

Church & State

An Irish History Magazine

And Cultural Review Of Ireland And The World

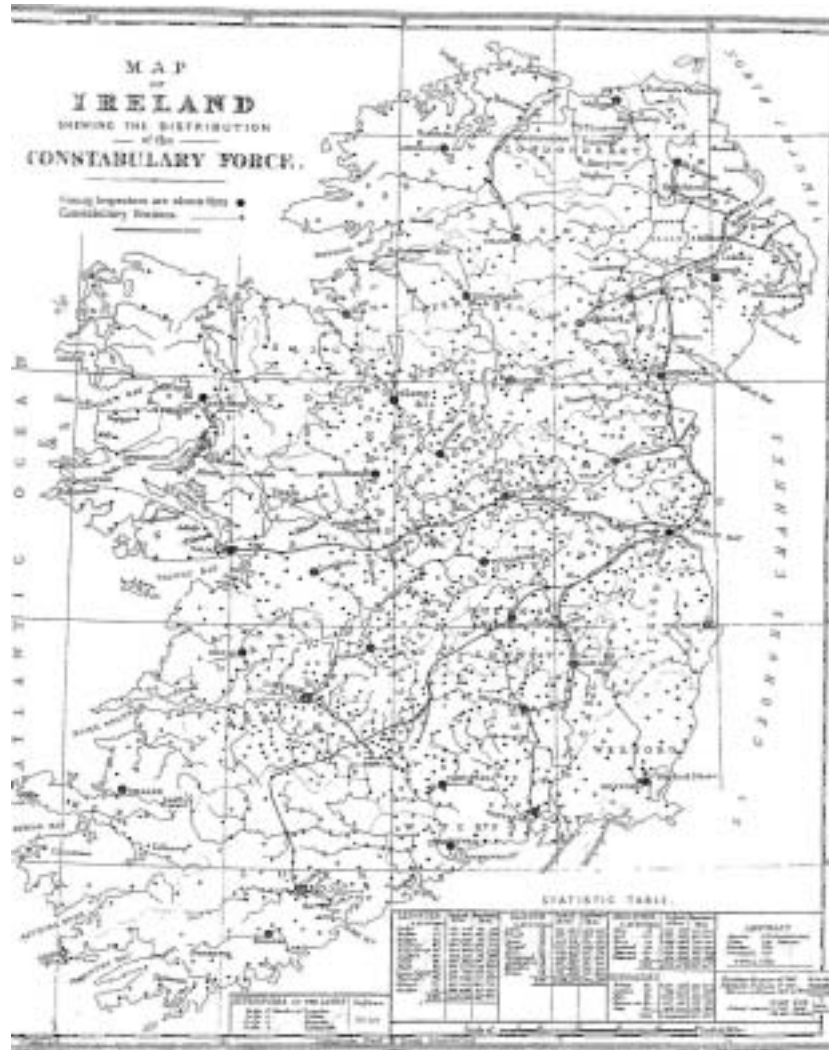
Gay Adoption Referendum

Wacking The Druids!

Augustus Debate

Mannix & Conscription

Alain Michel & Vichy



Map of RIC Barracks, 1852: 1,590 police stations were manned by a force of 12,501 (7,798 Catholics, 4,703 Protestants). Currently there are 703 Garda Stations in the Republic, with a force of 14,441.

(The map and information is from Jack Lane's *A Millstreet Miscellany*, No. 7, which in turn relies on Sir Francis B. Head, *A Fortnight In Ireland*, 1852.)

The Gay Adoption Referendum

The Constitutional proposal to constitute a liaison between homosexuals into marriage is in substance a proposal to abolish marriage as a social institution.

What marriage has been from time immemorial is an institution for producing children and rearing them. And the one thing that a homosexual liaison cannot do is produce children.

The Archbishop of Dublin reprimanded one of his bishops for making this indisputable observation. The priest remarked that a married homosexual couple cannot be parents and the Archbishop contradicted him. If the Archbishop has not had advance news of a basic transformation that is to be made in the mode of human reproduction, he is talking gibberish.

Parents produce children. That is the primary meaning of the word. And, for all the ingenious technical advances of recent times, children are still produced in the same old-fashioned way. The child comes out of the woman, and there's just no way that two men can produce a child.

We have come across men for whom the great tragedy of their lives was that they could never have the experience of giving birth. They felt it was most unfair. And, if that's how you feel about it, then it is unfair. But what does nature care about that? It chose not to make us hermaphrodites, and for all the talk about "*mastering nature*" in recent times, it still has its way in that matter.

The Archbishop presumably did not mean that the nature of human reproduction was about to be changed. He just wanted to change the meaning of the word *parent* by displacing the primary meaning with a secondary meaning that had come into use. But altering the meaning of a word does not alter the fact that it is used to describe. It continues to be the case that children are produced by women impregnated by men, or by bits taken from men.

The only alteration of fact that the Constitutional establishment of homosexual marriage would produce would be that the production of children by heterosexual couples would no longer have any special status in social arrangements: marriage would be abolished.

The process of abolishing marriage has now been going for a couple of generations. The development of capitalism requires it, and the country which generated capitalism, England, has been doing the pioneering work of abolishing the family as the social unit within which reproduction is carried on. The market has to increase continuously or capitalism suffocates. Breaking up the family expands the market. The family home used to be a little production unit outside the market, and it had to be put an end to.

When Marx and Engels, in the mid-19th century, were accused by the respectable capitalists of the time of being intent on ruining the family and replacing true love by free love, they retorted that, if that had been their intention, all they need do was sit back and let capitalism work.

A century and a half later the Secretary of the British Institute of Directors said that having children was "*an*

individual life-style choice", of no more concern to society than keeping an Afghan wolfhound, and was entitled to no special tax or other arrangements.

It used to be taken for a self-evident truth that the family was the unit of society. But the capitalist market has an insatiable need for consumers and could not tolerate all those little collectives doing their own thing outside the market. A powerful propaganda against the family was therefore generated. The little collectives had to be replaced by the individual consumer as the social unit.

The classical culture of the bourgeois era was somehow produced in Norway by Ibsen. And perhaps the most influential play ever written was his *Doll's House*, telling women that marriage was a prison.

James Joyce had a go at being an Irish Ibsenite, but it wasn't in him. His fashioning in exile the conscience of his race made no social impact and only came to Ireland second-hand from Bloomsbury, if not third-hand from places that looked down on Bloomsbury. And his free-love play was altogether lacking in conviction.

It was John McGahern, three-quarters of a century later, who made a hit by presenting the Irish family as sick, and consisting of religiously upright fathers making sexual advances to their sons, and put-upon wives having their good intentions stifled.

It was very dull stuff compared with Ibsen, but it was the best we could manage.

The inherent tendency of the capitalist market to generate individualist consumers, in social arrangements in which the single-person household is the norm, is obstructed in some places by strong social cultures left behind from a previous era. Germany is the outstanding case in point. It continues to live in the old-fashioned way to a considerable extent, and therefore its existence stands as a problematic bad example.

The most progressive country is England—the country that has made the greatest progress towards the capitalist consumerist ideal of culturally self-sufficient individualism. And England stopped reproducing itself many generations ago—some time in the middle to late 19th century. It became absolutely state-centred society. The state ceased to be a protector of the family as the social cell and set about devaluing it as an obstacle to Progress. The ago-old human habit of getting married and raising a family was eroded as the raising of a family was made increasingly difficult.

Leaving aside North America, which was made an empty half-Continent by systematic genocide, England was the wealthiest country in the world. And it was its great accumulation of wealth that enabled it to discard the family as the essential means of reproducing the population. Its wealth enabled it to import people in great quantities, and then made it necessary to do so.

For about a century and a half the world has been pouring food and raw materials and people into England. In recent

decades raw material imports have declined, being replaced by even greater quantities of finished commodities, but the import of population has been continuous.

Ireland was, of course, the first source of people as free British imports. Then it was Jews—but with a quota applied because it was felt that they remained too much themselves and were too enterprising as a community. Then it was freed slaves from the English slave colonies in the Caribbean in which capitalist industrial techniques had been pioneered in the production of sugar, who were freed and left to fend for themselves after capitalism based on free wage-labour was solidly established in England. Then it was Ugandan Asians from the bungled Imperial venture in East Africa. And always a substantial trickle from the damage done by other Imperial operations. And, in very recent times, a rich source has been the capitalist revolutions in Eastern Europe which have been unable to build on the socialist development of half a century. Eastern Europe supplies skilled workers trained in the socialist system, which England itself is incapable of producing.

The apprenticeship system by which technical skills are reproduced ceased to exist in England as manufacturing gave way to "financial services" as the means by which England compels the world to do it service. And homosexual marriage can be regarded as a phenomenon of finance capitalism.

Ireland, liberated from De Valeraism, imitates England. That's how it is. And there's little to be done about it except say how it is.

And the way it is is that England is a very wealthy state which lives off the world by virtue of its skill in managing the financial aspect of capitalist production so that the production is done abroad and is sent to England. And it is not possible for all, or most, countries in the world to live like that.

There's the story of the mediaeval monk who was taken out of the monastery and made Pope. He went out on the balcony and saw the great assembly of people—more than he ever thought existed in the world. He turned to the Cardinal who was helping him to understand the world, and asked: *How do they all live?* The Cardinal explained: *They cheat one another.*

Mary Kenny, when she was an upper class Englishwoman, had a variant of this. She once explained that Nigeria lived by kleptomania.

The correct way of putting it is that corruption is the reason why all countries are not as wealthy as England—they are corrupt and selfish so they send their goods to England and keep themselves poor!

Well, when all the apologetics have been orated, an outstanding fact remains: *"there's nothing surer, / The rich get rich and the poor get poorer"*. The big change that has happened is that the poor producers of wealth now live abroad. And they live in families made by heterosexual marriage—which keeps them poor and makes them the exporters of people.

Ivana Bacik of the Labour Party says there is *"No Rational Basis To Deny Gay Couples Right To Marry"* (*Irish Times*, Feb 15):

"Our traditional conceptions of marriage have changed substantially over the years, and tradition alone cannot form a rational basis for a law... There is no rational basis for the

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Next Issue: John Minahane's series on Spanish Colonial Policy, Part 7; and Pat Muldowney's review and summary of T. Desmond Williams' *Genesis Of National Socialism*

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denial of the right to marry for gay couples. The state does not generally interfere in people's choices as to whom they marry. There is no prohibition, for example, on a black woman marrying a white man—because we recognise that differences between people based on ethnicity have nothing to do with their ability to make the long-term commitments to each other that lie at the core of marriage..."

But of course States *have* interfered with the right of a white man to marry a black woman—and even more with the right of a black man to marry a white woman. And it was not the backward states of the Catholic Middle Ages that did this but the post-Reformation Enlightenment states. Racism is an Enlightenment phenomenon. For many generations intellectuals in progressive North America looked with contempt and distaste at the spectacle of civilised whites marrying natives in the Catholic South.

And wasn't there a period when the Enlightened State in Ireland punished Protestants if they married Catholics?

Eugenics is a science of the Enlightenment.

Now, as to blacks and whites: there was never any doubt that they could interbreed. If the mixture had been infertile, there would have been less objection to it.

What a black and white couple could do, which a homosexual couple could not do, was produce children.

But what have children to do with marriage? Nothing much, in Ivana Bacik's view of things. The essential thing in marriage was the "*ability to make long-term commitments*"!

But surely that relates to the Dark Ages when the purpose of marriage was thought to be children! In our time, with children ruled out of the equation and easy divorce, passing fancy must be sufficient grounds for marriage.

