitled to parish assistance. And to give a more general knowledge of this law, and to enforce it more strongly on the minds of the lower classes of people, the clergyman of each parish should, after the publication of banns, read a short address stating the strong obligation on every man to support his own children; the impropriety, and even immorality, of marrying without a prospect of being able to do this; the evils which had resulted to the poor themselves from the attempt which had been made to assist by public institutions in a duty which ought to be exclusively appropriated to parents; and the absolute necessity which had at length appeared of abandoning all such institutions, on account of their producing effects totally opposite to those which were intended" (Malthus, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp301-302).

Within his ongoing commentary upon and opposition to what Karl Polanyi called *The Great Transformation*, Cobbett addressed himself to the second paragraph. This is from *To Parson Malthus (On The Rights Of The Poor; And On The Cruelty Recommended By Him to Be Exercised Towards The Poor)* in the *Political Register* of May 1819, famously the first occasion upon which Malthus was called Parson:

"Parson:

"I have, during my life, detested many men; but never any one so much as you...No assemblage of words can give an appropriate designation of you; and, therefore, as being the single word which best suits the character of such a man, I call you Parson, which, amongst other meanings, includes that of Boroughmonger tool...

"The bare idea of a law to punish a labourer for marrying; the bare idea is enough to fill one with indignation and

horror. But, when this is moulded into a distinct proposal and strong recommendation, we can hardly find patience sufficient to restrain us from breaking out into a volley of curses on the head of the proposer...

"But, before I proceed further, let us have your proposition before us in your own insolent words; first observing, that, at the time when you wrote your book, the Boroughmongers began to be alarmed at the increase of the Poor-rates. They boasted of wonderful national prosperity; wonderful ease and happiness; wonderful improvements in agriculture; but, still the poor-rates wonderfully increased. Indeed, they seemed to increase with the increase of the Boroughmongers' national prosperity; which might, I think, very fairly be called the eighth wonder of the world.

"Being in this puzzle, the Boroughmongers found in a priest the advocate of a method to rid them of their ground of alarm. You, overlooking all the real causes of the increase of the paupers, assumed, without any internal proof, and against all experience, that the giving of relief is the cause of the evil; and then you came to your proposition of a remedy. The words, the infamous words, are as follows..."

There follows the paragraph quoted above, "*To this end I should propose a regulation to be made...*" Cobbett continues:

"You talk of the 'punishment of nature' you talk of 'the laws of nature having doomed him and his family to starve'. Now, in the first place, the laws of nature; the most imperative of all her laws, bid him love and seek the gratification of that passion in a way that leads to the procreation of his species. The laws of nature bid man as well as woman desire to produce and preserve children. Your prohibition is in the face of these imperative laws; for you punish the illegitimate as well as the legitimate offspring. I shall not talk to you about religion, for I shall suppose you, being a parson, care little about that. I will not remind you, that the Articles of the Church, to which articles you have sworn, reprobates the doctrine of celibacy, as being hostile to the Word of God; that the same article declares that it is lawful for all Christian men to marry; that one of the Church prayers beseeches God that the married pair may be fruitful in children; that another prayer calls little children as arrows in the hand of the giant, and says that the man is happy who has his quiver full of them; that the Scriptures tell us that LOT'S neighbours were consumed by fire and brimstone, and that ONAN was

stricken dead; that adultery and fornication are held, in the New Testament, to be deadly sins: I will not dwell upon any thing in this way, because you, being a parson, would laugh in my face. I will take you on your own ground; the laws of nature.

"The laws of nature, written in our passions, desires and propensities; written even in the organization of our bodies; these laws compel the two sexes to hold that sort of intercourse, which produces children. Yes, say you; but nature has other laws, and amongst those are, that man shall live by food, and that, if he cannot obtain food, he shall starve. Agreed, and, if there be a man in England who cannot find, in the whole country, food enough to keep him alive, I allow that nature has doomed him to starve. If, in no shop, house, mill, barn, or other place, he can find food sufficient to keep him alive; then, I allow, that the laws of nature condemn him to die.

"“Oh!” you will, with parson-like bawl, exclaim, “but he must not commit robbery or larceny!” Robbery or larceny! what do you mean by that? Does the law of nature say any thing about robbery or larceny? Does the law of nature know any thing of these things? No: the law of nature bids man to take, whenever he can find it, whatever is necessary to his life, health, and ease. So, you will quit the law of nature now, will you? You will only take it as far as serves your purpose of cruelty. You will take it to sanction your barbarity; but will fling it away when it offers the man food.

"Your muddled parson's head has led you into confusion here. The law of nature bids a man not starve in a land of plenty, and forbids his being punished for taking food wherever he can find it. Your law of nature is sitting at Westminster, to make the labourer pay taxes, to make him fight for the safety of the land, to bind him in allegiance, and when he is poor and hungry, to cast him off to starve, or, to hang him if he takes food to save his life! That is your law of nature; that is a parson's law of nature. I am glad, however, that you blundered upon the law of nature; because that is the very ground, on which I mean to start in endeavouring clearly to establish the rights of the poor...

"The land, the trees, the fruits, the herbage, the roots are, by the law of nature, the common possession of all the people. The social compact, entered into for their mutual benefit and protection... The social compact gives rise, at once, to the words mine and thine. Men exert their skill and strength upon particular spots of land. These become their own. Arid when laws

come to be made, these spots are called the property of the owners. But still the property, in land, especially, can never be so complete and absolute as to give to the proprietors the right of withholding the means of existence, or of animal enjoyment, from any portion of the people; seeing that the very foundation of the compact was, the protection and benefit of the whole. Men, in agreeing to give up their rights to a common enjoyment of the land and its fruits, never could mean to give up, in any contingency, their right to live and to love and to seek the gratification of desires necessary to the perpetuating of their species. And, if a contingency arise, in which men, without the commission of any crime on their part, are unable, by moderate labour that they do perform, or are willing to perform, or by contributions from those who have food, to obtain food sufficient for themselves and their women and children, there is no longer benefit and protection to the whole; the social compact is at an end; and men have a right, thenceforward, to act agreeably to the laws of nature. If, in process of time, the land get into the hands of a comparatively small part of the people, and if the proprietors were to prevent, by making parks, or in any other way, a great part of the land from being cultivated, would they have a right to say to the rest of the people, you shall breed no more, if you do, nature has doomed you to starvation? Would they have a right to say, “We leave you to the punishment of nature?” If they were fools enough to do this, the rest of the people would, doubtless, snap them at their word, and say, “Very well, then; nature bids us live and love and have children, and get food for them from the land: here is a pretty park, I'll have a bit here; you take a bit there, Jack”; and so on. “What!” say the proprietors, “would you take our property?” “No: but, if you will neither give us some of the fruits without our labour, nor give us some of them for our labour, we will use some of the land, for starved we will not be.” “Why do you love and have children then?” “Because nature impels us to it, and because our right to gratify the passion of love was never given up either expressly or tacitly”.

"But there are the helpless; there are those who are infirm; there are babies and aged and insane persons. Are the proprietors to support them? To be sure they are; else what benefit, what protection, do these receive from the social compact? If these are to be refused protection, why is the feeble and infirm rich man to be protected in his property, or in any other way?

Before the social compact existed, there were no sufferers from helplessness. The possession of every thing being in common, every man was able, by extraordinary exertion, to provide for his helpless kindred and friends by the means of those exertions. He used more than ordinary industry; he dug and sowed more than ordinary; all the means which nature gave were at his command according to his skill and strength. And, when he agreed to allow of proprietorship, he understood, of course, that the helpless were, in case of need, to be protected and fed by the proprietors. Hence the poor, by which we ought always to mean the helpless only, have a right founded in the law of nature, and necessarily recognized by the compact of every society of men... If we are to be left to the punishment of nature, leave us also to be rewarded by nature. Leave us to the honest dame all through the piece: she is very impartial in rewards as well as in her punishments: let us have the latter and we will take the former with all our hearts...

"...To suppose such a thing possible as a society, in which men, who are able and willing to work, cannot support their families, and ought, with a great part of the women, to be compelled to lead a life of celibacy, for fear of having children to be starved; to suppose such a thing possible is monstrous. But, if there should be such a society, every one will say, that it ought instantly to be dissolved; because a state of nature would be far preferable to it...

"As to the poor, when the lands were at first granted to individuals, those individuals were the heads of bands or little knots of men. The leader, in time, called himself the Lord, and those under him his vassals or villeins, or, under-tenants, and almost slaves. The lords had the services of the vassals and villeins, and the vassals and villeins were protected and taken care of by the lords. So that, in this, the worst state of things (always excepting the present) the poor must, of course, have had a provision, they being in some sort the property of the lords.

"When Christianity came to make considerable progress in England, and the lords of the lands became Christians... For a long while there was no general law for the yielding of tithes; but, when that charge was legally imposed on all the lands, the poor were, of course, every where entitled to this fourth part. Villeinage being at this time greatly diminished, it was proper to provide a resource for the helpless other than that of the tables of the lords, and, therefore, this species of hospitality was transferred to the

church, from which the poor had a right to demand a maintenance, and from which they received it, too, until the robbery of the poor (which has been called a robbery of the church) took place, in the reign of King Henry the Eighth.

"Before that time, the poor were, according to the common law, that is, the settled law of the whole kingdom, to be sustained by those who received the tithes...

"Thus, then, clear as daylight stood the legal rights of the poor, previous to the grand robbery of them, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, when, and in a few years afterwards, they were despoiled of the whole of their reserved resources. The tithes were either given to courtiers, or to priests with wives, and thus they have continued to this day.

"But, still, there would be poor and helpless persons; and as there was no such man as you at hand to recommend the "punishment of nature", provision was made for the poor in the way of rate, or tax. Hence arose the present system of Poor-laws, which, for those unable to work, provide food and raiment; and, for those able to work, employment, whereby they may obtain food and raiment. And BLACKSTONE, in his enumeration of the Rights of Persons, has this right to be sustained in case of need. "The law", says he, "not only regards life and member, and protects every man in the enjoyment of them, but also furnishes him with every thing necessary for their support. For there is no man so indigent, or wretched, but he may demand a supply sufficient for all the necessities of life from the more opulent part of the community, by means of the several statutes enacted for the relief of the poor; a humane provision, and dictated by the principles of society."

"...According to the law of the land, it is not larceny nor robbery where a person (not owing to his own fault) is reduced to extreme necessity, and steals victuals merely to satisfy present hunger, and to prevent starvation; and, I have no hesitation in saying, that a jury, who convicts a person, under such circumstances, are guilty of perjury. The law is just here; for, if there be a state of society, which exposes persons to starvation, without any fault on their own part, such society is a monster in legislation; it is worse than a state of nature, and ought to be dissolved...

"Callous parson, hardened parson, I have proved, that the relief now given, and that ought to be more largely given, by the statute-law to the poor, is their right; that it came to supply the place of that relief which the law of the land

gave them before the thing called the Reformation; and that the law of the land only supplied, in this respect, the place of the law of nature. I have traced the rights of the poor; meaning the helpless, either from inability to labour or from inability to find labour; I have traced their rights down, from the origin of the social compact to the present day, and have shown that men, when they originally gave up their right of possessing the land in common, never gave up, either for themselves, or for future generations, the right of living, loving, and perpetuating their like."

And So On...

In the event then Malthus's argument prevailed, and inevitably so. It was the argument from power, for which any plausible syllogism or three would do to add the appearance of moral rigour to an overwhelming measure of almost all the forces; social, economic, political and military.

But not intellectual force. Cobbett robbed Malthus and the Malthusians, he robbed Political Economy, of intellectual force. And all that intellectual force he bequeathed to the labouring masses; they who had once been peasants and craftsmen, who were not yet a working class.

Cobbett's argument, counterposing the living law of love against Political Economy, standing on Common Law and common sense, was, to say the least of it, the bedrock of the Common People who became the English working class.

Thanks to Cobbett, English workers were politically literate before they could really be said to be politically conscious. His *Political Register*, his *Two-Penny Trash*, his *History Of The Protestant "Reformation" in England and Ireland*, his *Rural Rides* were the school-books of Chartism and the first Trade Unionists.

All in all and so on, Cobbett put much in the mix of the rising class that in Bevin's hands became a Risen People.

Jack Lane

A Modest Proposal—For Real

Martin Mansergh gets exercised over the future of the Bank of Ireland Headquarters building, which was the seat of the pre-Union Ascendancy Parliament, and the possibility that it could come into State ownership.

In a letter to the *Irish Times* (Wednesday, July 20, 2011) he says: "*To restore the Parliament Building to the people could provide a welcome symbolic boost to the ongoing struggle for recovery of our sovereignty. It could also be a magnificent cultural and tourist asset. Like the palace of Versailles, it could, among other uses, have a permanent exhibition on our entire parliamentary history*".

The Building should undoubtedly belong to the State on the basis of all it has done to bail out the Bank—but for no other reason.

It cannot be done on the basis of restoring it to 'the people' as 'the people' most certainly never owned it in the first place. Such a concept would have horrified the people who created it and ran it. It was set up and operated to ensure that 'the people' owned as little as possible if *anything at all* in the country—and certainly not the parliament building itself. Any other concept would be turning history on its head. But this is typical of Mr. Mansergh's

way of glossing over the substance of Irish history.

If his idea of an "*exhibition of our entire parliamentary history*" was established, the possessive pronoun would need a lot of explaining. Pride of place in his proposed history should be replicas of all the Penal Laws as they were the pride and joy of this Parliament and they constituted the majority of its work.

There are other less well known parts of this Parliamentary history that should be up in lights. These are the Bills that were vetoed by Westminster, and we have to thank some lucky stars that they were vetoed and that the Irish Parliament was not totally 'free'. This was the Parliament that was at the top of the "*machine as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man*" (Edmund Burke). Ours?

A good example of what Burke had in mind was described by John Curry in his *History of Ireland*, in which he tried to bring home to his readers the depth of anti-Catholic prejudice and bigotry of the Irish Protestant Ascendancy and the

lengths to which it would go to enforce these prejudices.

After some decades of the Penal Laws, there seemed to be not a sufficient decline in the number of Catholics, the object of the whole exercise, and the Parliament concluded that their reproduction must be down to the priests—so they came up with unbeatable formula. The solution was to castrate the Catholic clergy. A '*modest proposal*' without the irony. Curry describes what happened:

"The frequent exertions of this particular prejudice against the Roman catholic clergy of Ireland, seems not to have been the effect of any new or sudden provocation, arising occasionally from their misconduct, with respect to the government; but appear to have been owing to a spirit of intolerance, on account of their religion only; and to have been uniformly carried on, upon principle, for many years after; until they were at length heightened to such a degree of wanton cruelty, as rather dishonors the religion it is intended to serve.

"For in the year 1723 it having again unanimously resolved in parliament, 'that it was the indispensable duty of all magistrates to put the laws in immediate execution against popish priests: and that the neglect of several magistrates, in executing the laws against papists, did greatly contribute to the growth of popery.' Leave was given to bring in heads of a bill, for explaining and *amending* the two acts before mentioned, to prevent the growth of popery.

"Upon this occasion, one of the most zealous promoters of that bill, having gravely taken notice, in a long and laboured speech, that of all the countries wherein the reformed religion had prevailed, Sweden was freest from those secret, but irreconcilable, enemies of all protestant governments, popish ecclesiastics; which, he said, was visibly owing to the great wisdom of their laws, inflicting the penalty of castration on all such dangerous intruders into the kingdom.

"He seriously moved, that the *gothic* and *inhuman* penalty be added as a clause to the bill before them; to which the house, after a short debate, agreed; and ordered it to be laid before his grace the lord lieutenant, to be transmitted into England, with this remarkable request on their part, 'that he recommend the same, in the *most effectual* manner to his majesty.' To which his grace was pleased to answer, 'that as he had so much at heart a matter, which he had recommended to the consideration of parliament, at the beginning of the session; they might

depend upon a due regard, on his part, to what was desired.'

"The bill was accordingly transmitted to England; but rejected there, by means of the humane and earnest interposition of Cardinal Fleury with Mr. Walpole, whose great power and interest at that juncture, were then universally known.

"His grace the lord lieutenant, in his speech to that parliament, at the close of the session, in order to console them for the loss of their favorite bill, gave them to understand, 'that it miscarried merely by its not having been brought into the house, before the session was so far advanced'. And after earnestly recommending to them, in their several stations, the care and preservation of the public peace; he added, 'that, in his opinion, that would be greatly promoted, by the vigorous execution of the laws against popish priests; and that he would contribute his part towards the prevention of that growing evil, by giving proper directions, that such persons only should be put into the commissions of the peace, as had *distinguished* themselves by their steady adherence to the *protestant interest*.'

"These general words, '*protestant interest*' seem to carry with them a

vague and indefinite meaning; but if the protestant religion is here, in any respect, signified by them, I will venture to affirm, that in no other age or nation, has religion ever been attempted to be served or promoted, by so shameful and cruel an expedient, as that proposed in this rejected bill" (*Historical and critical review of the Civil Wars in Ireland*, pages 550-1, by J. Curry MD, 1810).

Cardinal Fleury was effectively Prime Minister of France under Louis XV.

He established a good working relationship with Walpole who had a policy of 'peaceful co-existence' with France and was much engaged with the French Government. It was not a popular policy in England and did not survive him.

Below is a contemporary cartoon of both which was published in 1730 with a popular ballad, *The Squire and the Cardinal*, lampooning Walpole as a poodle of Fleury and playing to anti-Catholic and anti-French prejudices. The castration episode would have helped fuel this antagonism towards Walpole.

Refine your suggestion, Martin.



T H E
S Q U I R E
A N D T H E
C A R D I N A L.

I 'LL tell you a Story, a Story so merry,
Of a wife Norfolk Squire and Cardinal Fleury:
I mean not to sing of this Cardinal's Might,
How he led in a String both the Squire and the Knight.

Derry down, down, hey derry down.

V
O
X

Civil Marriage
"Typical Irishman"
 Achill Soupers
 Serjeant Sullivan
 Death of PSNI Constable Ronan Kerr

P
A
T

MORE VOX: BACK PAGE

Civil Marriage ceremonies on Saturdays have been ruled out by the Health Service Executive (HSE)—it's Monday to Friday only for the foreseeable future. The HSE blames the Government recruitment embargo for the failure to offer civil ceremonies on the most popular day of the week for weddings. The Civil Registration Service (CRS), which comes under the control of the HSE, can only offer civil wedding ceremonies midweek. It means if a couple does not want to get married within a religious setting, they are unable to have a week-end wedding.

From 1996 to 2010, the volume of civil marriages has increased by 600% in Ireland. While the overall number of marriages registered in 2010 declined by 11% from 2009, the volume of civil marriages remained stable.

A report from the HSE showed that there were 4,172 registry office ceremonies in Ireland last year and a further 1,819 civil weddings at outside venues—a total of 5,991.

"Typical Irishman"

"The student of Irish social history is, therefore, at length confronted by the question—'what proportion of the Irish, if not congenitally criminal, is yet racially disposed to crime?' Indeed, if we consider the so-called 'typical Irishman' as an impulsive, irresponsible, temperamental individual, casual about paying his debts, full of 'Celtic charm' or whimsicalness, we get an equation which can be set down in more direct English thus: 'Judged by English standards, the "typical Irishman" has two psychical and fundamental abnormalities, namely, moral insensibility and want of foresight'. It is precisely these two factors which are the basic characteristics of criminal psychology"

(Hugh Pollard, *Secret Societies of Ireland*, 1922, p245)

Achill Soupers

"They were known as 'souters', and their converts were nicknamed 'jumpers', but Achill's 19th century

missionary colony now deserves its own 'healing', according to the organisers of an inter-denominational blessing on the south Mayo island today" (*Irish Times*, 24.9.2011).

The Catholic Archbishop of Tuam Dr Michael Neary and Church of Ireland Bishop of Tuam, Killala and Achonry Dr Patrick Rooke led a "marking" of hitherto unnamed graves in four churchyards and graveyards at Dugort, Achill on Saturday, 24th September 2011. A total of 190 unmarked 19th century burial places have been identified, according to the Rev. Val Rogers, Rector of the Auhaval group of parishes, which includes St Thomas's of Dugort. St. Thomas's was the principal Church of the controversial Achill mission, founded by the Rev Edward Nangle in 1831.

Rev. Rogers explained that the mission was part of a wider push by English and Irish evangelicals in the early 1800s to "convert and save the Irish from what were considered Roman Catholic errors, ignorance and neglect".

Food was provided as well as primary education in Irish, while training, employment and orphanage care were promised.

"This led to accusations that the mission leaders were "souters", promising soup in return for conversion, while their converts were named "jumpers", from the Irish "d'iompaidh sé" (he turned)" (*ibid*). They were also known as "Perverts".

In 1837, the Catholic Archbishop of Tuam John McHale tried to counter the influence of what were termed "venomous fanatics" by establishing a school and Franciscan monastery at Bunnacurry. Several more Catholic schools were founded on Achill.

Serjeant Sullivan

"One of the best-known figures of the bar at the Kerry assizes used to be Edward Morphy, a man of considerable height and girth, whose contempt of the native Irish Catholic was his one weakness. He was once examining a witness at Tralee, before Judge William O'Brien—a fierce Papist—and

the witness kept answering:

"Sure I did, Misther Murphy", "I don't remember, Misther Murphy."

Morphy plainly showed his irritation at the familiarity of the witness and the perversion of his name, to the great delight of the judge, who at last rebuked the witness.

"You must not call that gentleman Misther Murphy. His name is Morphy—that is the Protestant for Murphy." (*The Last Serjeant, The Memoirs of Serjeant A.M. Sullivan*, Q.C, Macdonald, London, 1952, p.123).

A son of A.M. of the *Nation* and the *Bantry Band*, he was a bitter anti-Republican and was forced to leave Ireland in 1922. He 'defended' Casement, allegedly out of a sense of professional duty. When the Republic of Ireland Act was passed in 1949, he considered himself an alien disqualified from practice in England, and returned to Dublin. He died on 9th September 1959.

Death of PSNI Constable Ronan Kerr,
 Saturday, 2nd April 2011:

"There is something seriously wrong with Northern Irish society and the PSNI when the religion of a brutally murdered young police officer has to be continually emphasised." K. Nolan, Carrick-on-Shannon, Co Leitrim (*Irish Independent*, 5.4.2011)

"Four police officers injured in an accident in Cork—religion not given. Young officer murdered in the six counties—religion Catholic. Why not just Irish? No decent person wants to hear of any police officer being murdered—North, South, East or West." James Rogers, Rosslare, Co Wexford (*Irish Independent*, 5.4.2011)

Fianna Fáil, The Irish Press And The Decline Of The Free State, by *Brendan Clifford*. Index. 172pp. 2007. €12, £9.