Nietzsche wrote about the arduous and painful training it took to shape the human into an animal capable of making promises and finding satisfaction in keeping them. And, anti-Christian though he was, he did not think it a bad thing. But the ability to make promises is no part of the progressive idealism of the present-day, when all that is real is the impulse of the moment.

In these circumstances, the business of law in personal relations is surely to facilitate impulsiveness, rather than inquire into people's souls—sorry!

conditioned reflexes—to see if there was long-term commitment in them.

Ivana Bacik says:

"They only way to justify limiting the right to marry is where the choice of partner might involve potential harm—the State for instance prohibits siblings from marrying each other. But nobody has argued that any harm is caused because an adult is allowed to marry the person they love, who happens to be of the same sex".

But our understanding was that it was on eugenic principles that brothers and sisters were not allowed to marry, the possible harm being not to themselves but to their offspring. Inbreeding was bad for the stock. But, if marriage is to be separated from breeding, surely the prohibition of incest must be reconsidered?

"*Our traditional conceptions of marriage have changed considerably*", she says, but she could not bring herself to say what the substantial purpose of traditional marriage over the centuries has been.

It has been celebrated because it has had the purpose of securing the continuation of a family line, or a body of property, and essentially the race. The human race has had the fixed idea that it is necessary that it should continue, and therefore it has showered its blessings on those who undertake to continue it.

But Ivana Bacik doesn't think so—because heterosexual couples who do not produce children are allowed to remain married:

"In reality, the ability of an opposite sex couple to procreate is the only ground of distinction between gay and straight couples that has been made in the referendum debate. But the ability to procreate is not a key ingredient of marriage. Nobody argues that an opposite-sex marriage is invalid because the two parties are physically incapable of having children. Nor does the State require that a heterosexual couple prove their parenting ability before they marry—convicted child abusers are not banned from marrying..."

Any debating point will do.

If the referendum fails—an unlikely eventuality—we can expect a demand that the marriage ceremony should be made to depend on the presentation of certificates of fertility.

As to parenting in the secondary sense, there is no way that that can be tested in advance, whether the parents

be progenitors or just carers.

Fintan O'Toole (whose pose has become more pretentious as his weight in the secret hierarchy of the *Irish Times* has diminished), quotes an ante-deluvian fellow columnist, Breda O'Brien:

"Two men can love each other and two men can love a child. But neither of them can provide a child with a mother" (*Using Mammy To Defeat The Same-Sex Referendum*, 24 Feb 15).

He sees the inability of men to continue the species on their own as being completely irrelevant to the issue. He doesn't bother discussing it. The troglodytes are using cheap propaganda about children looking for a mammy they never had to camouflage their real concern:

"It's the notion of men bringing up children without a mother that is the exposed nerve".

Is it really? Why did he pull his punch? Didn't he mean "*the notion of homosexual men*"?

He makes a very false analogy:

"Of course, those who oppose single-sex marriage will insist that they are concerned that every child have both a mother and father. I'm sure they are, but they're not really going to campaign on a platform that says women can't bring up children without men. They know very well that in Ireland a quarter of all children are already being raised by single mothers, and that insulting those women (and their extended families) is not a winning strategy. It's the notion of men..." etc (In fact, O'Toole greatly exaggerated the number of single parent families, as a reader to the *Irish Times* subsequently pointed out).

What substantial comparison can be made between single mothers and homosexual men with regard to the production of children?

Single mothers come about in various ways. Some were once married to a man. Some wanted to be but couldn't arrange it. Some chose not to be. But their children are theirs in a way that could never be the case between two homosexual men and an adopted child.

O'Toole half says it. The only practical purpose of the referendum is to allow a homosexual male couple to adopt. That is the only practical disability imposed by the existing Civil Partnership contract as compared with marriage.

That disability does not apply in

practice to a female couple. They can arrange to have a child which is the offspring of one of them.

The comparison of the single mother with the male homosexual couple is absurd. Her child is her child, produced in the usual messy way, with all that follows from it. Bernard Shaw felt that this mode of reproduction was unbecoming. So did the Gay Liberation Front at one time. But there still seems no likelihood of its becoming obsolete.

The philosopher Immanuel Kant declared it to be a principle that the human person must be treated as an end, never as a means to an end. His acquaintance Johann Georg Hamann dismissed this as pretentious nonsense, and had children with a peasant woman whom he did not require to be an intellectual, and who was happy to be a means to the end of reproducing the species. Marriage as a social institution is a means facilitating the achievement of that end. Capitalist development in England has required the paring away of marriage as a purposeful institution so that it scarcely exists. And Ireland, in its recent capitalist flowering, has in many ways reverted to imitative childhood with relation to England.

The outstanding development in the world in the past ten years is the emergence of Russia as a capitalist state, governed democratically but excluded from the Ameranglian sphere. If exclusion does not break it—and it does not seem that it will, then the possibility of war arises. What is called globalist capitalism is only the world reach of American capitalism, and America is uneasy about the existence of an independent region of democratic capitalist development in the world—even though it is only independent because US/UK/EU rejected it and it survived rejection.

The bourgeois-democratic revolution, which failed in 1917, is now occurring. And its culture is Orthodox Christianity!

Advanced liberalism has always played a prominent part in the propaganda of British Imperialism. Britain was always conquering the world in order to improve it. And, whenever it made a change in its own laws, it asserted that change as a universal human right. Homosexual marriage has already been declared to be a universal human right which is denied in Putin's Russia.

Pat Muldowney

Referendum Wording

Government Irish Language Gaffes

The Government's plans for 1916 commemoration were published in English and Irish. It turns out that the Irish version was gobbledygook produced by running the English version through Google Translate, a computer translation program.

The saga of the Same Sex Marriage constitutional amendment, scheduled for a referendum in May 2015, was just as cack-handed.

The proposed wording issued by the Government in January 2015 was:

"Marriage may be contracted in accordance with law by two persons without distinction as to their sex";

and, in Irish,

"Féadfaidh beirt, cibé acu is fir nó mná iad, Conradh a dhéanamh i leith pósadh de réir dlí."

In an *Irish Times* article published 20th February 2015, journalist and commentator Bruce Arnold argued that the Irish version (which, in the event of dispute, takes precedence over the English version) permitted legal marriage between people of the same sex, but not if the couple was the traditional male-female kind.

After an amount of huffing and puffing and prevarication about the absurdity of it all, the Government eventually published a revised Irish language version:

"Féadfaidh beirt, gan beann ar a ngnéas, Conradh pósta a dhéanamh de réir dlí."

What was the problem with the original?

(*Féadfaidh* 1) (*beirt* 2), (*cibé* 3) (*acu* 4) (*is* 5) (*fir* 6) (*nó* 7) (*mná* 8) (*iad* 9), (*conradh* 10) (*a dhéanamh* 11) (*i leith* 12) (*pósadh* 13) (*de réir* 14) (*dlí* 15).

1: (They) may; 2: a couple; 3: whether; 4: with them; 5+9: *is iad*, they are; 6: men; 7: or; 8: women; 10: a contract; 11: to make; 12: in regard to; 13: marriage; 14: in accordance with; 15: law.

"*cibé acu*" as a phrase is somewhat idiomatic, and the two words combined mean "whichever of".

So, according to Bruce Arnold, the proposed new article of the constitution would state:

"A couple, whether men or women, may contract legal marriage."

By putting "*fir*" (men) and "*mná*" (women) in the plural, the wording implies that a legally married couple must be either both male or both female!

By eventually rowing back and changing this wording, the Government accepted Arnold's correction.

The new version replaces "*cibé acu is fir nó mná iad*" with "*gan beann ar a ngnéas*" ("regardless of their sex").

IS THIS THE WAY TO ARMAGEDDON

We will finish off IS,
it's not your job, Syria,
for they are your own people
whom you keep from humanitarian aid
and we pray for beneath
church steeples
while we bomb them more-the-
merrier.
Did we say we wanted you out,
Assad,
could have,
though we might be mad.
no, a voice in my ear says:
we want you out,
but then again maybe not.
Do we sound glib
with our recklessness showing up
to provide that bolt in the neck
for IS.
Some say we drove them insane,
well, who knows, but do they have to
go
to excess.
Once we liked the secular,
they were following our path
and fighting our wars,
the Iran one was spectacular,
then you became too strong
and turned your attention to
Kuwait and Israel.
Why did it have to go so wrong
when we were having your enemy tortured
in foreign cells.
Then again it could be good to destroy,
like Trotskyism and its permanent
revolution,
you just blindly go on
expecting no solution.

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Insights Into The Proposed Same-Sex Marriage Referendum

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The unanimous support for same-sex marriage in the Dáil on 10th February was welcomed by former Minister for Justice, Alan Shatter.

"I think we have made history," he said.

In a speech to his Fine Gael constituency organisation in Goatstown, Co Dublin, Mr Shatter said he had the privilege of bringing to Government the proposal that the referendum on same sex marriage should be held (*Irish Times*, 11.2.2015).

Mr Shatter said the House had agreed there was a need for constitutional change and that a referendum should be held.

The Government had decided not to hold it until 2015 to ensure it was not misrepresented and that there was clarity in the minds of those coming out to vote, said Mr Shatter.

Fianna Fáil justice spokesman Niall Collins said that being gay or lesbian no longer had a stigma attached to it and rightly so.

"Old prejudices have been systematically combated across a raft of legislative measures," he added.

"These legal changes have reflected broader fundamental shifts in society as it moves along the path to real equality regardless of sexual orientation."

saying 'Something will turn up', like Micawber, but no nuclear weapons please or something equally macabre. But who's getting it together now with a proper plan for the Middle East that promises a definite way of life with a startling IS feast, that could cross the Mediterranean one day walking on a pontoon of heads, planning our re-birth by caesarean.

Wilson John Haire
17 February 2015

Jerry Buttimer (Fine Gael) said that in 20 years Ireland had moved from being a country where gay and lesbian people were seen as shameful and criminal in the State's eyes to where they could openly celebrate their love and commitment.

However, they had not yet reached a point where gay couples could walk down the street in any town or village, holding hands, without being subjected to abuse.

He also called for a new divorce referendum to revisit the issue of the current four year time frame between separation and divorce with a view to its elimination or substantial reduction.

Israel

In Israel, Deputy Shatter's spiritual home, same-sex marriage cannot legally be performed. Under the confessional community system that operates in Israel, each of the recognized Confessional communities regulates the personal status, including marriage and divorce, of its members. The State views marriage as a religious institution and as such does not issue marriage licenses, regardless of sexual orientation. This secures separation of Church and State and aims to prevent conflict between the various religions in the country. The religious authority for the Jewish majority marriages is the Chief Rabbinate of Israel and there are parallel authorities for Christians, Muslims, Druze and nine Christian authorities, with a total of 15 religious courts. These regulate all marriages and divorces for their own communities. Currently they all oppose same-sex marriages. If the views of one of these bodies were to change, however, it would be legal for members of that religious community to enter into same-sex marriages in Israel. However, religious denominations that are in favour of same-sex marriage have been refused recognition in the confessional community system (*Wikipedia*, 21.2.2015)

Wording

Meanwhile, there was—

"Concern that marriage between heterosexual couple may have been found unconstitutional.

"Taoiseach, Enda Kenny said he wanted to see a situation where laws and Constitutional amendments were co-drafted rather than subsequently translated into Irish, albeit with consultation. (*The Irish Times*-10.3.2015)

"The Government has changed the Irish-language version of the wording of the same-sex marriage referendum because of a possibility that a marriage between a heterosexual couple might be found unconstitutional."