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

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Pétain's Show Trial

In the Spring issue of *Church & State* (No. 104), I reported on a little-remembered event, the Riom Show Trial, where Marshal Pétain attempted to find scapegoats for the French defeat. At the end of the War General de Gaulle conducted a similar exercise: he put on a show trial at which Marshal Pétain was to be the scapegoat for the compromises the country was forced into as a result of defeat. The questions raised by Pétain's trial go to the heart of issues still deeply relevant to modern France: What is a country to do when it is defeated in war?

The trial of Pétain, July-August 1945, is assumed to have been a proper and valid trial. There are many reasons why it was not a proper and valid trial, anymore than the Riom Trial was.

The normal run of legal proceedings was not respected. Pétain being ex-Head of State, should have been tried by a Court emanating from the Senate (the Upper House); the jury was drawn from two lists of people hostile to the accused. The Presiding Judge declared before the start of the trial that the defendant ought to receive the death penalty. (The definition of a show trial is "one where the outcome is decided in advance".)

Some of the accusations were outlandish: the Prosecution said that Pétain, before the War, had plotted with Hitler and Franco to take power, and had just waited for the opportunity of the defeat. It was said further that he was in connected with the extreme right group *Cagoule* (the Hooded Men). Another irregularity was that Pétain's papers had been seized and were not available for the Defence. In the end Pétain was sentenced for "*intelligence with Germany*" and "*for having asked for an Armistice*" with the intention to "*seize power*" so as to install a political system whose goal was "*to destroy or change the form of government*".

These are the most immediately obvious faults in the judicial process. At the time, these faults did not prevent Pétain being sentenced to death (the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, on grounds of age, Pétain being 89 in 1945).

Since 1945, the question of the validity of the Trial has been kept out of

the public mind; the assumption is that Pétain was guilty and found guilty; few ask what he was guilty of, and how this was explained and proved at the Trial. At the time, however, the Trial was reported without hostility or preconceptions in France, in papers like *Le Figaro*. There was straightforward reporting in Ireland as well, for example in the *Irish Press*, the *Irish Independent*, the (Belfast) *Irish News* and the *Irish Times*; the last named paper started its reporting in a hostile manner but very soon changed its tone.

What follows is a description of the Trial, taken from the pages of Irish and French newspapers of the time. Other significant events reported in those newspapers at the same time are mentioned in indented paragraphs.

The Irish Press

The *Irish Press* kept the Trial on the front page for most of the duration, using reports by the Reuters and other news agencies. The headline on the first day was "*Pétain taken in Black Maria for his trial*" and below the title "*Pétain is on trial, so are millions of French men and women*". On the first day the paper also used a report by Relman Morin of Associated Press which provided a context for the event. According to Morin, the Trial was loaded with dynamite; the country was seething with conflicting views and emotions; the Resistance wanted Pétain's head for thousands killed by the Militia; large groups believed Pétain saved France when France's military power was shattered. Others felt Pétain was kindly but foolish; and an enormous number just wanted to know what had happened in 1940.

On the second day the Chief Prosecutor showed where he stood when he said, after some booing among the spectators—which could be interpreted as support for Pétain, or at least for the rule of law—"There are too many Germans in this court" (meaning Frenchmen with the wrong ideas).

Pétain, quite rightly, did not recognise the Court. In the same circumstances of an irregular Court at the Riom Show Trial of 1942, the ex-Prime Ministers Léon Blum and Edouard Daladier denounced the Court but

defended themselves nevertheless; only General Gamelin remained silent. Pétain made a speech on the second day but remained silent after that, apart from occasional brief remarks, for example when a witness went on at excessive length in his praise, Pétain said "*Enough, enough*". When another defence witness, a blind general, made a passionate appeal, which was greeted by applause (Judge Mongibeaux complained "*this is scandalous*"), Pétain said, "*I speak today for the first time to say that I did not know that General Lannurien was going to make that statement*". Pétain wore his Marshal's uniform throughout, and kept a great dignity. If he dozed occasionally, so did younger members of the jury. It was high Summer; the room was small, packed and airless.

In his speech on the second day, Pétain said:

"I was called and thus I became heir to a catastrophe of which I was not the author. Those really responsible hid themselves behind me to avoid public anger. ... The Armistice saved France...."

"For the French people I went so far as to sacrifice my prestige. I remained at the head of a country under occupation. ... Liberated France may change words and names, but she can build usefully only upon the foundations I laid. ... If you were to condemn me, let my condemnation be the last...."

"A Marshal of France asks mercy from none...."

"Your judgement will be answered by that of God and of posterity. These will suffice for my conscience and for my memory. I leave it to France."

There is little that is not true in what Pétain said in that speech. The Armistice was preferable to a capitulation after being totally overrun, which was the only alternative; Pétain did sacrifice his prestige—negotiating an Armistice is not glorious—so that France could be governed by a French man for what turned out to be an indefinite length of time, which was expected to be short. French administrators under occupation did lay the foundations of modern France. To the last, Pétain was concerned with the fate of the population, 300 000 of whom, like many of the witnesses for the defence, were awaiting trial at the same time as himself: "*let my condemnation be the last*".

After that beginning, the Trial covered much of the same ground as the Riom Show Trial: who was responsible for the defeat? Was the Armistice justified? Was France sufficiently prepared for war?

As at Riom, Third Republic politicians and military men were called as witnesses for and against. Those against included Herriot, who had suggested calling Pétain to head the Government in June 1940, Daladier who had called him, and Reynaud who had resigned and handed over the Government to him. The new emerging political class did not participate in the Trial, except as members of the jury.

Blum (28.7.45) said *"Pétain said to the French in 1940 that the Armistice was not dishonourable. I call that treason."* The five judges, who had all sworn fidelity to Pétain when he was Head of State, were visibly embarrassed when Blum spoke of French leaders and officials who were too ready to compromise.

As for treason, even the main witnesses for the prosecution, ex-Premiers Reynaud and Daladier, would not bring themselves to accuse Pétain of treason; when asked directly, Reynaud (ex-Prime Minister) prevaricated: *"There are different meanings to the word"*.

Other prominent politicians spoke for the prosecution in a very unconvincing manner. Edouard Herriot (ex-Prime Minister) said that in 1940 France had Britain and the economic resources of the United States. De Gaulle had said the same thing in his 18th June 1940 speech, but this was simply not true. In 1940 Britain repatriated its troops and refused further air support while fighting was still going on. The United States did not respond when asked for support at the same time.

Paul Reynaud said that in 1940 the army should have ceased fire and the Government should have refrained from parleying with the Germans; that would have saved France's honour. This begs the question of what would have happened then.

General Weygand (Commander in Chief before Gamelin in 1940) said correctly at the trial that the Armistice had been asked for on military grounds.

Witnesses for the prosecution did not agree with each other. Blum said he expected Paris to be defended with energy and audacity {in 1940}; counsel asked, why wasn't it? Reynaud replied, *"In order not to destroy the wonder of the world"*.

US Tribute

The US had an Ambassador at Vichy, the seat of the Pétain regime. This was Admiral Leahy, who was in Vichy until he was called back to the

US and became Chief of Staff to President Roosevelt, in May 1942.

On 2nd August the *Irish Press's* front-page headline was *"Pétain tribute by US Envoy"*, with a photo of Admiral Leahy. Leahy sent a letter to Pétain to be read at the trial, saying: *"I had then, as I have now, the conviction that your principal concern was the welfare and protection of the helpless people of France"*.

The next day a telegram of support for Pétain from the US National Veterans Committee (US Veterans who had served in France under General Pershing) was read.

On 2nd August, General George quoted Churchill who had told him in Marrakech in January 1944 that Hitler had made a mistake granting an Armistice to France in 1940: he should have gone on to North Africa and Egypt.

The judge then interrupted: *"Let us stop discussing who was responsible for the defeat and start the trial of Pétain"*.

Churchill's appreciation of the strategic disadvantage of the Armistice to Germany is very much to the point. It is clear that, if Hitler had refused an Armistice and simply overrun France until capitulation, he could have got the French possessions of Algeria, Tunisia and especially Morocco, which would have given him the key to the Mediterranean. Instead, the Armistice explicitly left France with enough military power to keep control of her empire.

(There was a report of the Irish sending £3 million of food aid to Europe.)

Vichy Prime Minister Laval's testimony was not desired either by prosecution or defence, but the jury demanded it. He spoke for four and a half hours. He said *"Even if the German card was a bad one it was necessary to play it. France had to try all cards. General de Gaulle played another card on the other side of the Channel and he too was right."* This evidence was very much to the point: when a country is thrashed militarily as France was in June 1940, there are no good cards left to play and the alternatives are all bad; but something has to be done nevertheless.

Whilst the war in Europe was over, that in the East continued. On 7th August 1945 the *Irish Press* headline was:

"Americans drop Atomic Bomb on Japan—Truman reveals great scientific discovery". The following day the paper reported: *"Vatican absolutely opposed to the bombing of Japan"*.

Halifax's letter to Pétain

Jacques Chevalier was Vichy Minister of Education and Health, 1940-42; he said he was given a letter by the *Chargé d'Affaires* for the Canadian legations for France at the time, Pierre Dupuy. (Apparently the *"Canadian Channel"* of communication between London and Vichy was invaluable, according to Churchill. Lord Halifax had actually encouraged the presence of Dupuy at Vichy. This was not mentioned at the trial.)

That letter was from Lord Halifax (then Foreign Secretary) and addressed to Pétain and contained the text of an Agreement made between Britain and Vichy France, to come into effect in December 1940. According to this Agreement, France would keep its fleet, keep its colonies but not attempt to get back the colonies *"which had joined Britain"*. In exchange Britain would ease the blockade, and would allow French ships through the Straits of Gibraltar. Lord Halifax said in his letter: *"Artificial tension must be maintained between us to safeguard article 9 of the Armistice. But behind that façade of misunderstanding we must get together."* Chevalier recalled that Winston Churchill described Pétain's attitude {during the Occupation} as one of passive resistance to the Germans and that the Germans called Pétain *"Marshal Nein"* because he refused their demands.

The judge stated that Churchill had denied that there was any such Agreement.

The following days heard more instances of Pétain not aiding Germany. Pétain kept French fighters jets grounded when Britain raided factories e.g. near Paris in 1941-2. General Bergeret said that Vichy organised a spy network which had contacts with the British Intelligence Service, in September 1941.

On 9th August the judge dropped the accusation that Pétain had premeditated taking power, and the accusation that he went to Germany in 1944 of his own accord.

The following day came news of the second American nuclear bomb, dropped on Nagasaki. The London *Catholic Herald* (reported in *Irish Press*) called the atomic bombing *"utterly indefensible, immoral"*.

More testimonies came in support of Pétain. His personal secretary from January to July 1944 quoted a letter from Ribbentrop to Pétain, complaining of the latter's attitude to the Reich. Abbé Rodhain said Pétain approved anti-Nazi Catholic secret meetings in catacombs.

Charles Barres, a Resistance leader in Alsace, said Pétain's intervention saved his life (11.8.45).

On the 14th August the public Prosecutor spoke for four and half hours, along the lines of "This Quisling Government had accepted a state of servitude for France. Pétain's motives were vanity, love of power, authoritarian instincts and hatred of the Republic" (14.8.45).

Counsel for the Defence said that the Armistice was an absolute necessity, that Britain agreed it was so, and did not blame France at the time. The British Parliament knew about it a week before it happened and accepted it.

Finally on the 15th Pétain made a short statement, followed by some applause quickly quelled.