The English version is: "*Marriage may be contracted in accordance with law by two persons without distinction as to their sex*".

The original Irish translation was: "*Féadfaidh beirt, cibé acu is fir nó mná iad, conradh a dhéanamh i leith pósadh de réir dlí*".

Directly translated back into English it stated: "*A couple may, whether they are men or women, make a contract of marriage in accordance with law*".

The use of the plural created a difficulty in that one interpretation of the wording was that it distinguished only between female couples and male couples, but not between same-sex and heterosexual couples.

In an opinion piece for *The Irish Times* in March, journalist Bruce Arnold highlighted this potential difficulty.

A number of senior legal figures with expertise in Irish, including Séamus Ó Tuathail SC and UCC law lecture Seán Ó Conaill, were of the opinion that the translation could give rise to possible confusion. (*Irish Times*, 10.3.2015)

Multi-nationals

"Some of Ireland's biggest tech employers are urging support for a change in same-sex marriage laws" (*Irish Independent*, 10.2.2015).

"While Twitter's Irish office has tweeted photos supporting a Yes vote in Ireland's upcoming referendum, Microsoft's most senior legal officer says that the company is to become an "*advocate*" for same-sex marriage legislation.

"Brad Smith said that the software giant, which employs 1,200 workers here, is in favour of same-sex marriage

legislation because it "makes good sense for business".

"The comments will be seen as a strong endorsement for the 'Yes' side in Ireland's upcoming referendum on the issue.

"Mr Smith also said that countries that recognise same-sex marriages have a competitive edge in retaining skilled workers.

"We believe countries that provide immigration benefits to same-sex permanent partners... place themselves at a competitive advantage for securing top talent and benefiting from the contributions of a diverse workforce" (*Irish Independent*-10.2.2015).

Now we have global commercial corporations deciding social policy? They probably did it in the past, but never so blatantly or overtly. Perhaps this was the real direction all along. If you follow every piece of social engineering over the last generation or two, the trail would lead to the money.

However, it hasn't prevented Microsoft from investing in Israel, ban on same-sex marriages or not.

"Microsoft Corp., hurt by a slump in global PC sales, is looking to Israel for innovation from its developers and acquisitions, as well as local startups, according to the company's top executive in the country.

"Microsoft has acquired seven companies and made four strategic investments since 1989 in Israel, where it employs 800 people, including 500 in research and development. Microsoft invested more than \$700 million in Israeli acquisitions between 2002 and 2009, according to Israel Advanced Technology Industries, a group representing technology companies and related businesses" (Bloomberg, 11.4.2013).

Slovaks

Slovak conservatives did not turn out anywhere near the 50% of voters needed on Saturday (7.2.2015) to approve a referendum that would have strengthened the country's ban on marriages and child adoptions by same-sex couples.

Votes counted from 99.9% of the central European country's voting districts showed turnout of just 21.4%.

The EU member state does not allow gay marriages or civil unions, nor adoptions by same-sex couples. The conservative movement that backed the referendum sought to make it more difficult to change those bans through legislation.

Around 90% of those who took part

in the referendum voted "yes" to three questions: whether marriage can only be a union of a man and a woman; whether same-sex couples should be banned from adoptions; and whether children can skip classes involving education on sex and euthanasia.

Liberals, gay rights activists and some media outlets had advised voters to defeat the referendum by not taking part, a strategy that worked. (Reuter,8.2.2015).

Varadkar

"Just over four years ago, Leo Varadkar told the Dail, 'Every child has a right to a mother and a father and as much as possible, the State should vindicate that right. That is a much more important right than that of two men or two women having a family'..." (*Irish Independent* Letters to the Editor-M. O'Riada, Tralee, Co. Kerry, 27.1.2015).

Since then the Minister has 'come out' as a homosexual.

Language

"The Dáil has been warned that lessons need to be learned to avoid repeating the same mistakes in the referendum on marriage equality that were made in the vote on the abolition of the Seanad.

"Language used in the Seanad referendum was not plain English, but "gobbledygook" and might have contributed to the high number of spoilt votes, stated Sinn Féin's Aengus Ó Snodaigh" (*Irish Times*, 8.11.2014).

60% of the voting population did not vote at all on 4th October 2013, the day of the Senate Referendum.

"It was even worse in Irish, said Deputy Ó Snodaigh, because the language used was not everyday speech" Ó Snodaigh is a fluent Irish speaker, but the question on referendum papers was framed "in such legalistic terms that people could not make head nor tail of it, unless they had a copy of the Constitution" in front of them.

It was one of the most disgraceful days in the history of the State's electoral politics when the Taoiseach himself voted against his own stated position to abolish the Senate, similar to the Judas like position his predecessor Liam Cosgrave did in 1974.

At that time, after the Supreme Court declared the ban on the importation of contraceptives by married persons was unconstitutional, Patrick Cooney, the Minister for Justice, introduced legis-

lation in 1974 to regulate and allow for married couples to obtain contraceptives. Fianna Fáil opposed any liberalisation of the law on family planning and fought the measure in the Dáil on grounds of protection of public morality and health. In line with his conservative credentials, and on a free vote, Cosgrave, without warning, crossed the floor to help defeat his own Government's bill.

Boycott

Sir Elton John is leading a boycott of Dolce & Gabbana after the renowned Italian fashion designers made disparaging remarks about same-sex families and children conceived via artificial insemination. "You are born to a mother and a father. Or at least that's how it should be", Domenico Dolce told Italian magazine *Panorama* last week, (via NBC New York). "I call children of chemistry, synthetic children. Rented wombs, semen chosen from a catalogue" (*Rolling Stone*, USA.16.3.2015).

Business partners Domenico Dolce and Stefano Gabbana, who are both gay and were formerly a couple, have previously voiced their rejection of same-sex marriage, but in an interview with an Italian magazine this weekend extended their objection to include gay families.

According to the *Daily Telegraph*, London, (15.3.2015) Dolce said that procreation "*must be an act of love*", adding, "*You are born to a mother and a father—or at least that's how it should be*". Elsewhere in the interview, Gabbana reportedly noted, "*The family is not a fad. In it there is a supernatural sense of belonging*".

"We firmly believe in democracy and the fundamental principle of freedom of expression that upholds it," Gabbana said. "We talked about our way of seeing reality, but it was never our intention to judge other people's choices. We do believe in freedom and love."

"I'm Sicilian and I grew up in a traditional family, made up of a mother, a father and children," Dolce said. "I am very well aware of the fact that there are other types of families and they are as legitimate as the one I've known. But in my personal experience, family had a different configuration. That is the place where I learnt the values of love and family. This is the reality in which I grew up, but it does not imply that I don't understand different ones. I was talking about my personal view, without judging other people's choices and decisions."

✱

Wacking The Druids

The Irish Times added to its usual quota of Paddywhackery on St. Patrick's Day with an item on St. Patrick himself by a Fr. Hayden, who alleged that the Ireland Patrick dealt with was an awful place.

"The religion of our pre-Christian ancestors was Druidism. We know from archaeology and from historical writings that human sacrifice was central to Druidism. There are written records, dating from before the time of Christ, of Roman attempts to suppress Druidism in the Celtic parts of Gaul, or present-day Brittany. The reason for this suppression was the savagery of Druidism, which was unpalatable even to the callous Romans. Yes, the religion of our Celtic forebears was dark, terrible and savage. Shall we whisper to the bodies found in bogs, with signs of ritual killing, that they were butchered as part of the carefree merry-making of their times? Or what should we tell those who feared they might be the next victims, offered in appeasement to the gods? Druidism was based largely on human sacrifice—the offering of people to the gods" (*'Untrue to state that St Patrick brought misery to Ireland—The religion of our Celtic forebears was dark, terrible and savage'*, Irish Times, 17 March 2015).

This is the classic, hand-me-down, view of the Druids written by their enemies as a prelude to destroying them. The evidence does not come from the Druids themselves. It was self-serving for those who wrote it. It is odd that their alleged 'savagery' in Ireland put off the Romans from conquering them, even though that would negate the *raison d'être* of the Roman Empire which set out to conquer them in Europe for that very alleged 'savagery'. Why did they draw back in Ireland from doing their historic duty? Is there a possibility that the good cleric has not heard of the *Fianna*, who actually made the Romans think twice about being able to conquer the place as easily as they did elsewhere? There are some actual 'historical writings' relating to this fact that he seems to have ignored. And no other reason makes sense as to why the Romans did not stay after paying us a somewhat brief visit.

But amazingly this awful place of savagery took to its opposite—according

to Fr. Hayden—like a duck to water. They must have been schizophrenic as well. Patrick had only a crozier and a shamrock—not a sword in sight—and the place converted to his message of 'enlightenment' by a few teach-ins with its leaders! How come? The savages who scared off the Roman legions fell without a murmur to Patrick! What needed long drawn-out wars elsewhere in Europe just needed a heart to heart between an ex-slave and a few leading people in Ireland!

The only explanation Fr. Hayden gives is that that this terrible society based on human sacrifice was converted by a guy who had a story about a bigger example of human sacrifice! This new God had sacrificed his only son in the most barbaric way possible and this example of what he did so impressed the pagan Irish that they must have said to themselves—this guy's God is better at this than we are so we will go along with him! Where's the high moral ground here that would impress a pagan, or anybody, to give up his beliefs? Pull the other one, Father.

But this is Fr. Hayden's story:

"Patrick told people that God did not want human sacrifice. He had offered his own Son to them, as the end of all sacrifice. This is why the faith took root in Celtic Ireland. The people welcomed Patrick and his message and the God he preached. They fell in love with a God who had banished sacrifice, and with it, banished fear."

Banished fear of a god that had sacrificed his only son? And, if the Bible was to be believed, had ordered others to do so with their sons and much worse. Banished fear of a God that had a never-ending hell in store for people who did not behave? A concept of cruelty that never existed in Celtic Ireland. The next world was a pleasant place where one lived forever, *Tír na nÓg*.

Is it not more likely that, rather than being a society of savages that were transformed overnight by a visiting storyteller, we had a society that was very absorbing of things that attracted it; and that it gave Christianity a space within it and let it make its way with

those who liked it? It did not replace all that existed and was not allowed to do so.

The fact is that Celtic Ireland accepted Christianity on very conditional terms. It accepted this new element as an interesting adjunct that it might be useful to add to the repertoire of their society. And they were proved right. The monasteries and places of Christian learning produced impressive things. But they did so as part of the Celtic society—a part just like another Clan, each of which had its particular contribution to make to the tapestry of life.

Christianity became part of the division of labour of Celtic society. The legal eagles of the society produced the amazing Brehon laws (which certainly had no human sacrifice in them and were as advanced as anything Patrick or Rome had to offer); other specialists produced brilliant poetry; others music; others medicine; others warriors; others rulers; others religious beliefs, etc., etc.

Fr. Hayden gives us a piece of simplistic nonsense that makes him something like a Fintan O'Toole of Celtic Ireland. I wonder what did the O'Toole Clan specialise in? To declare an interest, the O'Léighins specialised in osteopathy, more commonly known as bonesetting, and is practised to this day by a Lane family in North Cork. I would guess that one branch of the O'Tooles may have specialised in non-stop whinging about everything around them. *

Deacons

"A survey of catholic opinion show a clear majority believe that the diaconate should be open to women and men" (*Irish Independent*-29.10.2014).

The survey was carried out by the lay reform group *We Are Church Ireland* (WACI).

In the poll of nearly 500 men and women, 84% said they believed women should be deacons. Just 13% were opposed and 3% were undecided.

Some 79% of respondents were aware that women deacons were common in the first 1,000 years of Christianity.

Responding to the poll findings, Brendan Butler of WACI urged the Irish bishops to call a national assembly of all the faithful to discuss the position of women in the church.

this suggestion—which, remember is a working description of the reality that already exists—with the retort "A freedom of expression that does not offend you". Perhaps we might refer her back to the very guidelines of the company she works for, with the same remark.

Je Ne Suis Pas Charlie!

It was educative to watch the *Prime Time* exchanges between Miriam O'Callaghan and her various guests in the wake of the Charlie Hebdo murders (broadcast 8th January 2015).

One of the first points raised was the whole question of free of expression and whether it has—or should have—any limits. Each camp has its adherents. Some argue that 'freedom of expression' should have no limits otherwise sooner or later we stray into the dangerous territory of censorship; others that 'freedom of expression' is desirable but needs to be regulated for the smooth, harmonious functioning of society.

Two guests on the show—Dr. Jennifer Kavanagh (Waterford CIT, law lecturer) and Dr. Ali Selim—embodied the two different points of view. Dr. Kavanagh's position might be summed up as "we're entitled to say what we wish to say", as she put it; a viewpoint echoed by presenter Miriam O'Callaghan: "...we live in a country where there is unlimited freedom of expression".

The first statement seems a tautology—how do we determine whether or not someone is 'entitled' to say anything? What 'entitles' a person to speak, about anything? Presumably what Dr. Kavanagh meant was 'we're free to say what we wish to say'. This is closer to what Ms O'Callaghan described as "unlimited freedom of expression".

But are these statements true? Do we have *unlimited freedom* of expression here? Are we free to say what we wish? It is true that 'holocaust denial' as it's called, is not prohibited by law here; and Dr. Kavanagh was quick to point this out in response to Dr. Selim, as an example of how free we are to express ourselves in Ireland. But, as a law lecturer, she must know that we have 'incitement to hatred' laws {1}, and that anyone accused of breaching these could easily find themselves on the rough side of the law. It also seems inconceivable that presenter Ms O'Callaghan could not be aware of the same fact, especially as *Prime Time* deals with so many 'human interest' stories. As a presenter with RTE, can she also really be unaware that the guidelines of the company she works

for clearly state: "by providing content to RTE you confirm and warrant that it... is not defamatory, obscene, harmful to minors, harassing, offensive, sexist, homophobic, encouraging racial hatred or violence...etc." (No.9, 'Contributions to the RTE Website')

Almost all of these restrictions are entirely subjective of course—for example, how do we decide when something is 'obscene' or the even-vaguer 'offensive'? For some people, half of RTE's own broadcast content could easily fall under either category!

At the very minimum it makes nonsense of Miriam O'Callaghan's sweeping claim that we "live in a country where there is unlimited freedom of expression".

Quite simply, we don't.

Between our laws and the self-regulation of our media outlets, it is absolutely clear that there are many areas where public discourse is regulated and one is certainly **not** free to simply say whatever one wishes. Those positing a society with 'unlimited freedom of expression' need to face up to this glaring contradiction in their stance, an issue that is at the core of the Charlie Hebdo debacle.

While Ms. O'Callaghan and Dr. Kavanagh were singing the praises of an imaginary country where everyone is free to say exactly what they please, it was left to Dr. Ali Selim to advocate for the reality that actually exists here—a society with some level of self-regulation when it comes to freedom of expression:

Dr. Selim was proposing a model of freedom of expression "...based on rules that pre-empt friction ... not the freedom of expression that encourages confrontation and antagonism.."

This seems—to me at any rate—eminently sensible. It would allow for discussion of most topics under the sun to be conducted in a mutually respectful manner; one that might advance mutual understanding even if proponents of diametrically opposed viewpoints had to agree to disagree. In fact, the very model of discourse suggested by RTE's own guidelines, and presumably, the basis of statutory 'hate incitement' laws.

Miriam O'Callaghan responded to

If we extend our survey further out across Europe, or the so-called 'West', we find other areas where freedom of expression is severely curtailed. The BBC has similar restrictive guidelines {2} to RTE, as presumably do most other media outlets across the Europe. In France and Austria any questioning of official accounts of the holocaust of Jews during WW2 may land you in prison, as British author David Irving discovered to his cost a few years ago. France recently added the genocide of Armenians by Turks to the list of secular dogma that May Not Be Questioned, and heretics now do so at their own risk. Anyone claiming we live in a society with 'unlimited freedom of expression' has either to abandon such a ridiculous suggestion or live in a state of wilful ignorance.

So, having established that we clearly do not live in a society where anyone is free to say whatever they please, in whatever manner they like, the only realistic question that remains is to what extent so-called 'freedom of expression' is or ought be curtailed.

Ms. O'Callaghan's next remark to Dr. Selim "It's become a very secular country ... live and let live... **you** don't like living under some of the rules we have here..." (my emphasis, almost!) touches on two of the bogeymen of 21st-century 'Western' culture {3}: the clash between the value systems of a secular or religious society and the current phobia of the effects of Islamic immigration on this form of society. Was there a subtle, if perhaps unconscious touch of racism or sectarianism in Ms. O'Callaghan's remark—in the use of the pronouns "... rules **we** have..." and "**you** don't like..."? Is Dr. Selim the dreaded immigrant coming here trying to change our happy way of life?

Dr. Selim pointed out that he was quite happy to live here, and that in fact *he* was the one upholding and respecting the rules. After all, the very reason he had come on the show was to explain his call for Ireland's 'Blasphemy law' to be invoked against anyone who offended Islam by reproducing the Charlie Hebdo cartoons here. There is deep irony in the fact that Ms O'Callaghan was seemingly

portraying Dr.Selim as an outsider coming here to meddle 'in our laws' when he was the only one on the show{4} actually trying to uphold them! It was Ms O'Callaghan who didn't appear to like some of the 'rules' 'we' have here. Dr.Selim even tried to point this irony out "... *but (it's you) could be preaching breaking the rules—because we **have** legislation that organizes our freedom of expression*". The point may have passed over her head as she made no direct reply to it.

Dr.Kavangh explained that:

"The interpretation of freedom of expression that we have doesn't just protect ideas that are favourably received, they also protect ideas that are offensive and that you don't want to hear. So in a democracy there has to be freedom of expression where people can challenge things that are in public interest—which not only includes religion, but also includes political issues"

As we have seen, this explanation is only partially true. Even if there were no 'hate incitement' or Blasphemy laws limiting our 'right' to be gratuitously offensive to the sensitivities of others, certain 'offensive' ideas may never make it into the public domain in the first place. This thanks to the internal censorship of media organizations like RTE; either via their clearly-stated guidelines on what's 'acceptable' or via more subtle forms of agenda-setting by programme directors, presenters and so on.

So, once again 'freedom of expression' here doesn't 'protect' all 'ideas that are offensive and that you don't want to hear'. Once again the question remains, how do we decide what's off-limits?

Nothing in what Dr.Selim was proposing was in conflict with the interpretation being provided by Dr. Kavanagh, so it was difficult to see what the whole discussion was about in the first place! Essentially, Dr.Selim was the one coming on the show to say the law, as it currently stands in this country, should be upheld in relation to republishing Charlie Hebdo. Yet between them, in a two-to-one ratio, Ms. O'Callaghan and Dr.Kavanagh seemed to be giving the impression that *Dr.Selim* was the aberration, the outsider coming in to interfere with 'our' rules and 'our' freedom of expression. It was an extraordinary, slick *tour-de-force*, a masterful inversion of the facts. I had to wonder if they were even aware of it themselves.

February 2015

NOTES

- {1} Or more properly known as 'Prohibition of Incitement to Hatred Act, 1989'
- {2} See BBC website, posts are prohibited that '...are abusive or disruptive...are offensive: racist, sexist, homophobic, disablist, sexually explicit, abusive or otherwise objectionable material...' Thus there are whole swathes of ideas and modes of expressions of opinion that are forbidden.
- {3} Note that I use the term 'Western' here to mean a 'a particular, secular form of

democracy with a bias towards capitalism and atheism' as the term in itself could carry a variety of meanings to different audiences.

{4} And I use the word deliberately.

NOTE: Nick Folley's letter on Charlie Hebdo, which appeared in the last issue of *Church & State*, was published in the *Irish Catholic* in full. (As was noted, the *Examiner* published an edited version.). The other papers did not publish it.

Editorial

The Great Augustan Debate

Augustus: Reply To A Criticism

Two issues ago we published an Editorial to mark the bi-millennium of the death of Augustus, the founder of the Roman Empire. Considering the extent to which the Roman Empire shaped the European world, and that Augustus was indisputably its founder, we thought it odd, in this culture which has a craze for anniversaries, that that this remarkable event, which is not open to doubt, was not being noticed at all on its 2000th anniversary.

The Great War is being celebrated on all sides on its first centenary. Those who do not feel inclined to celebrate the recruiting of scores of thousands of Irishmen for it, by means of delusive slogans, are accused of being "in denial" because they prefer to celebrate a smaller military event waged for a more definite purpose and with a positive outcome.

The Great War was a destructive event, fought under Millennial slogans supplied by post-Christian intellectuals of the British middle class who suspended their disbelief for the occasion, and Government promises that the Government had no intention of keeping. It was possibly the beginning of an unstoppable process of destruction of what Augustus had constructed. And Augustus figured in the propaganda by which Britain raised an Army of millions for it. The world was told that the ultimate reason why Britain had to wage a World War against Germany was that the Germans had refused to submit to Augustus and had therefore remained barbarians.

The Roman Armies sent to conquer the Germans were destroyed in Germany in 9 AD. That made the Rhine the

impassable border of the Empire, facilitating its internal consolidation. Britain had, around 1904, considered ending the Imperial expansion which had been carried on successfully for two hundred years, and consolidating the Empire as a section of the world. It decided against, committing itself to indefinite expansion. Unlike Augustus, it won its war on the Germans. But, while Augustus was the better for losing it, Britain was the worse for winning it. After it ended the War in 1919 it did not know what it was anymore, and it lurched about like a drunken giant in a way that was catastrophic for others.

Criticism

Stephen Richards submitted a criticism of the Augustus editorial, but did so in the form of a criticism of Brendan Clifford. It was suggested to him that he might re-draft it as a criticism of the Editorial instead of speculating about the author. He chose not to. We published it nevertheless last quarter. About the speculation as to authorship we will only say that the editorial was not Brendan Clifford's idea, and that he has many other things in print about the relationship between Christianity and Empire that can be taken issue with without speculation.

Stephen Richards' article did not address either the role of Augustus, or the role of the Empire in creating Europe, which was what the Editorial was about. And much of the article is Christianist apologetics, which do not concern us.

His basic point seems to be that it was not through its orientation towards the Empire that Christianity became a world force; or that it did not in fact

orientate itself on the Empire; or that the fact that it was persecuted by the Empire before taking it over—or becoming its State ideology—proves anything about it.

Also that it was no more significant that Paul was a Roman citizen than that Gerry Adams is in British law a British citizen.

Paul went to Rome to convert it to his vision, not to persuade it to let go of Palestine and Syria. And, when he drew attention to his superior kind of Roman citizenship (born not purchased), there is no indication that he wished he were not a Roman citizen.

A version of Christianity became the ideology of the Roman Empire. The Empire did not have to seek it out. It was there busily honeycombing the Empire, getting itself noticed.

In Belfast, with the unusual attitude towards Protestant Ulster that this magazine had, it was necessary to try to grasp the meaning of certain religious phrases that seemed to be in common use. The "*Anti-Christ*" for example. The best sense we could make of it was "*the union of Christianity with the State*" that was made by the Emperor Constantine.