The next night, after a deliberation of over six hours, the jury, by a single voice, sentenced Marshal Pétain to death "for a premeditated change of the form of government and intelligence with the enemy". This is nonsensical. No one can deny that an occupied country has to communicate with the enemy. British historians and others have established that the Armistice was militarily inevitable, and granting it was a mistake by Hitler. That Pétain plotted to take power belongs to fantasy. As for the change in the form of Government, since when do parliamentary elections take place in times of war, never mind in times of occupation? The question that might be asked however is, Why did the men in charge of governing France in 1940 choose Pétain?

According to the *Irish Press*, *Le Figaro* said that the sentence was a sentence that had been decided in advance, and pointed out that Frenchmen had experienced relief at the 1938 Munich Agreement with Hitler.

The Irish Independent

The *Irish Independent* presented similar information. There were some extra details.

Paul Reynaud, ex-Prime Minister, described the Cabinet meeting of 15th June 1940 where 13 Ministers were in favour of asking for an Armistice and 6 against (25.7.45).

Pétain offered himself as hostage instead of the hundred men taken to be shot in reprisal for the murder of two German officers, Counsel for the Defence said (27.7.45).

Francois Roux, envoy to the Vatican, defended Pétain (28.7.45).

The question of the Jews is mentioned by General Héring who said that the removal of nationality from the Jews that Hitler had demanded was brought to an end thanks to Pétain 2.8.45

It is striking that the question of the Jews was hardly mentioned during the trial. Similarly, the French witnesses for the prosecution at the Nuremberg trial grouped together all men and women deported from France, without making distinctions. According to Laurel Leff, Associate Professor in the School of Journalism at Northeastern University, in a letter to the New York Times (9.10.11): "*Although the Nuremberg trial provided substantial documentary evidence about the Holocaust, that information was not highlighted either during the trial or in the press coverage of the trial. American prosecutors focused on Germany's making of aggressive war and barely touched on crimes against civilians, including the Jews.*"

The *Irish Independent* commented on Hiroshima: "*The atomic bomb is a terrible new weapon*" (7.8.45). There was also the following report: Atom bomb secret "*discovered by German Jewess, Lize Meitner*" (7.8.45).

General Lacaille talked about contacts between Great Britain and Vichy. Churchill and Eden had said to him: "*We are temporarily separated. Let us do each other as little harm as possible.*" According to General Lacaille, Colonel Groussard—who had since become an anti-Gaullist member of the Resistance—was sent to London, when he was head of Pétain's military guard, where he met Churchill and Eden and talked to them with a view to obtaining a modification of the British blockade of French coasts, as well as moderation of the BBC campaign against Pétain.

(According to the website of Geneva City Archives, General Huntziger, War Minister at Vichy, told Colonel Broussard to go to London to see De Gaulle, with a view to finding a way of cooperating to throw the Germans out of France. De Gaulle refused to see him. <http://etat.geneve.ch/dt/archives>)

Since the question of the French defeat was being aired by the Trial in Paris, the question of what her British ally was doing at the time could not be ignored; this perhaps explains a news item on 8th August: under the title, *Paper that 'lost war' for Reich*, the Associated Press reported that "*Gambling everything on a bold strategy, the Commander of a small British force held on for three days while the Dunkirk beaches were emptied of 330 000 British and French soldiers*". He was allegedly able to do this because he found a plan left behind by fleeing

Germans giving details of a projected "*attack on Calais designed to cut off the British escape*" (8.8.45). Thus he presumably knew where to place his forces.

Other news items of the time were:

"Atom bomb development cost £500 000 000, the cost of 9 days of war" (8.8.45).

"The Catholic Church has equal pity for all subjected to atomic bombing and cannot make distinctions between the victims" (8.8.45).

War Crimes Trial to be held at Nuremberg:

"The Tribunal will not be bound by technical rules of evidence. ... Article 19 of a charter on the constitution of the Tribunal and the principles governing its operations, declaring that it shall adopt and apply to the greatest possible extent expeditious and non-technical procedure" (9.8.45).

The Zurich newspaper *Die Tat* challenged the American use of atomic bombs on Japan and "*urged the Swiss government to protest. There was no difference between the Nazis who spread their atrocities over Europe and Americans who used the atomic bomb—both used extremist measures and methods to annihilate their enemies*" (14.8.45).

The Irish News

The Irish News also gave full front-page reports to the Trial.

On 27th July an article by John J.M. Ryan at the start of the proceedings said:

"*The enigma of Marshal Pétain.*

"When the present war neurosis has passed and men are capable of viewing Pétain's dilemma with calmer eyes and cooler judgment, they may see more clearly that, instead of betraying his country, the Marshal conferred great benefits upon it by his actions in those dark days.

"Recognising these facts, millions of Frenchmen gave him their loyalty. This is why, when Pétain is on trial, it is not he alone who is being tried, but millions of his countrymen."

On 8th August further Vichy/Britain links were reported; Professor Louis Rougier was sent by Pétain to negotiate an alleviation of the British blockade of France (which reduced or stopped French imports of food and other essentials). However, in June 1945 the British Foreign Office had denied Rougier's assertion that there had been negotiations.

The Irish News noted the views of a Swedish paper that the use of the atom bomb made the Anglo-Saxons war criminals.

On 16th August the editorial of the *Irish News* said:

"Pétain's death sentence

"Whether or not General De Gaulle commutes the sentence of death on Marshal Pétain, history will reverse the verdict, and before many years France will feel ashamed of her treatment of this veteran, who was an acknowledged hero of the first World War, and who was called on to play an unenviable part in the war that ended a few months ago.

"It was the French nation rather than Pétain that was on trial ... but no evidence has revealed a France chivalrous or magnanimous in her hour of recovery. ...

"The only touch of dignity or gallantry was in the old warrior's declaration: "A Marshal of France does not seek for mercy".

"... His policy, however wrong it may have been, saved France much suffering and left her with the means of recovery. ... {The trial} does not explain how a man who helped to save France a generation ago should work for her final overthrow during the past five years. We do not think Pétain was a traitor. His name and fame will yet be vindicated."

The Irish Times

The Irish Times was more hostile to Pétain, especially at the start of the proceedings; the paper tended to pick the more negative elements out of prosecution evidence; for example on 25th July 1945 the headline was "No man did more harm to France" (a quote from ex-Prime Minister Reynaud).

"Is Pétain living in a world of his own? When he left the court room he saluted the armed policemen, seeming to mistake them for some kind of guard of honour" (25.7.45). This however was the only personally derogatory comment in the paper. After that, the paper merely reported the arguments for and against the prosecution.

After the Hiroshima bomb was dropped, the paper quoted President Truman: "The atom bomb had 2000 times the blast power of the 10 tonners dropped by the RAF on Germany." "A harnessing of the basic power of the universe" (7.8.45).

The *Irish Times* quoted the Communist paper *Ce Soir*, which demanded that the death penalty be carried out (16.8.45).

This is an extract from the *Irish Times* Editorial at the end of the Trial:

"The result of his long drawn out trial is something more than the con-

demnation of a man. It is a condemnation of the whole Vichy regime and represents an attempt by a France that is beginning to find her national feet again to wipe out an unfortunate chapter in her history. The old man who has been sentenced is a victim of circumstances, but war is ruthless and an error of judgment, once committed, can never be undone."

The nature of the error of judgment is not spelled out. What is the signing of the Armistice?

Le Figaro

Le Figaro, the oldest French newspaper, stopped publication on 11th November 1942 and started again when the war ended. It decided to devote the whole of its page 2 every day to its coverage of the Trial. "We were deceived by Pétain", they wrote to cover up the two years when they continued publication under Vichy. Two eminent novelists, Jean Schlumberger and Francois Mauriac, provided commentary.

At the start of the Trial Francois Mauriac wrote:

"One man faces trial alone. {*Le procès d'un seul homme*}

"Hitler enjoyed the help and support, whether overt or covert, of the whole world.

"We must ask ourselves: how did we react after Munich? After the Armistice? So this trial is the trial of Frenchmen who agreed with both. Neutral countries did the same as Pétain. The example came from on high. We know who supported, advised, and approved Pétain. A part of each of us was an accomplice, at times, of this ruined old man {*ce vieillard foudroyé*}."

Schlumberger made the same point on 15th August: "In 1940 the country wanted Munich and the Armistice. The term 'treason' is not appropriate".

This was Mauriac's final comment on 16th August:

"We had not wanted this trial. ... The judges were men who had sworn fidelity to Pétain.... A trial like this one is never closed. The dialogue between prosecution and defence will continue over the centuries. ...Pétain is a tragic figure, half way between treason and noble sacrifice.

"Defenders of Pétain however should read *Twenty months in Auschwitz* by Pelagia Lewinska. Pétain shook hands with Hitler, he is responsible too."

There are two elements in Mauriac's summing up. The first element, the idea that the controversial investigation into the events would continue, corresponds

to attitudes between the end of the War and the mid-sixties. The second element, referring to Auschwitz and making the fate of the Jews the determining event of the Vichy years, corresponds to the period from the mid-sixties to the present day. However a trend towards a new attitude is beginning, as in J.M. Varaut's *Le Procès Pétain 1945-1995* (The Pétain Trial, 1945-1995), which argues that the early studies, such as Robert Aron's *Histoire de Vichy* (1954), derided in the seventies, have never actually been refuted. These studies did not gloss over the Vichy treatment of the Jews. Varaut expressed the hope in the conclusion of his book that present-day historians will return to an investigative and free-thinking attitude towards the period.

An *Association to Defend the Memory of Marshal Pétain* exists today in France. At its foundation in 1951 it included a spectrum of political opinion; today it is headed by a leader of the Megret offshoot of the National Front. However, a re-evaluation of the events of 1940 should not be left to the extreme Right. It is the French as a whole who were sentenced at the Show Trial that condemned Pétain.

The result of a Trial that was invalidated by its irregularities and by the bias of the times has never been re-examined.

Pétain was made a scapegoat, but since he had many supporters, the Trial was the trial of millions of Frenchmen, and it was the French themselves who were sentenced to eternal guilt. This is clear when the US or Britain start criticising the attitude of France during the War; they don't mention who was the Head of State was at the time. It is France itself that stands accused of betrayal and collaboration. The attempt by the Gaullists to save France from that accusation by making Pétain a scapegoat has failed.

The responsibility of those who first encouraged Hitler (a question repeatedly aired at the time of the Trial with mentions of Munich) and then initiated a World War with the consequences that we know (the Riom Trial, it will be recalled, was specifically told not to mention who started the War) is what needs to be discussed. The catastrophic collapse of France in June 1940 was part of that chain of events; you cannot begin your examination of events that followed from that date without studying earlier causes, much less blame one man, or even one country alone, for the whole disaster.



Eamon Dyas

Part Three

Catholic Wealth and the Making of Protestant Imperial England

The first parts of this article explored the initial impact of the release of Catholic wealth on the English economy in the aftermath of the Dissolution of the Monasteries and its consequences. This article examines the evolution of English Government policy in its support of slavery and piracy and the development of 'forced trade' as a weapon against Spanish interests

The Unholy Trinity behind the English Slave Trade

Having given her royal imprimatur to privateering in 1561 Elizabeth remained consistent in her encouragement of such activities when she went into the slave-trading business the following year.

The Atlantic slave trade from Africa was not invented by the English. It had been sanctioned by the Spanish King, Charles V, as early as 1517. The reasons were twofold. In the first instance the Spanish Inquisition had decided that the South American Indians possessed souls and this acted as a theological inhibitor to their continued use as slaves on the Spanish colonies in the Americas. The second reason was that the population of South American Indians had been significantly reduced, primarily by their lack of immunity to European diseases introduced by the colonisers, and Charles V stipulated that their continued use as slaves be restricted in order to avoid their extinction. These two considerations, combined with a growing need for labour as a result of the expansion of their colonies, meant that there was a need for a new source of slave labour in the Americas.

"The slave trade was no new thing. Already it was half a century old, and as early as 1517 it had received the sanction of Charles V. Far from being stigmatised as it is now, it had been favourably regarded even by the most philanthropic and far-sighted Spanish colonists as a means of stopping the process of extermination with which forced labour was overwhelming the American Indians. The saintly Las Casas himself, "the Protector of the Indians", had given it his support,

though he lived to acknowledge his mistake. Enormous numbers had already been imported, and to stop the abuses, which had shocked the tender-hearted missionary, the traffic had been subjected to strict regulations. A high duty had been placed on every negro imported, and no one was allowed to engage in the trade without first obtaining a costly licence from the king. In 1551 no fewer than 17,000 of these licences were offered for sale, and in 1553 a monopoly for seven years had been granted to one Fernando Ochoa to import 23,000 slaves. The result was that negroes became very good merchandise indeed..." (*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, p.78).

The man who first established the English commercial slave trade was John Hawkins. Mention was made of the Hawkins family in the first part of the article. He was the son of Sir William Hawkins, who was a leading merchant adventurer, Puritan sympathiser, Member of Parliament and Mayor of Plymouth. At the time of his death around 1553, the father was one of the wealthiest men in Plymouth and his sons, William and John Hawkins, took over the family business—a business that included the sponsorship of, and active participation in privateering activities. John Hawkins heard about the lucrative Atlantic slave trade while he was on one of his trading voyages to the Canary Islands. Determined to have some of the action, in 1562 he formed a syndicate which included the two officials from Elizabeth's navy who the previous year had formed part of Sir William Garrard's syndicate that sponsored the failed expedition to West Africa. These were his future father-in-law, Benjamin Gonsou, Treasurer of the Navy, and Sir William Winter, Surveyor of the Navy and Master of the Ordnance. Besides these were two leading City merchant adventurers, Sir Lionel Ducket and Sir Thomas Lodge—men who had previously been involved in the Guinea gold trade and who were now seeking an alternative

means of making substantial profit. The expedition left Plymouth in three ships in 1562 and, having abducted around 300 Africans in Guinea, Hawkins sailed to the West Indies where the surviving slaves were traded for Elizabethan luxuries: pearls, ginger, sugar and hides. At this time the Spanish authorities prohibited non-Spanish vessels from trading with Spanish colonies and Hawkins fell foul of this prohibition.

Hawkins managed to trade his negro slaves with the Spanish colonists at Port Isabella in Hispaniola (the island of the modern Dominican Republic and Haiti) through subterfuge. Knowing that the Spanish King's subjects were prohibited from trading with non-Spanish vessels he pretended that his ship and cargo had been swept off-course and was compelled to make land on the Spanish colony. This was an accepted excuse for foreign ships to make shore in all the countries of the known world. Hawkins then reasoned with the Spanish colonists that, as he was there and needed to get rid of his human cargo as quickly as possible and they, the Spanish, needed the slaves for their labour force, it made sense to come to an arrangement by way of trade.

"His first proceedings were the very pattern of diplomacy. It was true, he said, that he had three hundred negroes with him, and he was willing to sell them if he could obtain permission. But that was not his primary object; he had been driven out of his course while on a voyage of exploration, and he wanted money and supplies. The local Spanish authorities saw nothing wrong in this. There was a state of peace between England and Spain. It was true that they had general orders with regard to the treatment of foreigners who arrived in those waters; but this foreigner was harmless so far as they knew. He had things to sell which the people of Espagnola wanted to buy. Black labour was in great demand, and it would have been rejecting the good gifts of Providence and transgressing the general desire to have allowed this first foreign importer to go away without achieving the projected deal. They therefore made terms with him, advantageous both to them and to him, and chanced what the Government of Madrid would say about it. How that fell out is in the sequel.

"At Isabella, Hawkins "had reasonable utterance of his English Commodities, as also of some part of his Negroes", Hakluyt says, "trusting the Spaniards no further than that, by his own strength, he was able to master them". Assuredly, John Hawkins would never

make the mistake of trusting strangers beyond reasonable bounds; but there is ample evidence to show that his relations, not only with the planter purchasers of his wares, but also with the authorities, were perfectly amicable. There was no occasion for any display of force. From Isabella, Hawkins moved on to Puerto Plata, and repeated the performance; he finished his bartering at Monte Cristi. The arrangement with the Governor of the island was that he should sell two hundred of his blacks and leave the others with the authorities in case of any difficulty about the duty. He received (still quoting Hakluyt) "in those three places by way of exchange, such a quantity of merchandise, that he did not only lade his own three ships with hides, ginger, sugar, and some quantity of pearls; but he freighted also two other Hulks with hides and other like commodities, which he sent into Spain"...." (*A Sea-dog Of Devon: a life of Sir John Hawkins*, by R.A.J. Walling, pub. John Lane, New York, 1907, pp.48-50).

Hawkins arrived back in Plymouth in September 1563 and was feted by all and sundry. As if to add insult to injury to Spanish sensibilities, he sent two of his cargoes of hides from the return trip to the Caribbean to Spain. There they were consigned to an Englishman in Cadiz named Tipton, who was instructed to trade them in that port where hides had a good marketable value. Unsurprisingly, both cargoes were confiscated on their arrival by the Spanish authorities as illegally traded merchandise. It was also ordered that the slaves that Hawkins had left with the Governor of Hispaniola as an insurance for payment of duty be treated as forfeit. The total cost of these confiscations and forfeits to Hawkins was in the region of £20,000. However, despite these losses, his initial slave trading voyage was deemed a huge commercial success. So much so, in fact, that it was not long before his investors were clamouring for a second such voyage. However, this time the investors included more substantial individuals.

"This voyage was mounted in 1564, and neither in its goals nor in its list of subscribers was it at all modest. Indeed, the syndication for the 1564 voyage reveals a group dramatically larger and more powerful than before. With the possible exceptions of Lodge and Duckett, all of the first group were included in the second, but there was a marked influx of London businessmen and high Court officials as well. The new London merchants included Sir William Garrard, Sir William Chester, Edward Castlyn and probably Castlyn's partner, Anthony Hickman. If the Spanish Ambassador is

to be believed, the ubiquitous Italian, Benedict Spinola, who had extensive business interests in England, was also a subscriber. The Court officials were Lord Clinton and Saye, who was the Lord Admiral, Sir William Cecil, the Queen's principal advisor, Lord Robert Dudley, who was created Earl of Leicester in 1564, and the Earl of Pembroke. Even Queen Elizabeth herself is listed as one of the adventurers in the most reliable source (the draft list with the names of the investors dated March 3, 1564, can be found in BM, *Lansdowne Manuscripts*, VI, ff. 48-49 and f.60). This 1564 voyage was another financial success and led in due course to the formation of a third syndicate..." (*John Hawkins's Troublesome Voyages: Merchants, Bureaucrats, and the Origin of the Slave Trade*, by Ronald Pollitt. Pub. in *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 12, no. 2, May 1973, by Univ. of Chicago Press, p.28).

At this time, three shareholders, Robert Dudley (soon to be Earl of Leicester), the Earl of Pembroke, and Lord Clinton, the Lord Admiral, were also members of the Privy Council.

The real significance of John Hawkins's second slave venture in 1564 is not that it established the English slave trade. Its real significance was that it established the commercial alliance which created England's commercial future. It brought together all the enterprising elements of English society and forged a unity of purpose that was to last for the next quarter of a millennium. Thus was established, under the ethos of Piracy and Trade, a coalition of the Privateer, the Merchant Investors and the Crown.

All the merchants who subscribed to Hawkins's voyages were 'respectable' members of the City of London. They began their careers as members of the London Livery Companies, and developed into leaders of the evolving joint-stock organisation that was critical to the stimulation and opening of distant foreign trade. But, they were not simply merchants. They were all involved in the politics of the age to a greater or lesser extent as well as being heavy investors in real estate either as financial speculators or to enhance their social and political status. In this sense they encapsulated the point of growth of English private enterprise that was to lead to the development of English Colonialism. With the exception of Sir Thomas Lodge, all of the merchants who were part of Hawkins's syndicate were involved in one form or other in the English cloth trade. Duckett, Chester, Garrard and Heyward were all involved in various phases of the cloth business and belonged respectively to the

Mercers' Company, Drapers' Company, Haberdashers' Company and Clothworkers' Company (see *John Hawkins's Troublesome Voyages: Merchants, Bureaucrats, and the Origin of the Slavery Trade*, by Ronald Pollitt, pub. in *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 12, no. 2, May 1973, p.30).

This is significant because of the presence of so many representatives of the established trading companies who now viewed their involvement in privateering as the road to future prosperity.

"The importance of the Hawkins voyages emerges when we observe that the wool trade was hovering on the brink of a decline at the same time as the joint-stock form and the new turn of foreign trade were beginning a gradual rise. The voyages helped to stimulate interest in the limited liability form by displaying its reduced risks combined with potentially great profits, thus helping to entrench it in English business life.

"Quite simply, what they and numerous joint-stock ventures may have accomplished was to mingle the merchant and official classes in a profit-orientated melting pot. This did not, of course, make England a classless society, but it did help to frustrate the emergence of a 'Hidalgo spirit', the legendary fatal flaw of Spain. It furthermore kept channels of communication open between at least part of the ruling nobility and the business classes, and made the government sensitive to a degree matched only by the Dutch to the aims and aspirations of the business community..." (*John Hawkins's Troublesome Voyages: Merchants, Bureaucrats, and the Origin of the Slavery Trade*, by Ronald Pollitt, pub. in *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 12, no. 2, May 1973, p.40).

Also, the involvement of the Court and Queen Elizabeth's backing was particularly important, not only in terms of investing these ventures with social respectability, but also in providing the necessary elements of security that acted as an encouragement for the merchants to invest.

As a result of the English Court's involvement in the 1564 venture, Hawkins was given permission to charter one of the largest ships in Elizabeth's navy, the 700 ton "Jesus of Lubeck" and to sail under the Royal Standard. The expedition, which included three of Hawkins' own Plymouth-based ships, was well armed and had one hundred professional soldiers on board. This was an expedition that anticipated having to use force when it sailed from Plymouth on 18 October 1564. The reason for all the additional ordnance and soldiery, as well as for sailing under the Queen's standard, was that Hawkins anticipated

that this time the Spanish authorities would be less naïve and his earlier pretence of having to find shelter after being blown off-course would not allow him to gain access to the ports in the Spanish Caribbean a second time. Consequently the use of force was now a considerable possibility. Sailing first to Africa he seized over 400 slaves on the coast of Sierra Leone and set out for the Americas. The following account of the expedition is based on the log of John Sparke (a member of the expedition) and it's worth quoting at length as it provides an insight into the prevailing thinking by which English actions found their justification by trade alone:-

"A valuable log of the voyage was written by John Sparke, the younger, who sailed with Hawkins, and was a fellow-townsmen; he afterwards became Mayor of Plymouth. This may be read in detail in Hakluyt, and it will be found a very illuminating document, exaggerating nothing and extenuating nothing. It is particularly illustrative of the sentiments of the English world of that day with regard to the slaving trade. Here was Sparke, a thorough Puritan, of a Protestant family, whose tendencies were rather strait-laced than otherwise; and he saw nothing amiss in Hawkins's trafficking. In his view the negroes were taken from Africa for their own good and exported to the Western Islands for the good of the Indians, while Philip was duped for the good of the Protestant cause—a very meritorious concatenation. Sparke does not express these sentiments in these words or anything like them; but they are plain to be read between his vivid lines..." (*A Sea-dog of Devon: a life of Sir John Hawkins*, by R.A.J. Walling, pub. John Lane, New York, 1907, p.57).