It seemed to us that that union, which was not a merger, was one of the most distinctive things about Europe. And, as we understand it, the power of the Church in the combination increased as the purely secular power of the Empire declined, and that the Church, precluded from taking on the role of State by the doctrines it had developed in the relationship with the Empire when it was strong, preserved many features of the Empire as a necessary counterpart to it when the Empire declined. In other civilisations State and Church were a unity. It was only in the civilisation of Roman Christianity that they were understood to be distinct entities in combination, neither of which could exterminate the other or absorb it entirely into itself. And it was this unique relationship that gave rise to the first form of party politics—the parties of Guelphs and Ghibbelines in Italian city states.

Reformation

If the relationship of the Church with the State, which began with Constantine, is the Antichrist, and the Reformation was the repudiation of Antichrist, then one would expect Reformationist Christianity either to disconnect itself entirely from the State and adopt a kind of closed communal life, or else to merge itself entirely with the State.

In the English Reformation the latter was the case. The King made himself Pope as well as King, and while England was being made Protestant, Protestant Christianity was entirely the creature of the monarch, who decided its doctrines from day to day as the spirit, or the expediencies of government, moved him.

In the first instance the State ran the religion. Then, a hundred years later, the religion undertook to run the State, but made a *haimes* of it.

The affair was only put on a stable footing after 1688, with the setting up, as a department of State, of an Established Church with vast secular patronage at its disposal but no autonomy as a Church, not even a right of Assembly, and with a degree of latitude for freelance versions of Protestantism on condition that they confine themselves to commerce and accept exclusion from politics.

During this century and a half Ireland was subjected to the erratic, but mostly destructive, government of an English Protestant State which could not make up its mind about exactly what kind of Protestantism the State should establish orthodoxy on.

This matter was settled after 1688 by a division of power which gave politics to the Episcopalians and market economic activity to the Scripturalists. They agreed to tolerate each other's religion on these terms by means of a Toleration Act whose other provision was for the suppression of Catholicism.

Persecution

Stephen Richards says that Christianity in the Roman Empire was persecuted for 250 years before becoming the State religion. And—

"250 years is a long time. Even the Penal Laws were more or less burned out within 70 years, and the persecution was less violent, whereas the soviet system was also a 70 year long Babylonian captivity."

The Penal Laws in Ireland went on for a lot more than 70 years. One might begin them with the genocidal politician/poet Spenser, under Elizabeth. Then there was Cromwell, who came to free the Irish from Papist slavery. It was not until England settled down after 1688 that there was a systematic and prolonged attempt by the Protestant State, supported by non-State Protestantism, to wipe out Catholicism. And even that lasted a lot longer than 70 years.

Denys Scully, who was so respectable that he was almost a Castle Catholic, wrote in 1803 ("112 years since the

Capitulation of Limerick to William the Third") a pamphlet advising loyalty to Britain in the event of an invasion by Napoleon. His argument was that, bad though their situation was, it could be made worse by engagement with France. To have suggested that they should be loyal because they were under good government would have contradicted the experience of his readers:

I come now, my Countrymen, to a painful Topic, ...our Redemption from our present political depredation in our Country is that Topic; and it constantly associates itself in the minds of some of us with French Invasion and Revolution...

"The active parties of that Degradation are so marshalled as to bear most heavily and directly at present upon the middling and higher Classes of our Persuasion, and I feel my full share of them as seriously as any of you. But they bear, indirectly, upon us all; and the acrimonious irritation of Temper, which they preserve and cherish to our annoyance in Civil Society, is far more oppressive than their political operation" (*An Irish Catholic's Advice To His Brethren*, Dublin, 1803, p49).

The condition of civil society brought about by the Penal Laws lasted for generations after the Laws, as writing on the Statute Book, were repealed. The withdrawal of the Anti-Catholic Oath admitted the Irish, or Catholics (the system made the words synonymous) to Parliament in 1829. That might be taken as ending the Penal system in principle, though subordinate particular legal arrangements remained in place, but the destructive operation of the civil order created by the system climaxed in the 1840s with the Famine/Holocaust.

In 1812 Scully made a collection of the Penal Laws still in operation. It was published as *A Statement Of The Penal Laws Which Aggrieve The Catholics Of Ireland*. The printer, Hugh Fitzpatrick, was prosecuted, fined and imprisoned.

Perhaps it might be said that the Penal Laws were "*burned out*" 75 years after the Glorious Revolution launched them in that the continuing existence of Catholics in Ireland was officially acknowledged in 1760, when George 3 graciously received a Catholic Petition of Loyalty in the first year of his reign. The attempt to get rid of the Catholics/Irish by seizing their property, excluding them from the professions, banning their educational institutions, and criminalising the Mass had failed when their continuing existence was officially acknowledged.

Before 1760 they were presumed not to exist. Admission of their existence in 1760 was recognition that extermination had failed. After 1760 they were acknowledged subjects, subject to Penal Laws. But acknowledgement that the Penal Laws had failed to exterminate did not lead to them being repealed.

Perhaps the Catholics/Irish—the vast majority of the people—should have rested content with having their mere existence acknowledged in 1760 and not sought the right to own property—not to mention re-gaining the property taken from them not long before. Unfortunately that is rarely the way with human beings: give them an inch and they demand a foot.

There has never been much in the way of imaginative understanding between Protestants and Catholics—colonists and natives—in Ireland. That is entirely understandable. To this day it is a rare Ulster Protestant who has any sense of why the Northern Ireland entity was experienced as intolerable by Catholics. And British academia has applied much talent in creating a better memory of how Britain governed Ireland over the centuries. Marianne Elliott has made a good academic career with the notion that there never was a Penal Law system in Ireland. What is misrepresented as a system of Laws intended to snuff out the Catholics was actually just a number of particular laws passed for the defence of the State against the subversive agents of a foreign Power. (The foreign Power was Britain's ally in its European Wars, the Pope, and his agents were all the Irish in Ireland.)

But, even supposing that the colonial laws against the Irish 'only' lasted 75 years, while the Roman Empire resisted Christianity for 250 years, what substantial similarity is there between the two forms of religious oppression?

The Irish, under Protestant religious oppression, took advantage of the freedom of religion introduced by James 2 and were punished for it wholesale when Protestant religious oppression was restored. The Christians—those with which we are concerned—went on a great missionary campaign from Palestine /Syria throughout the Roman Empire, actively subverting the Imperial religion. The Empire was tolerant of other religions. It had no Act of Uniformity. It did not seek out other religions to oppress them. (Perhaps that was its weakness.)

Westernising Christianity was as far

as could be from a local religion that could be tolerated. It was a contender. It was resisted for a while, but it won. The Empire became Christian. And then there *was* an Act of Uniformity.

Truth, in the sense in which Christianity asserted that it was true, knows no rules and no limits. Its totalitarian mandate comes from a presumed other world about which, without the insights or revelations which it claims, we can know nothing.

Rome became Christian. It adopted true religion but compromised with error in doing so. Protestantism purified Christianity of its Roman compromise with error. That much one learns by living in Belfast, or by looking through the literature by which Protestant dominance in Ireland justified itself. One got used to the language in which Christian meant Protestant in the region of Calvin or Knox, and Catholic always had 'Roman' before it. Sometimes 'Roman' stood on its own, but 'Catholic' never. And one began to get the idea that Babylon was a disreputable suburb of Rome.

Paul

"Of course it's significant that Christianity happened in the Roman Empire, but far less significant than to say that it happened in the world."

But it was in the Roman part of the world that the strain of Christianity that achieved world dominance for a while was concentrated. And we gathered, not from any special research, that Paul, who was not one of the group selected by Jesus to run the Church, was the self-appointed Apostle who pioneered the Westernising tendency, and discarded the Jewish practices that were an obstacle to expansion amongst non-Jews. And we also gathered, from television no doubt, that there were Christian tendencies which looked Eastwards, and were forgotten about for ages until discovered recently as curiosities. And that there were also Christian groups which saw no need to do anything but be local Christians at their point of origin.

We did not think we were saying anything controversial when we said Paul, who led the way to Rome, was not one of the leaders selected by Jesus, and had never met him or seen him in the way these words are usually understood, but had been struck down by a seizure after he had been present at the killing of Stephen, and had heard somebody talking to him, which none of his com-

panions could hear, and that he had acted on what was said to him, or what he said to himself, without consulting the group left in command by Jesus, and that he saw himself as having an authority independent of the authority of the leadership chosen by Jesus.

This, of course, is the understanding of non-believers, and Stephen Richards does not dispute it. The understanding of believers is only possible to believers.

We gather that Paul concentrated in the first instance on Jewish fellow travellers around the Empire who could not bring themselves to take the final step into Judaism, and then he saw no reason why complete Gentiles should not come straight in. So that in the end Judaism had nothing to do with it. Gentiles did not have to become Jews on the way to becoming Christians. Wasn't it his boast that he was the complete opportunist, being all things to all men with the object of catching them? A Jew to the Jews, and a Gentile to the Gentiles?

Testaments

"Judaism wasn't really a cult religion. It was a mainstream religion which had protected status of a limited kind in the Empire... It claimed to be a universal religion..."

But it was a religion based on ritual practices, including physical mutilation, and those practices stood in the way of it becoming the religion of the Romans. It was tolerated by the Empire because the Empire was tolerant. Jews had special status in the Empire, and eminent Jews were close to Emperors, but the ritual practices preserved its character as a cult religion.

When a Jewish group in Palestine formed a Jewish state and began terrorising others, the Empire suppressed it and pulled down the Temple to discourage repetition, but Judaism around the Empire was not suppressed.

We don't know if Judaism "*claimed to be a universal religion*". We only know that it said that its God was the only real God, and that he made the Jews his special people in the world, and instructed them to remain a people apart.

"*The two thousand years of August are less important than the two thousand years from Abraham to the birth of Jesus*"—Looking at those two thousand years BC, the big event in the Jewish literature of them is the genocide in Palestine. And the books of that

genocide are books of the Christian Bible.

An important part of the Protestant indictment of Romanism—one still hears it today—is that Rome did not put the Bible into mass circulation with an injunction to individuals to make what sense they could of it. It shielded Christians from the Bible, and subjected reading of it to an interpretation scheme which explained much of it away.

Neither Jesus as recorded by his Apostles, nor Paul as recorded by himself, said what was to be made of the gift of Palestine by God to his special people, and of the strict genocidal instructions he gave them about the conquest of it. All their statements about the relationship of the *New Testament* to the *Old* are highly equivocal. Of course the Bible as we know it had not been compiled in their time. But those who later put it together did include a Preface saying what in the Old Testament was cancelled by the New.

There was a time when all of this might be regarded as ancient history, of no practical relevance. But no longer. God's gift of Palestine to the Jews thousands of years ago is now held to be perpetually binding.

Jewish sovereignty in a Palestine which they had vacated for two thousand years was re-asserted *de facto* by the British Empire in 1917 and by the League of Nations in 1919. The British Foreign Minister, Balfour, explained that his 1917 Declaration was in breach of the principle of the rights of nations for which Britain claimed to have launched the Great War, but it was a necessary breach because the Jews were a special people, not subject to the rules which applied to others.

Thus the League was vitiated at the start by a major breach of its own principles. And Britain, which fought a war against the Irish to prevent them forming the state they had voted for, fought wars in the Middle East in order to open up Palestine to colonisation by a people which had abandoned it.