"In the story of Hawkins's dealings with the Spaniards on the Main, there is much that may seem unmoral and impossible of approval. To modern sense, the way in which he contrived to get rid of his blacks and compensate himself for the misadventure of the previous voyage is thoroughly objectionable. This is no attempt to canonise Hawkins, but some circumstances must be constantly kept in mind. First, the age had no humanitarian ideas about slave-trading. Next, the English were determined to maintain the franchise of the seas and the right to trade. They did not contest the right of sovereigns to levy import duties on goods landed in their dominions by foreign ships; but they did contest the right of sovereigns to close whole seas to trade. Again, the lively sense of injustice and injury under which Hawkins was suffering must be remembered. He insisted on trading. He would trade as a plain Englishman who had commodities for sale to any who wanted to buy. He would on his part

provided excuses for his appearance in their ports if excuses were required, and reasons why he must require them to purchase his cargoes in order that he might replenish his exchequer and his storeroom—reasons which they could pass on for him to any authority that might manifest an inconvenient tendency to ask questions. Or he would land men and guns and threaten dire things if they still refused. But he would trade. He knew that at the back of him—behind the guns of the 'Jesus of Lubek' and the soldiers she carried—was the power of England. He had declared a private war against King Philip; but in that private war he had the sympathy and covert assistance of Queen Elizabeth..." (ibid. pp.69-70).

That the threat of violence was indeed part of his aggressive 'trading' methods is left in do doubt by the account below which was also based on the log of his co-expeditionist, John Sparke:-

"The *pourparlers* with the residents of Burboroata, and with the Governor whom they brought from a distance to their assistance in the matter, provide a fair example of his methods, and of the way in which he proceeded from fair words to force, and finally carried his point. Going ashore to them on his arrival, he bluntly declared that he was an Englishman who had come there to do business. He had some four hundred negroes to sell, and he required a licence to trade. They replied that they were forbidden by the King to traffic with any foreign nation, on penalty of forfeiting their goods, and they requested that he should not molest them further, but "depart as he came; for other comfort he might not look at their hands, because they were subjects, and might not go beyond the law".

"...They talked of law; he answered that necessity knoweth no law; his necessity was to trade. "For being in one of the Queen of England's Armados, and having many soldiers in them, he had need of some refreshing for them, and of victuals, and of money also: without which he would not depart"... (from Sparke's Narrative). He told them that he had no ulterior motives; he wanted to trade, not to get them into trouble with their rulers. And why should any trouble be anticipated? He was sailing under the flag of England, and was content to be open and above board; he would do nothing to dishonour his sovereign and his own reputation. What he asked them to do was to supply for themselves an admitted want, in a transaction which would redound to their profit as well as his own. As for the prohibition, it must surely be a mistake so far as he was concerned, and they might deal with him without danger, "because their Princes were in amity one with another, and for our parts we had free traffic in Spain and Flanders"—Philip's own

dominions—"and therefore he knew no reason why he should not have the like in all his dominions".

"...They invited him to bring his ships from the bay into the harbour and wait for ten days while they communicated with the Governor of the Province, who resided at sixty leagues' distance. To bring the business to this point had taken four days. Hawkins fetched his ships inside and re-victualled. But he had no intention of waiting ten days there, his slaves and his men eating their heads off in idleness, on the off-chance of an answer from the Governor which might be favourable or unfavourable.

"...the haggling went on again, and was continued until April 14th, when the Governor appeared on the scene.

"To him, Hawkins made formal petition. He declared that "he was come thither in a ship of the Queen's Majesty of England, being bound to Guinea; and thither driven by wind and weather; so that being come thither, he had need of sundry necessaries for the reparation of the said Navy, and also a great need of money for the payment of his soldiers, unto whom he had promised payment; and therefore, although he would, yet they would not depart without it. And for that purpose, he requested licence for the sale of certain of his Negroes; declaring that thought they were forbidden to traffic with strangers; yet for that there was great amity between their Princes, and that the thing pertained to our Queen's Highness; he thought he might do their Prince a great service, and that it would be well taken at his hands, to do it in this cause."

"It was a glaring false pretence, fully understood on both sides, designed merely to give the Spanish authorities an excuse for presentation to their own conscience and to their superiors. Hawkins got his way. Sitting in Council, the Governor heard the petition and granted the licence. There was another dispute about the King's custom. The duty was 30 ducats on each slave—£8.5s of the money of that day, and nearer £70 value of our own. Hawkins saw that the buyers at Burboroata were not going to approach the price he wanted for the slaves, and that, if he had to pay this heavy duty, his own profits would be a vanishing quantity. Time was slipping on. He had now exhausted every device but one: he had recourse to that.

"...He prepared 100 men, well-armed with bows, arrows, arquebuses, and pikes; with the which he marched to the townards." This was the first armed measure against the Spaniards. The show of hostility set up a panic. The Governor sent him a messenger, "straight, with all expedition", to ask him to state his demands, and to march no further until he had received the answer. Hawkins said the duty must be reduced to 7.5%, which was the ordinary custom for wares imported into the West Indies, and not a

stiver more would he pay. Further, if they refused to make the abatement, "he would displease them".

"It was enough. They had no great wish to be "displeased" after the manner which they knew Hawkins might be expected to adopt, and the Governor sent him word that "all things should be to his content". Hostages were demanded for the performance of the Spaniards' promises, and sent. The traffic in slaves commenced. The poorer settlers having bought all they could afford, the richer sort came down to haggle further about the price. Once more Hawkins had to threaten that he would take his goods elsewhere; once more the threat was successful. By May 4th they had exhausted the market and had done very well indeed in it..." (ibid. pp.70-75).

"... the Viceroy (of Santo Domingo) had raged furiously when he learnt that 'Achines' was upon his coasts, and had sent an express commission to La Hacha, La Veal, and other places, forbidding the King's subjects to have any dealings with the English marauder. Hawkins learnt this the first day he went on shore to "have talk with the King's Treasurer of the Indies, resident there". But he had foreseen the circumstance, and divined the course of events that would follow. He was not to be disturbed either by the prohibitions or by the threats of the Spaniards. He had some negroes left; the settlers wanted to buy them. Viceroy and Council notwithstanding, he meant to conclude his trading at Rio de la Hacha. The Treasurer told him that they durst not traffic with him, for, if they did, "they should lose all that they did traffick for, besides their bodies, at the magistrate's commandment"...

"Hawkins smiled at their fears, knew how much they counted for, and quietly advanced the old story. "He was in an Armado of the Queen's Majesty of England", and on the affairs of the Queen. He had been driven out of his course by contrary winds, and he had hoped in these parts to find the same friendly relations existing between honest traders of England and Spain as in Spain itself. There was no reason that he knew of why this should not be so, for perfect amity reigned between King Philip and Queen Elizabeth. Thus he preferred his request to be allowed to trade; if it were not granted, he would see if he could not argue more forcibly, employing falcons, arquebuses, bows, and pikes, instead of words. He "willed them to determine either to give him licence to trade, or else stand to their own arms!" Experience had taught Hawkins that a lot of argument was nothing but waste of time. The Spaniards wanted his slaves, and the cause of their apparent reluctance to buy was not any fears of the thunders of the Viceroy of the distant displeasure of the Monarch; they believed that by making it as difficult as possible for him to sell they

would get a reduction in price corresponding to the size of the obstacles they placed in his way. But they could not carry out this programme twice with Hawkins. Upon the first sign of prevarication he threatened to retaliate with cannon-balls.

"The result demonstrated his prescience and the perspicacity of his judgment. At the first suggestion of force, the opposition collapsed partly: they would give him a licence to trade if he would reduce the price of his slaves by half. "If it liked him not", they said, "he might do what he would, for they were determined not to deal otherwise with him". There was a saturnine humour in Hawkins's response to this piece of bluff. "You deal too rigorously with me, said he, in effect, to go about to cut my throat in the price of my commodities, which are so reasonably priced that you cannot get them as cheap from any other trader. But, seeing that you've sent me this supper, Senor Treasurer—I'll see what I can bring you for breakfast."

"...It was May 21st. Soon after sunrise there was a puff of white smoke from the side of the flagship, and the hoarse voice of a whole-culverin awakened the town of Rio de la Hacha. Hawkins had a firm belief in the value of a demonstration of energy. He did not want a sanguinary encounter with the Spaniards; the best way to carry his point without it was, he thought, to advertise a bloodthirsty intention as loudly as possible. He got ready his hundred men in armour, and presently a little floatilla of boats left for the shore. Hawkins led in the great boat, with two brass falcons in her bows. The other boats were armed with double-bases..." {After firing from his boat at the defending men on the beach his landing party made shore}.

"Hawkins went quietly on with his plans, knowing full surely that he had only to persevere with the attack in order to secure all he wanted, and that any show of pusillanimity would be fatal. He drew up his force on the beach, and marched towards the town. The expected result followed immediately in the shape of a messenger with a flag of truce. "The Treasurer marvelled", said the messenger, "what he meant to do, to come ashore in that order, seeing they had granted every reasonable demand he had made". Hawkins took no notice. This was not to the point, and he marched forward. The messenger begged him to halt his men and come forward alone to speak with the Treasurer. This Hawkins agreed to do.

"Midway between the two forces the parley was held. Hawkins clad in armour, went without any weapon, and of course on foot. The Spanish officer was armed cap-a-pie, and on horseback. Thus they "communed together". It issued thus—that all Hawkins requests were conceded, and we hear nothing

more about the half-price for his goods... Hawkins got rid of all his negroes." (ibid. pp.76-81).

Thus, we have the methods by which the English established, what came to be known as the "*great trade in the West*". Leaving aside the natural bias of the author of the above account in providing justification for Hawkins methods, it is obvious that trade was viewed as the ultimate purpose that transcended all law and, if that law was made by a Catholic authority, all the more reason for refusing to respect it. England and Spain were at peace at this stage but, as will be seen later, it was a peace that was only respected on one side.

While in the Caribbean Hawkins again used the opportunity to take on a cargo which included sweet potato and tobacco in order to trade when he returned to England thus ensuring that he made a profit at both ends of the expedition.

On his return to England in the Summer of 1565, "*he found himself famous, popular, and a favourite at Court*". Philip II of Spain protested at the manner in which Hawkins had behaved in his dominions, but there was very little he could do about it—beyond making sure that any future efforts on Hawkins part would be met with sterner resistance. As for Elizabeth:

"if Elizabeth remonstrated with the Plymouth corsair at all for what he had done in the West Indies, she knew that he understood her motives and knew where her sympathies were. He had done a very valuable service to the English marine by showing the way to the West Indies; if he terrorised Philip at the same time, Elizabeth might protest with her lips, but she rejoiced in her heart. And equally did every English Protestant rejoice..." (ibid. pp.92-94).

In point of fact, shortly after his return to England in 1565, Queen Elizabeth bestowed on Hawkins his own Coat of Arms. To ensure that the Court and society generally was aware that this reward was being given for his services in trading slaves in the Spanish Caribbean, the coat of arms included a crest depicting "*a demi-Moor proper bound in a cord*". It was granted on the recommendation of the Queen's advisors, Sir William Cecil and the Earl of Leicester. Thus was the origin of the illegal English slave trade commemorated during the first decade of Elizabeth's reign.