And then the Mosaic Law on Palestine was upheld by the United Nations in 1947, and the formation of a Jewish State by means of extensive ethnic cleansing was condoned by the UN in 1948. And the surrounding states have been kept in a condition of effective disarmament while the Jewish state has been equipped with nuclear weapons. And it can be said, in tones of sweet reason, in the Irish and British media,

God gave Palestine to the Jews so why can't the others just go away?

State & Power

"the deliberate marginalisation of the Christian faith over the last fifty years"—who marginalised it? Active Christianity in the form of the British Empire once dominated the world. England declared itself an Empire at the same time as it separated itself from Rome in the service of true Christianity. It deprived the Irish of all rights on the ground that they were not truly Christian because they were Roman. Nobody could marginalise the Christian faith of England except England itself. England sickened of its Christianity. A point came when it just could not tolerate it any more. But, in the course of sloughing it off, it felt under compulsion to revive the policy of the *Book of Deuteronomy* with regard to Palestine. And its American offspring is even more deeply influenced by *Deuteronomy* and *Joshua*.

And Europe! What has Europe made of itself two millennia after Augustus gave it the structure of a civilisation? Does it exist as anything more than a pawn in the American drive for universal dominance fuelled by Old Testament vigour? Or is it the heir of the Latin dimension of Rome, gathering its will for another crusade against what seems to be the more durable Christianity of the Greek dimension that is flourishing in Moscow?

"England was Roman Catholic up to Henry VIII, up to a point yes, but there was a history of mediaeval English Kings resisting the claims of the Papacy. A Catholic country more than a Roman Catholic country, one might say. Louis XIV had his moments too, when he was fighting against the temporal interests of the Papacy... He was at times literally more Catholic than the Pope..."

English Kings before Henry did not claim to be national Popes. Their relationship with Rome was the ordinary one in a civilisation of which State and Church were distinct parts. The Normans were the secular arm of the Papacy when they conquered England, but that did not mean that William conducted the English state as a Roman theocracy. Far from it. He asserted the rights of his English State and set limits to the influence of Rome on the conduct of the Church in it. Louis XIV did likewise. Both were good Roman Catholic monarchs who in their relationship with Rome established an agreed space for

the State to develop in. In this way the Church could form part of a state settlement—the precursor of 'national' settlements—without repudiating the spiritual authority of Rome. Louis XIV's theologians had ample scope within the Gallican settlement for theological speculation: and it was, of course, one of them who in the course of a sermon uttered the most memorable description of England that ever came from France—*"perfidious Albion"*.

A generation ago this magazine advocated the negotiation of a Church/State Concordat in the Republic, which was the normal means of relating the State and the Church in European countries. The proposal was rejected out of hand by both sides. From the Church point of view, it appeared that a Treaty establishing its position in the State would have reduced its power. From the secular point of view, which scarcely existed beyond a strain of furtive anti-clericalism in Dublin and a couple of other places, a Concordat was seen as legitimising the existence of the Church in the state when the right thing to do with it was wipe it out, as Voltaire advocated.

Our view of Dublin anti-clericalism was determined by Pat Murphy. He regarded Dublin anti-clericalism as the most useless and most contemptible thing in Irish society.

That furtive anti-clericalism was a spill-over from Britain. British liberal circles would of course have frowned on the Irish State if it had negotiated a Concordat with Rome. And the Dublin anti-clericals didn't have the wit to see that the reason there was nothing like a Concordat in Church/State relations in Britain was that the Anglican Church was simply a department of state and for that reason always blessed what the state was doing as it established itself as the greatest Empire in the world by means of the slave trade, slave labour camps, conquest, plunder, and genocide. In that relationship there was no ground for distinction between State policy and conscience. The State was entirely the keeper of its own conscience, and therefore everything that it did was right. It recognised no spiritual or moral authority but its own will.

Seventy years elapsed between the 1760 admission by Britain that the Penal Laws had failed to scotch the Catholics/Irish and the admission of the Irish to Parliament. It was conceded that Ireland was predominantly a country of Catho-

lic and that the Protestant state structure was an imposition that had failed to strike roots that could sustain it. During these seventy years Britain established close foreign policy relations with Rome, and might easily have arranged to enfranchise its Irish subjects within the terms of a Concordat with Rome. It refused to do so, chiefly it seems because a fundamentally hygienic distaste of formal contact with Rome survived the onset of religious scepticism in the ruling class.

The Stuart dynasty had maintained the orthodox relationship between Rome and its Church in Ireland. It did so even after its overthrow in 1690. When the last recognised Stuart 'Pretender' died around 1760 the Catholics/Irish came under the protection of the Hanoverian regime. Hanoverian Britain complained of Roman influence on the Irish—which was actually very slight at that point, when the Irish priests were trained in Continental countries where Concordatist relations were taken for granted—but refused to do anything about it. It set up an Irish seminary in Maynooth in order to break the Continental influence on the Irish priesthood. But the Continental influence had been Gallican or something like it, and made ample allowance for the interest of the State, while the home-bred priests were trained without any institutional medium of constraint between themselves and Rome. Thus Britain arranged for unrestrained Papism, of a kind that had not existed previously, to flourish in 19th century Ireland. And it conferred various temporal powers in civil society on that Church in the hope of using the Papish hierarchy to curb national development.

Such was *The Rise Of Papal Power In Ireland*, as explained in this magazine forty years ago.

Pat Murphy, who was a unique combination of Dubliner and countryman, saw the Irish state as being sustained by a combination of the GAA, the Transport Union and the Church, rather than by its formal Constitution. These three elements were closely interwoven, certainly the GAA and the Church were: witness the singing of *Faith Of Our Fathers* by the massed spectators in Croke Park before All-Ireland Finals. What *Faith Of Our Fathers* meant was not something doctrinal: it meant that the English, despite "*dungeon, fire and sword*", had failed to make Calvinist sourfaces of us. It meant: *We have survived!*

Because we were persecuted as Catholics, it had to be as Catholics that

we survived. Destruction of the Church therefore involves the destruction of something more than the Church. That is a consequence of the activity of English Christianity in Ireland.

"The Church of England was (and to some extent still is) a real Church, not a potemkin construct from the 16th century. There was a massive Anglican revival in the 18th century... I'm very open to harsh analysis of the flaws of the religious settlement of England and the subsequent Anglican decline and fall but I do object to this tendency to demonise the English State as being some sort of monstrosity with a fake Church attached, a bit like the Beast with the False Prophet in the Book of Revelation."

We do not recall describing the English State as monstrous but, since the matter is raised, we cannot see why it is an unreasonable way of summing up the conduct of the English State in Ireland, especially after it devised its own form of Christianity to be the State religion. The viewpoint from which this magazine reviewed Irish history was never that of the Williamite colony of the 18th century. It was never the viewpoint of Grattan or the sliver of society that called itself the Protestant Nation. That was the Anglo-Irish viewpoint, which seems to have dominated academia, even after Independence. If the colony had succeeded, the way it succeeded would not be dwelt upon: it would be lost to history and left to eccentric antiquarians to mull over in the way that historians of the successful colonialism mull over the history of the Iroquois or the Cherokees. And we would not exist. But we do exist. And we have never taken the Williamite abortion as our vantage point, and do not see why it should not be called "*monstrous*".

We did not compare the English Church to a Potemkin village—not even in its outlying Irish form. The Potemkin villages were thrown up to show how pleasantly the peasants lived under Catherine the Great. The English Church, with its Irish adjunct, was the Church created for State purposes by the English State when it described itself as an Empire and set out to establish itself as a World Power. The point we have made repeatedly is that Anglicanism was not an autonomous religious development that was adopted by the State, but was from the start a Church created by the State, with doctrines decided by the State, Bishops appointed by the State, and without even a general

right of assembly. It could assemble only when called upon to do so by the Government. For these reasons we described it as a department of the State. We never denied that it might be a kind of Christianity that suited very large numbers of people in England. It is obvious that large numbers were content with it. It would be surprising, in a State-centred society like England, if that had not been the case.

It was necessarily obedient to the State, until very recent times when controls on it were relaxed due to the decline of religion. But it was voluntarily as well as legally obedient because its Bishops were members of the ruling class that ran the State. That is perhaps no longer the case. And yet: we have drawn attention to a confrontation of the Archbishop of Canterbury by Jeremy Paxman on BBC's *Newsnight* shortly before the invasion of Iraq. The Archbishop was being critical of the projected invasion. Paxman said: *Don't you agree that Saddam is an evil tyrant?* The Archbishop replied that all states were a mixture of Good and Evil. Paxman demanded to know if he was saying there was Evil in the British State. The Archbishop was disconcerted and backed down. We still wait for the English Church to condemn an act of war by its State.

The invasion of Iraq destroyed the stronghold of liberal secularism in the Middle East. It wasn't hard to see that that would be the probable consequence. Out of the ruin of liberal secular Iraq, Islamic State has arisen. Britain, by making war on Turkey for expansionist purposes in 1914, destroyed the Islamic State which was the framework of the orderly existence of Islam as a major culture in the world.

Stephen Richards says that the Christians persecuted by the Roman Empire were "*a bit like Christians in North Korea or some Muslim states today*".

We know little about North Korea, though perhaps not less than anybody else. The Christian West wants to destroy it, but is somehow unable to make any dent in it.

Muslim persecution of Christians seems to be not so much by States as by societies thrown into chaos by the breaking of States by the Christian Crusade. If Christianity appears as the all-powerful enemy, hell-bent on destruction, it must expect its adherents within the states it destroys to come under some pressure.

There was a safe Christian

community in Iraq, with representatives in the Government. Britain and the USA destroyed the State and incited religious war. In the medium of communal religious conflict the Christians were no longer safe.

The Christians in Iraq did not invite the Christian invasion and the destruction of the Baath State. They seem to have been members of the developing middle class, at ease with the liberal secular culture of the State. The State was destroyed by overwhelming military force, deployed from the Christian West and called a Crusade. The Baath movement, which had drawn together Sunni, Shiah and Christian was outlawed. The fundamentalist tendencies of Islam, which had been curbed by the Baath system and were resigned to the continuation of the liberal State, were brought to the fore.

The sheer scale and noise and fanatical ideological vigour of the invasion was demoralising to the forces of order in Iraq and to the broad swathes of people who had been content to live with that order. No Western state has experienced anything like it, either in the scale of the force that was applied, or in the perversity of the object for which it was applied. If the kind of thing that we like to call mediaeval is rampant in Iraq today, it was Britain (recently defined as still Christian by its Prime Minister) and the USA (saturated with numerous variants of English Christianity) that revived it.

The Rome of Augustus did not do such things. Neither did Rome, Papal.

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. €18, £15

Ulster Presbyterianism, The Historical Perspective, 1610-1970 by *Peter Brooke*.
208pp. €18, £15

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Statistics

The number of teenagers having babies has halved in the last six years with women waiting much longer to have babies and get married.

A new Central Statistics Office report (6.11.2014) paints a detailed picture of how Irish people live, die, shop, work, rest and play.

The Statistics Handbook 2013 draws together hundreds of reports to provide a comprehensive account of modern-day life and how it compares to decades past.

It shows that the number of weddings soared by nearly 20% between 1994 and last year, when 20,680 couples tied the knot.

However, while marriage is still in fashion, almost one in three couples now choose a civil ceremony compared to one in five in 2004, while Catholic weddings have fallen from 76% of the total to 62.5% in that period. Both men and women are now waiting five years longer to wed than they did two decades ago, with the average bride now aged 32.8 and the average groom 34.9.

We're also waiting much longer to have babies, with the number of teenage mums plummeting from 2,402 in 2008 to 1,218 last year. The early 30s are now the most common time to have a baby.