There was a gap of nearly three years between the 1564 voyage and Hawkins's

third voyage, which appears to have included almost all the shareholders from the first and second voyages. But Hawkins' third voyage did not meet with the same success as his two previous ones. It seems that, after being defied by Hawkins on the two previous occasions, the Spanish were more organised to resist him on the third time.

"The 1567 slave voyage was simply a complete disaster. Hawkins was plagued from the start with troubles that ran the gamut from recalcitrant crew members to a scarcity of slaves and numerous stubborn Spanish colonial officials. Ultimately, he managed to get trapped in the harbor at San Juan de Ullua by the westbound Spanish Plate Fleet. All but two of his ships were destroyed, most of his crews killed or captured, and the bulk of his profits lost. This put a devastating end to the first phase of England's dabbling in the slave trade..." (*John Hawkins's Troublesome Voyages: merchants, bureaucrats, and the origin of the Slave Trade*, by Ronald Pollitt. Pub. in 'Journal of British Studies,' Vol. 12, no. 2, May 1973, p.29).

Although Hawkins and Francis Drake (who was a cousin of Hawkins and Captain of one of the ships of the expedition) managed to get back to England, the humiliating outcome of the third expedition became the excuse for Elizabeth's Government to take her provocation of the Spanish to a new level.

Elizabeth's Provocation of Spain

At this time the Spanish were involved in one of their periodic struggles with Protestant-led forces in the Netherlands (as indeed were the French with the Protestant Huguenots who had their base at La Rochelle). England was not neutral in these conflicts and had been surreptitiously doing all she could to destabilise Spanish rule in the Netherlands. In 1568 she was also actively engaged in sending regular convoys of supplies to the Huguenot port of La Rochelle to help it in its conflict with the French. As well as this, many expert English sailors sailed on Huguenot privateering ships which were also permitted to use ports on the south coast of England as safe havens.

In the Autumn of 1568, while Hawkins was experiencing his difficulties in South America, Philip II of Spain had arranged to borrow bullion from Genoese bankers in order to pay his troops fighting under the Duke of Alva (Governor of the Spanish Netherlands). The convoy, consisting of four small coasters and one fair-sized ship, left Spain in early November 1568 bound

for Antwerp. On board, besides the cargo of wool, were 155 chests containing the money intended to pay the Duke of Alva's soldiers. The official figure for the bullion on board was in the region of £85,000 sterling but there was also a significant amount of private non-Government money on board. The latter was the property of individual Spanish merchants and was estimated to be in the region of £40,000, money that was probably intended to be used for speculative purposes.

The unprotected convoy experienced storms in the Bay of Biscay and this, together with the fear of being intercepted by Huguenot privateers who had by now got sight of them, compelled them to seek shelter in the ports of Southampton, Plymouth, and Falmouth. Initially, on 2nd December, the English Government promised the Spanish safe passage for the money chests to Dover (the preferred arrangement as the Spanish feared that the Huguenot privateers were hovering outside the other ports) but, two weeks later, this promise had still not been made good. Then, on 19th December, the English Government announced it had changed its mind and moved the treasure to the Tower of London. (It is interesting that Sir Thomas Gresham, whom we met earlier, appears to have been involved in advising the queen regarding the money chests—see *Queen Elizabeth's Seizure Of The Duke Of Alva's Pay-Ships*, by Conyers Read, pub. in *Journal of Modern History*, vol. V, number 4, December 1933, p.453).

The justification for this action was the claim, on the part of the English Government, that the money remained the property of the Genoese bankers until such time as the Spanish authorities in the Netherlands took charge of it. As such, any promise of safe passage was retracted, as the English themselves now claimed ownership of the treasure because they had now come to an arrangement with the Genoese bankers for taking the loan themselves. It is inconceivable that this was done without full knowledge of the likely repercussions.

The reasons why the English Government behaved in such a provocative manner are not difficult to fathom. Most historians claim that the reasons the Spanish treasure was taken was in retaliation for the destruction of Hawkins's third voyage (news of which came through about this time) but, while this may have been a consideration, it is unlikely that it was among the main reasons. One commentator provides a list of possible motives:

"There are several possible answers. The first, almost always the first in Elizabeth's reign, was that she needed the money. There can be no doubt about that. Some time someone will write the history of the effect upon English public finance of the almost complete collapse of the Antwerp money market in the late 1560s. Elizabeth was feeling its first repercussions in 1568 and had not yet had time to make the adjustments which she was to make later. For the moment she was resorting to such doubtful devices as state lotteries and forced loans. Certainly she was in a very receptive mood toward £85,000 in ready money, wherever it came from. And then there was the Hawkins affair in Mexico, news of which reached England almost simultaneously with the arrival of the pay-ships. All the facts were not yet known, but this much was known, that the Spanish had broken faith with Hawkins and robbed him of most of the returns from a successful slaving adventure. And there was the peremptory way in which Philip of Spain had dismissed Elizabeth's ambassador, Dr. Mann, for no other reason than because he was too good a Protestant to suit the Spanish taste. Or it may have been a desire to handicap Alva in his military operations against the Dutch rebels, or it may have been a desire on Cecil's part to break up a dangerous rapprochement between Spain and the disaffected Catholic sympathizers in the English privy council. Probably all of these factors contributed. It would be fruitless to try to determine their relative importance..." (Conyers Read, op. cit., pp.447-448),

In attempting to comprehend the reasoning of Elizabeth in taking the treasure from the Spanish pay-ships, one thing is paramount. This was an extreme action at the time and such actions are undertaken in full knowledge that they provide the victim with a legitimate reason for going to war. This was no mere petty humiliation. Money, destined to pay the army of a nation which was experiencing an armed threat to its territories, was taken by the Government of a country with which that nation was ostensibly at peace and in whose harbours safety had been sought under internationally agreed principles. There could be no higher provocation outside that of outright invasion. What reasons can there be for such actions other than that war was desired?

At this stage England was still in a state of flux. It was only ten years since the country was ruled by Catholic Mary and there remained significant elements who continued to hold Catholic views particularly in the north of the country where Mary, Queen of Scots had taken up residence in exile. The Protestant

population was itself largely divided between the Puritan strand and the Henryite version, as the influence of anti-Catholicism had still to be honed into the cohesive propaganda tool that it later became. The divisions in the country at large were also manifest within the Government. It is known that Cecil himself had recently changed his position from one which espoused caution in the Government's dealings with Spain to one which had become increasingly belligerent towards that country. It was also known that, before his adoption of this position, Puritan sympathizers inside the Privy Council had begun to become restless regarding his perceived softness towards Spanish Catholic power in the Netherlands. There was also a growing disaffection towards him from those members who retained a semblance of feeling for the old religion.

In such circumstances it would suit Elizabeth's purpose to have Catholic Spain declare war on the country as it would undoubtedly have helped create a solidity within the Protestant family between the Puritan element and those who held to Henry's brand of Protestantism. Also, under a verifiable threat from Spain, the English Catholics would be expected either to support the Government in order to protect the country from that threat, or take a position which involved an open alliance with the enemy of the nation. In such circumstances it is likely that some Catholics would remain loyal. Elizabeth was aware that sections of the Catholic nobility in the Spanish Netherlands were at that moment working in alliance with the Protestants in opposition to the Spanish authorities. There was no reason to believe that similar Catholic support for Protestant England would not be forthcoming in a situation where the threat of invasion from Spain might be seen as a reality. As for those Catholics who would adopt a position of neutrality, or support for Spain, such a situation could be exploited to reinforce the evolving anti-Catholic propaganda behind which the broad church of English Protestantism could unite. It wasn't until 1570, when Pope Pius V issued the bull *Regnans In Excelsis* (which was done in retaliation for Elizabeth's ordering of the execution of around 750 Catholics who took part in the uprising of 1569 to restore Mary, Queen of Scots to the throne) that the English State's relationship with Rome was completely severed. Elizabeth's job was then to re-create England as a nation along purely Protestant lines. She had

come to the throne in a country which was not sure of itself. The inherited Protestant-Catholic and Protestant-Puritan fissures left it weakened in terms of its identity and, if it was to compete, let alone survive, alongside the other European Powers, it needed to be resolute in terms of how it saw itself not only domestically but how it could cohere as a nation in its dealings with the wider world. Thus, the provocation of a war (which would have been fought largely on naval lines) would appear to be the only reasonable explanation why the English Government did what it did regarding the Spanish pay-ship treasure. But stealing Spanish military finances was not enough to provoke the Spanish into war.

The Spanish Government retaliated by issuing an order that, until such time as the English return the treasure from the Spanish pay-ships all goods belonging to English nationals in their dominions, were to be impounded and an embargo imposed on English goods intended for markets in Spanish territories. The English continued to crank up the provocation after Spain's measured response to the initial attempt to stir up a war.

"Every vessel, every bale of Spanish property in the country was seized; the Spanish sailors and merchants were imprisoned; the treasure was ordered up to the Tower; and Don Guerau {the Spanish ambassador to England—ED} himself was placed under arrest in his own house. Elizabeth was mistress of the situation. Not only was Alva left at the critical moment with an unpaid army, not only was Philip's credit shattered and his prestige shaken, but the private property of his subjects seized exceeded by many times the value of English effects in Spanish hands. To declare war was out of the question, so crushing had been the blow to Spanish finance; to play a waiting game was to play into Elizabeth's hands, who was actively preparing her fleet and territorial forces for mobilisation at any moment; and every week was seeing fresh prizes brought in by English privateers and her own ships. There was nothing for it but for Spain to make the first advance, and Alva sent over Dr. d'Assonleville, a member of the Council of State, accredited by himself to treat. Not being able to show regular credentials from the king, he was at once arrested, and the disclosure of his mission demanded..." (*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, p.124).

So, not only had England stolen money intended to pay the Spanish sol-

diers at that time defending its territories in the Netherlands, but it seized all property belonging to Spanish nationals that it could impound, not only within its borders but also on the open seas. It also imprisoned all the Spanish sailors and merchants it found in the country and on ships commandeered by its privateers. It topped this by placing the Spanish Ambassador to Elizabeth's court under house arrest and when an Envoy was sent by the Spanish authorities to open negotiations, he was arrested as soon as he landed in England and interrogated.

Yet Spain continued to refuse to respond in a way that Elizabeth seems to have hoped. No war was declared, no threats of war were issued, and no Spanish blockade of the Channel was mounted—in fact English fleets carrying wool to Hamburg as an alternative to the now closed Antwerp markets were not even challenged by a Spanish naval presence in the Channel. It is obvious that, just as Elizabeth was intent on war, the Spanish were intent on avoiding it and without such a declaration on the part of Spain, the political purpose to which such a declaration could be put, was neutralised. All that remained was for the trading stalemate to work its way to some sort of solution and for Elizabeth to try a different tactic later. In fact the trade war between England and Spain lasted until 1st May 1573, when an agreement was declared under terms by which the treasure remained in English hands and was redefined as an English loan from the original Italian bankers; the terms of the agreement were ratified in the Treaty of Bristol in August 1574. The 'loan' was repaid in instalments, with the first instalment being paid at the same time as the agreement with Spain for ending their trade war was signed in May 1573, with the final instalment being paid to the Genoese bankers in March 1574. As if to add insult to injury, Elizabeth refused to pay any interest and only repaid the capital sum.