Jack and Emily are well established as the most popular baby names, holding the top spots for several years. However, the baby boom is waning, with 68,930 births last year compared to 72,225 the year before.

The workforce has swollen by over 30,000 in the last year, with 1.87m people now working while the number of unemployed people fell by 23,000 to 300,700. People working in the hotel and restaurant sector earn just €316 a week, compared to over €1,000 a week for those working in computers.

Irish people made almost 6.6 million trips abroad last year, with 85% of these to other EU countries, while most domestic trips were short breaks, averaging 3.3 nights or fewer if it involved staying with friends or relatives.

Hotel accommodation and travel

accounted for over half our online purchases last year, with concert tickets a very popular purchase for teenagers and 20-somethings. Nearly half of businesses now use social media, such as Facebook, to try and reach consumers.

The report also shows that household disposable income fell by 3% between 2011 and 2012 to €776 a week, and people are much less likely to get into hock than they used to be, ditching over 300,000 credit cards in the last five years and spending much more cautiously, the report shows.

There were 83 homicides last year, which is six less than in 2008, but the number of sexual offences soared by over 40% to over 2,000. Public order and weapons offences have plummeted in the last five years, while burglaries fell back from over 28,000 in 2012 to 26,000 last year.

Farm animals far outnumber people in Ireland, with 6.9 million cattle, 5.1 million sheep and 1.6 million pigs.

But Irish farmers are no longer sowing oats or potatoes at anything like the levels of yesteryear—just 11,000 hectares of potatoes were grown here last year, compared to 279,000 in 1853, while there were 27,000 hectares of oats grown, down from 639,000 in 1853.

Vatican Embassy

"The newly re-opened Irish Embassy in the Vatican cost the State just under €15,000 to operate last year, the Department of Foreign Affairs has said" (*Irish Independent*-2.2.2015)

The office in the Holy See was the cheapest to run of all Irish embassies and consulates, according to figures released under the Freedom of Information Act.

More than €44m was spent on operating Ireland's diplomatic network, including 61 embassies, seven multi-lateral missions and 12 consulates.

"Through them, we maintain diplomatic relations with 176 states", the department told the *Irish Independent*.

More than €28m of the overall bill for 2014 relates to salaries, the figures

show. Almost €4.4m was spent on the operation of the London embassy, the largest single bill last year.

Over €3.2m was forked out on salaries for embassy officials, while more than €730,000 was spent on premises costs at the Westminster-based office.

The Irish embassy in Paris cost over €2.86m to run last year. More than €1.8m was spent on operating the embassy in Washington DC. The Moscow cost was €1.28m.

Among the cheapest embassies from the taxpayers' perspective were the Holy See, Bangkok, Jakarta and Zagreb—which was also reopened last year.

Deacons

"A survey of catholic opinion show a clear majority believe that the diaconate should be open to women and men" (*Irish Independent*-29.10.2014).

The survey was carried out by the lay reform group *We Are Church Ireland* (WACI).

In the poll of nearly 500 men and women, 84% said they believed women should be deacons. Just 13% were opposed and 3% were undecided.

Some 79% of respondents were aware that women deacons were common in the first 1,000 years of Christianity.

Responding to the poll findings, Brendan Butler of WACI urged the Irish bishops to call a national assembly of all the faithful to discuss the position of women in the church.

Asylum

There was a 50% increase in the number of people seeking asylum in Ireland last year when compared to 2013, new figures show.

Statistics from the Department of Justice show that 1,444 asylum applications were made in 2014, compared to 946 the previous year.

The increase reverses the trend of recent years when application numbers were decreasing year-on-year.

The top three countries of application were Pakistan, Nigeria and Albania.

The figures, which are contained in the department's annual review of immigration related activity, also show that 2,360 persons were deported or removed from the State in 2014.

2,147 of these were refused entry at ports of entry.

There were approximately 4,280 persons in direct provision centres at the end of 2014, 110 fewer than 2013, according to the department.

Internet Funerals!

"Irish people abroad who are unable to travel home to attend family funerals may now see the ceremony live on the Web through a newly launched service provided by a Clare businessman." (*Irish Times*-9.3.2014)

It is also targeted at people in Ireland who, whether in hospitals, nursing homes or for whatever reason, cannot attend a funeral.

On Funerals Live the ceremony can only be viewed by those who have received a specific password, to ensure high levels of privacy. It also offers families the option of recording the funeral service which would become available within a few hours through a secure online portal.

Online viewing of the funeral ceremony, available within two hours of its taking place, costs from €350. Live streaming of the funeral ceremony is available where there is broadband and costs from €850, while a DVD of the ceremony can cost from €50.

Irishness Certs

A GIMMICK A DAY—"Not even endorsements by Barack Obama and Tom Cruise could prevent the number of Certificates of Irishness being issued last year from plummeting" (*Irish Examiner*-2.3.2015).

According to figures released by Foreign Affairs Minister Charlie Flanagan, there were 391 Certificates of Irishness issued last year, a 66% drop on the 1,172 certs dealt out in 2013. Their peak was in 2012, when 1,317 were issued.

The scheme began in 2011 when 149 certificates were issued.

The fall in the number of certs issued is in spite of Obama receiving his document from Taoiseach Enda Kenny during his St Patrick's Day visit at the White House in March 2012. Cruise received his cert from former Tánaiste Eamon Gilmore in Dublin in April 2013.

The State has made an investment in the scheme which is administered by Kerry firm Fexco. A spokeswoman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said the certs had cost it a total of about €3,800, mostly related to technical issues.

The total number of certs sold, taking into account the 283 promotional ones, is 2,746. The unframed cert costs €45 and the framed cert costs €120.

Davos

Archbishop Diarmuid Martin has been attending Davos, Switzerland {World Economic Forum} for about 15 years. He's seen "*the mood change over that period*", he told the *Irish Independent*.

"I've seen times where there was great optimism, the world was going in the right direction, everything was growing, particularly after the fall of communism.

"There was an enthusiasm that we were on the right path. This year there is a great sense of insecurity," he said.

"I'm struck by the number of sessions here that are about leadership. Has something gone wrong with leadership?" concluded Archbishop Martin.

Osborn Bergin

Maidin i mBéarra

Is é mo chaoi gan mise maidin aerach,
Amuigh i mBéarra 'm sheasamh ar an dtráigh,
Is guth na n-éan a'm' tharraing thar na
sléibhtibh cois na farraige,
Go Céim an Aitinn mar a mbíonn mo ghrádh,

Is obann aoihbhinn aiteasach do léimfinn,
Do rithfinn saor ó ana-bhroid an tláis,
Do thabharfainn druim le sgamallaibh
an tsaol seo,
Da bhfaighinn mo léir-dhóthainn d'amharc
ar'm' mo chaoimh-shearc bhán.

Is é mo dhíth bheith ceangailte go faon-lag,
Is neart mo chléibh dá thachtadh 'nseo
sa tsráid,

An fhaid tá réim na habhann agus gaoth
ghlan na fairge,
Ag glaoch 's ag gairm ar an gcroí seo 'm lár,

Is milis bríomhar leathan-bhog an t-aer ann,
Is gile ón ngréin go fairsing ar an mbán,

'S ochón, a rí-bhean bhanamhail na
gcaobh-fholt,
Gan sinn-ne araon i measg an aitinn mar
do bhímis tráth.

Morning in Beare

It is my regret that I, of a pleasant morning/
Am not abroad in Beare standing on the
beach/ And birdsong enticing me over the
hills by the sea/ To Céim an Aitinn where
my love abides.

Quickly, happily, delightedly I would leap/ I
would run free from the heavy burden of
enfeeblement/ I would turn my back on the
dark clouds of this life/ If I could only get
my fill of looking at my fair, dear love.

It is my loss to be tied down in weakness/ In
the strength of my body smothered here in
the city-street/ While the sweep of the river
and the pure sea-breeze/ Are calling and
crying to my heart within.

The air there is sweet, lively, gently embracing/
And the brightness of the sun spreading
across the field/ And, ochone, O womanly
true woman of the branching tresses/ That
we are not both amongst the gorse as we
once used to be. (Pat Muldowney)

Cathy Winch, Alain Michel

In the last issue a review was promised of Alan Michel's *Vichy et la Shoah*. However, this has been held over to the next issue. Below is a translation of the substance of Michel's Introduction to that book, with brief initial remarks

Vichy And The Holocaust (2)

The French philosopher Simone Weil (1909-1943) said that truth is an essential need of the soul, even the most important one. She had in mind factory workers who read, and the consequent absolute obligation of those who write to write the truth.

The need for truth is a well-repressed need today but it seems to be what animated Alain Michel when he wrote his book *Vichy et la Shoah* ('Vichy and the Holocaust'). A member of the organisation of the Jewish Scouts of France, he was brought up with tales of the heroic conduct of the Jewish Scouts during the Second World War. Later on, writing a thesis on the organisation, he found that, before it was a heroic group rescuing Jews in danger, it was a youth group supported and financed by the Pétain regime. This opened his eyes to the ambiguous nature of the Vichy Government, and he went on to write a general book about Vichy.

The pursuit of inconvenient truth often leads to persecution, and it did in the case of Alain Michel, who found that his book was ignored and made unavailable in France and he personally, to his shocked surprise, ejected from all posts he held in France, posts all connected with mainstream work on the Holocaust. The translation which follows was made from a copy of *Vichy et la Shoah* obtained by post from the Israeli publisher, the only source available.

In his introduction Michel makes interesting comments on the writing of history, and the challenges faced by those who, refusing the prevailing ideology, set themselves up against the established version of events. He had vastly underestimated the savage reaction that would greet his work, thinking perhaps that, being Jewish, a rabbi and a researcher at the Center for Holocaust studies at the Yad Vashem institute at Jerusalem, he would be above suspicion in France. He was not.

I have summarised two paragraphs, otherwise the translation is complete. I have added the notes immediately after the text concerned, except in a couple of

cases. The original English has been used for the quotations from Hilberg and Paxton.

CW

Introduction to Vichy And The Holocaust

"Vichy was the chief factor accounting for the relatively more lenient fate of the French Jews. {...} In the matter of the 'final solution', Vichy's position was essentially determined by Pierre Laval. His policy seems to have been to get rid of the foreign Jews, but to protect French Jews in the two zones as much as possible."

Léon Poliakov, *Bréviaire de la Haine, le IIIème Reich et les Juifs* Calmann-Lévy, 1951 (Harvest of Hate, the IIIrd Reich & the Jews).

"In its reactions to German pressures (1), the Vichy government tried to confine the destruction process to certain limits. {...} When German pressure was intensified in 1942, the Vichy government fell back upon a second line of defence. The foreign Jews and immigrants were abandoned, and an effort was made to protect the native Jews. To some extent, that strategy met with success. By giving up a part, most of the whole was saved (2)."

Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, Gallimard, 2006

Notes:

1. Raul Hilberg refers here essentially to deportations which affected France from spring 1942, rather than to the anti-Semitic policy which preceded them.

(2) The 1961 version said: 'To no small extent that Vichy strategy met with success. By giving up a part, most of the whole was saved.'

The central question in this present book concerns the links between the Vichy regime and the implementation of the final Solution in France. A banal and worn out question, you might say. It is true that the bibliography of the Holocaust in France is very extensive, and especially for the past thirty years, the number of books, articles, conferences, exhibitions and audio-visual documents devoted to this question has

been vertiginous, and growing exponentially every year. Very good general overviews have been written, and we will review a number of them. So, what is the point of yet another book? What are we putting forward that might be new? Let us look for a moment at the above quotation from the great Holocaust historian, Raul Hilberg: it contains, more or less, a summary of my book. We intend to show how Vichy voluntarily handed foreign Jews over to the Nazis and at the same time succeeded in protecting the major part of French Jews of 'before 1920'. (3). But it is clear that this notion, that Vichy played an ambiguous role in the final Solution, both executioner and saviour—put forward firmly by Hilberg at the beginning of the sixties (and ten years earlier by Poliakov) and which he has maintained ever since—is generally totally unsuspected by the French public, specialists included.