The Myth of Spanish Sea Power

Spain refused to be provoked into a declaration of war with England at the end of 1568 and beginning of 1569 because it knew that England held the trump card in terms of her navy. One of the abiding myths that emanates from the Elizabethan period is that of Spanish sea power. Without it, the legends of Francis Drake and Walter Raleigh could not have been constructed. But Spain had no meaningful navy at this time. Her strengths were in her army and it

was the army that Spain depended upon to sustain its hold over its dominions. H.A.L. Fisher provides this estimation

of the Spanish armed forces at this time:

"The strength of Spain consisted in its standing army. There were no infantry troops in Europe better drilled or better disciplined or more experienced in war than the famous Spanish *tercios*, for whom Italy was the appointed training ground. The gentry of Spain flocked to the standards, thinking it no penance to follow a military career under the pleasant Italian skies. During the second half of the sixteenth century the best officers in Europe were probably to be found serving under the Spanish king. Some, like Alva, were Spanish noblemen. But others were Italians, including the greatest general of the century, Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma. It is a tribute to Spanish statesmanship that it was thus able to attract to the service of the Spanish crown some of the best talent from the proudest families in Italy.

"On the sea Spain was, for several reasons, less formidable. She was partly a Mediterranean, partly an Atlantic, power. In the Mediterranean she was confronted with the task of clearing the sea of Turkish corsairs, and of assisting Venice and the Knights of Malta in arresting the onward progress of the military navy of the Sultan. These were onerous and exacting duties. A mobile and enterprising enemy, based in Algiers and Tunis, raided the Balearic Islands and the Valencian coast. An ambitious monarchy, served by Greek seamen and established in Constantinople, offering a standing threat to the safety of Italy. Now, by the use of centuries a form of warfare had grown up in these smooth Mediterranean waters which was wholly unsuited to Atlantic weather. The galley impelled by oars, the classic galley of the Roman republic and of the Roman empire, still survived. The tradition of rowing towards your enemy, of grappling with him, and of deciding the issue by hand to hand infantry fight conducted at sea was as living in the days of Philip II as it was in the times of Xerxes and Pompey. The biggest naval battle in the Mediterranean fought during the century, the battle of Lepanto (1571), when Don John of Austria, King Philip's brother, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Turkish army, was a galley battle, a clash of military row-boats. Yet it did not follow that men trained to fight in galleys would gain any experience likely to help them in the ocean-going sailing ships or galleons which were now becoming an indispensable part of the Spanish naval equipment. On the contrary, the tradition of the galley, surviving into times when the galley was an anachronism, was positively harmful. In the ocean and in the Channel a fleet manoeuvred by find seamen could

always be trusted to beat an adversary whose plans were dominated by the ramrod tactics of the galley fight.

"Spain then was hampered by the fact that being compelled to fight on two fronts, she was driven to employ at one and the same time two different types of warship, one extremely ancient and the other very modern, and that many of her seamen were trained in the ancient school. But these disadvantages might have been overcome had there been at the centre of Spanish affairs an intelligent appreciation of the value of sea power in warfare. It is a curious circumstance that in spite of the enormous stake which Spain had acquired in the new world, she made no sustained effort to gain a mastery of the western ocean. The emancipation of the Dutch republic from Spanish control was certainly greatly assisted by the fact that the rebels were left in undisputed command of the sea..." (*A History Of Europe*, by H.A.L. Fisher, pub. Edward Arnold Ltd., London, complete edition in one volume, 1957 edn., pp.582-583).

We can also see this estimation confirmed from earlier sources:

"The weakness of Spain was still her weakness at sea, and it was here that England was strong. There is nothing that has done more to confuse the history of the rise of our sea power, than the persistent ignoring in modern times of this fact. Contemporary naval authorities thoroughly appreciated it. For them the opening of the Elizabethan war was the struggle of an enemy that had no organised maritime forces at all against the first naval Power in Europe. In their eyes the defeat of the Armada was rather the foundation than the eclipse of the Spanish sea power. "The Kings of England", wrote Raleigh early in the next century, "have for many years been at the charge to build and furnish a navy of powerful ships for their own defence and for the wars only: whereas the French, the Spaniards, the Portugals and the Hollanders (till of late) have had no proper fleet belonging to their princes or States" (from *The Invention of Ships*, Works, viii. 324). His history may not be quite accurate, but the passage serves to show how a great sailor could regard the situation. Sir William Monson, the leading naval expert of the time, is equally emphatic. Writing of the opening years of the war, he says: "The King of Spain in those days was altogether unfurnished with ships and mariners; for till we awaked him by the daily spoils we committed upon his subjects and coasts, he never sought to increase his forces by sea." Again: "To speak the truth, till the King of Spain had war with us, he never knew what war by sea meant, unless it were in galleys against the Turks in the Straits or in the islands of Terceras against the French, which fleet belonged to him by his new-gotten kingdom of Portugal... The first time

the king showed himself strong at sea was in the year 1591, when the 'Revenge' was taken" (from *Naval Tracts*, Purchas, iii. 241 and 321; and cf. Jurien de la Graviere, *Chevaliers de Malte et la marine de Philippe II. i. 77*)..." (*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, pp.130-131).

The fact that the Spanish were able to frustrate Hawkins's third slave voyage had nothing to do with its naval capacity to police its dominions in the Caribbean and South America but had more to do with luck. The Spanish ships came across Hawkins while he was at harbour were ships in the process of transporting silver and other goods back to Europe and it was more a matter of ill luck than Spanish naval ability that put paid to Hawkins's slave trade. In spite of the image depicted by English Protestant propaganda, Spain was not the great naval military power that was depicted. This image was a construction designed to ensure that the domestic politics of England continued to have an anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic focus during the period when its Protestant identity was being forged into a national characteristic while at the same time serving as a justification for its own aggressive and provocative behaviour towards the Spanish Empire.

The disaster that befell John Hawkins's third slaving voyage effectively put a stop to further English efforts to develop that trade for the remainder of the century. But this cessation was not because of a fear of the Spanish navy's ability to intercept and stop the movement of English trading ships on the high seas, but because in order to engage in trade these ships had to discharge and load their cargoes while they were at rest in harbours and the story of Hawkins's third voyage showed that this is where they were vulnerable. But, as far as English traders were concerned, what was lost in one hand was gained by the other. As the DNB entry for Sir John Hawkins says, "*English slaving voyages ceased, but were replaced by open attacks on Spanish cities and treasure ships*".

It was in this period that English piracy on the high seas reached its 'Golden Age'.

[Part Four will explore the forging of the English Protestant identity and the development of English diplomacy, politics and law in the context of the myth of the continuing threat from Spain.]

GREAT CATHOLIC CONVERTS:

John Wayne (1907-1979).

Hollywood actor, born 26th May 1907, in Winterset, Iowa, as Marion Robert Michael Morrison, his name was changed to John Wayne in 1929 by film executives after he landed the lead in *The Big Trail*. Wayne appeared in more than 250 motion pictures, including the *Quiet Man* which was filmed with Maureen O'Hara in County Mayo in 1952.

He married three times and had seven children. In 1963 he underwent surgery for the removal of a cancerous lung. In 1979, he converted to Catholicism on his deathbed.

John Wayne was born in a staunchly Protestant small town in Iowa. His parents, Clyde and Mary Morrison, attended the Methodist Church. His father was a pharmacist, and the family prospered until Clyde was stricken with tuberculosis. They moved to California in search of a drier climate and settled on a farm near the Mojava Desert in 1914. When their attempt at farming failed, they moved to Los Angeles.

In 1925, John Wayne received a football scholarship to the University of Southern California. Due to an injury, he lost his scholarship. He left school and decided to try acting.

Fox Studios hired him as a labourer, he met director John Ford, a devout Catholic, who became his lifelong friend. His fortune turned when Ford cast him in the role of Ringo Kid in *Stagecoach* (1939). Wayne became a star and forged an unmistakable identity with the self-imposed rule: *"Talk low, talk slow, and don't say too much."*

John Wayne's seven children all went to Catholic schools, which he praised for the children *"turning out well"*.

He considered himself a Presbyterian, probably because of his Scotch/Irish ancestry, but jokingly he referred to himself as a *"cardiac Catholic"*, a reference to people who convert to Catholicism on their deathbeds.

When Wayne was asked whether he believed in God, he replied, *"There must be some higher power or how else does all this stuff work?"*

He was vilified by many because of his outspoken support for the Vietnam War when most Americans were against it. He agreed to play the lead role in *The Green Berets* (1968). It is claimed that he was a member of the anti-Communist John Birch society. He considered himself a mainstream Republican, though in his early years he was inclined towards socialism and voted for the Democratic Party. Many saw him as a spokesman for right-wing conservative causes, and yet he received hate mail from conservative groups for his support of President Carter's Panama Canal Treaties during the late 1970s.

John Wayne prided himself on standing up for what he believed. *"A man's got to have a code, a creed to live by, no matter his job"*, he explained.

In the end, John Wayne's long-standing joke about being a *"cardiac Catholic"* proved to be a premonition. He was received into the Catholic church on his death bed.

His gravestone is marked with a bronze plaque inscribed with one of his best-loved quotes:

"Tomorrow is the most important thing in life. Comes to us at midnight very clean. It's perfect when it arrives and it puts itself in our hands. It hopes we've learnt something from yesterday."

Wisdom Of Harris

"My generation remembers the rectitude of the Protestant bank managers of the old Munster and Leinster Bank. They minded our money as if it were their own. Had Irish banking stayed in their hands we would not be in the mess we are in today..." (Eoghan Harris, Evening Echo, Cork, 13.9.2011)

"The collapse of an Irish bank, caused by corrupt directors who embezzled funds and secretly took out unsecured loans to illegally gamble in the property market, has been revealed in previously unpublished documents ..." (*Irish Times*, 15.9.2011).

The revelations relate to Munster Bank which went into liquidation 126 years ago. An archive, including the bank's ledger and minute books, was sold in Dublin by auctioneers Whyte's in late September.

Auctioneer Ian Whyte said the paperwork from the 19th-century liquidators showed *"the failure of the bank bears remarkable similarities"* to the recent bank collapses.

Munster Bank was set up in 1864 and attracted deposits from small savers nationwide but especially from people living in small towns in the Counties of the south and southwest.

By the 1870s, the bank held almost Eight per cent of all Irish savings and had more than 3,800 shareholders. But, by July 1885, an accumulation of bad debts and the inability of Directors to repay their loans caused the bank to run out of cash and close all its branches.

The closure created huge publicity, resulting in queues of depositors outside branches desperate to withdraw their savings. There was even a riot outside the branch in Kildysart, Co Clare.

"The liquidators uncovered evidence that the directors were illegally taking loans from the bank and that 'insider trading' had artificially boosted its share price shortly before the collapse. The directors had speculated in property, including investing in 'villas' in Cork and in commercial property, and had also approved loans to their 'cronies'. Shareholders who had 'invested the earnings of years, in some cases of a whole lifetime... were rendered, by its failure, absolutely or very nearly penniless', the liquidators noted..." (*ibid.*).

One of Munster Bank's senior, Dublin-based, Managers George Farquharson *"absconded having defrauded the bank to a large amount"*. He had embezzled cash and gold worth more than £84,000—a huge amount in the late 19th century. There were subsequent alleged sightings of him in Scotland, Norway, Amsterdam and the United States but he was never caught.

The depositors eventually got most of their money back when the defunct bank's operations were taken over by the newly created Munster and Leinster Bank, with predominately nationalist shareholders and which, in turn, was eventually absorbed into what became AIB.