For the past thirty years the history of the Holocaust in France has been dominated by an interpretation which has gained a monopoly both in history writing and in the media. Vichy did, it is true, collaborate very closely with the Nazis in the deportation of seventy-six thousands Jews of France, victims of the Holocaust. Since everything that touches this period of the Occupation is generally painted in black and white, with the 'goodies' on one side and the 'baddies' on the other side, the 'correct' consensual way of speaking, whether in historical or political terms, must not disturb this simplistic vision of history: Vichy is responsible for the death of the eighty thousand victims of the final Solution in France, and was nothing but a negative factor for the Jews who were present in that country between 1940 and 1944. This is the 'official' historical discourse that we are all familiar with.

Historians have to face a paradox: if Vichy was such a negative influence, how did it come about that 75% of Jews were saved? We will see that several answers have been put forward, the better-known being by Serge Klarsfeld, echoed by the president Jacques Chirac in his July 1995 speech:

"Vichy contributed efficiently to the loss of a quarter of the Jews of France. The French contributed powerfully to the salvation of three quarters of the Jews of France. "

This assertion is a comfortable one for the national memory, but does it correspond to historical truth?

In this book, we propose that the reader stop considering the history of

the Holocaust in France as a theoretical discourse that actual events must be made to fit, and instead take as a starting point a certain number of facts which, in our opinion, are not sufficiently known:

- a) Many historians perceive the events of that period as a block, forgetting that chronological nuances forbid fitting what happened later into the narrative of earlier events.
- b) The victims are also considered as a block; but should we not first of all try to understand Vichy's stance on the Jews, and examine the distinctions which that Government made among the Jewish population, distinctions which had their roots in the anti-Semitism of the thirties?
- c) Consequently, is it not the case that we are looking at not one but several Vichy anti-Semitic policies, depending on the chronology and on the population concerned, leading to different policies of collaboration with the Nazis?
- d) Finally, instead of contenting ourselves with peremptory assertions, shouldn't we instead gather fuller statistical data bases regarding what actually happened, bases which would confirm or disprove our interpretations of these tragic events?

It is not out of nostalgia for the Pétain regime that I want to raise these questions and I am well aware that my answers will not please everyone. As a French Jew settled in Israel, a historian and a rabbi, I do not have to prove my good faith to those who are suspicious of a narrative which disturbs their accepted ideas. But this book is both part of the long term and a response to a strongly felt need of these past few years, and it seems to me important to describe to the reader my personal journey, which may go some way to explain how I came to interpret the history of the Holocaust in France in a way different from the usual.

A historian is first of all a man. May the reader therefore allow me to delve into some elements of my biography. I was born into an old Jewish family from Alsace-Lorraine, which traces its roots to the beginning of the XVIIIth century. My interest in history was stimulated early, both by my father and by some of my teachers, first at school then at the *lycée*. From a very young age I was passionately interested in the history of my family, thanks to the stories I heard from my parents, grandparents and other close family members. It so happens that all the anecdotes I stored in my

memory regarding the period of the Occupation, particularly on my father's side of the family, belonged more to tales of the type of *Au bon beurre* or *La Septième compagnie au clair de lune* {(4) (5) two mainstream comedies. CW} rather than of *l'Etoile jaune à l'heure de Vichy* or *La Rafle* {(6)(7) two works about the Holocaust CW.}. In a word, the Occupation, as experienced by my close family, refugees in the Southwest, had little in common with a time of racial persecution. I did know about the Holocaust, and the plaque at the entrance of the Nancy synagogue {Michel lived in the Lorraine town of Nancy CW} was there to remind me that many were those who had been victims of deportations. But, in spite of everything, the subject remained for me something external, it was not a story that we were really part of.

When I married and became also part of my wife's family, I discovered a very different story. Stateless Jews, who came from Poland by way of Germany, they had borne the full brunt of the final Solution. Three direct members of the family were deported to Auschwitz; my father-in-law was the only survivor. The presence of the Holocaust was immediately palpable and my wife had been made aware of it very early. In a certain way, we as a couple bore witness to two experiences of this period, to two radically different situations.

At the start of the eighties, I had to decide on a topic for my Masters dissertation. I chose to work on the history of the Jewish Scouts of France during the War. I had easy access to the archives of the movement in which I had grown up and this of course encouraged me in my choice. But also, a youth movement which had behaved heroically in wartime seemed to me to deserve a serious scientific study. In common with all Jewish scouts of my generation in France, I had grown up hearing tales of children rescued and of the struggles of the *maquis*. The title I put forward was therefore 'The EIF in the Resistance' {EIF: *Eclaireurs Israelites de France*, Jewish Scouts of France CW.}. When I handed in my finished dissertation in 1982, the title had become 'The EIF in the Second World War'. This change had come about because of my most interesting discovery: before becoming a heroic movement in 1943-44, the EIF had previously been part of {Pétain's} 'National Revolution'; officially recognised, they had received subsidies from a Government which, in parallel, was

developing an anti-Semitic policy. Clearly, this Occupation period was more complex than people said it was, and it needed to be examined with more distance and less naïve enthusiasm, hence, in particular, the choice of a neutral title. When I defended my dissertation during a public examination, professor Antoine Prost pointed out an interesting fact: by showing the way the rescues organised by the EIF were made easier thanks to the attitude of the local authorities, my work contributed to underlining the limitations of Marrus and Paxton's book published a year previously under the title *Vichy et les Juifs*. What was happening on the ground between 1940 and 1944 was at times very different from what Government policy advocated.

{Michel had an interview with Chambrun, the son-in-law of Pierre Laval (10).(11):}

I came out {of the interview} not convinced by Chambrun's arguments, but with two ideas which seemed to merit reflection. The first was that Laval was not anti-Semitic, or at least much less than Pétain, and that therefore one should analyse his actions, not as the consequences of a racial ideology, but as political decisions governed by an internal logic. The second had to do with the arguments for the defence of Laval at the time of his trial, arguments adopted by his son-in-law. Laval had not denied his decision to collaborate with the Nazis in the deportation of the Jews. But he claimed he had handed over foreign Jews in order to protect French Jews.

Without going into the moral implications of such arguments (we will discuss this question later), what struck me was the similarity between this assertion and what Raul Hilberg wrote in his book '*The destruction of the Jews of Europe*' which had at last been translated into French a few months previously, and whose main message is quoted at the beginning of this introduction. Laval's assertion contradicted the judgment of Marrus and Paxton, and of Serge Klarsfeld, on the anti-Semitism of Vichy, a judgment which had become (and continues to be) the official line of the historiography of the Holocaust in France.

{Michel explains why it took him twenty years to start writing this book; he worked on other things, in particular at the Yad Vashem institute in Jerusalem.(12).}

Several factors encouraged me to take up again my investigation and to attempt another way of approaching the question of 'Vichy and the Holocaust'.

The first factor concerns the way

French politicians and media, as well as some historians, present the Holocaust today in France. The Serge Klarsfeld hypothesis, mentioned above, echoed by Jacques Chirac, has led to the development of a mythic cult of the Righteous among the Nations of France, culminating in their symbolic entry into the Pantheon in January 2007. Jacques Chirac has accomplished a veritable exploit, at the start of his first mandate when he recognised the responsibility of the State, and therefore that of France, in the final Solution, and then, at the end of his second mandate, when he wiped clean the sins of the nation by extending the notion of the Righteous to the near totality of the population of France at the time of the Occupation. (13) This absurdity has led to a completely false view of the attitude of the non-Jewish population during the War. The height of this was a series of docu-fictions on *Antenne 2* television in 2008 (14), which gave the impression that the Resistance had mobilised itself to save Jews, whereas not one resistance organisation had organised even one action to save them. (15)

In the same way, in the already mentioned film *La Rafle* {the Round up}, a very successful French film in 2010 (16), a certain number of historical distortions seem to have been included, which all tend to reduce or remove the responsibility of the general population. (17) Here is an example: part of the film takes place in the internment camp of Beaune-la-Rolande in the Loiret *département*, in carefully reconstituted décor, apart from one 'detail': the camp is situated in a dense forest, and no average Frenchman can see through what constitutes a veritable jungle. If you compare with photographs taken at the time, however, you see that the camp was in reality situated in the centre of the little town of Beaune-la-Rolande, and visible to all! The journalist Eric Conan revealed to the general public at the end of the eighties in *l'Express* the existence of this camp (18); at that time, under Mitterrand, France was still in a mood of contrition regarding the fate of the Jews during the Occupation. The indifference shown by the population of Beaune-la-Rolande and of Pithiviers, site of the other Loiret camp, was central to the revelations and debates. In 2010, post Chirac, have we turned our backs on the truth?

One of the main objectives of this book is therefore to offer the public the possibility of understanding what really happened, and of realising that history did not happen only in black and white,

with the bad Vichy collaborators on the one side and the whole of the good people as 'saviours' on the other. It is not that the notion of Righteous Among the Nations (19) is not an important one, but it is the rarity of the Righteous, in a world of indifference, which makes them valuable. Concerning the Vichy regime, I am not advocating a rehabilitation of Pétain and his accomplices, but a re-examination.

The second factor which influenced me was the way history writing seems to have become fixed in France, as far as the Holocaust is concerned. A mass or research is being undertaken, including some very interesting work, as we will see. But the near totality of historians write within the fixed framework defined at the start of the eighties by American historians Marrus and Paxton in *Vichy and the Jews*, amended and completed by Serge Klarsfeld in his two volume *Vichy-Auschwitz*, of 1983 and 1985 (20). It is as if the conclusions reached in the eighties, or at least the conclusions regarding the implication of the Vichy regime, were set in stone. During a Franco-Israeli Conference in 2007 at the university of Tel Aviv, one of the participants, seemingly overtaken by an uncontrollable fit of enthusiasm, exclaimed that on the topic of Vichy and the Jews 'there is nothing new to discover'. As if history produced doctrines which become unalterable after a certain point. Actually what makes history a living thing, is its evolution, which manifests itself with a greater distance from events, the discovery of unknown archives, new interpretations etc. This must be the case in all branches of this discipline. Why should the history of the Holocaust not be subject to this rule?

Let me underline a point which needs to be made explicit, however obvious it might be. The contribution of the three authors mentioned above, Michaël Marrus, Robert Paxton and Serge Klarsfeld, is essential to our understanding of this period of history. The documents and archives they have uncovered, the interpretations they have put forward, the openings they have made possible are extremely precious to the historian community. But all three belong to what Claire Andrieux, following Michaël Marrus himself, calls the second generation of historians who "accuse the previous generation of excessive indulgence toward Vichy".(21) The framework of analysis these historians use is clear.

For them the Vichy period can only be negative, and everything must contribute to showing that nothing good, particularly concerning the Jews, could ever have come out of it. The results of historical investigation are already contained in the ideological conception which underpins the research. As Emmanuel de Chambost wrote (22):

'Let us come to the dogma: Vichy is a damnable entity which must be held entirely culpable. These are the conditions of absolute culpability:

1. Vichy must be fully responsible.
2. Vichy must be consistently guilty.
3. Vichy must never be beneficial.
4. All its leaders must be collectively responsible and equally guilty."

As regards this uncompromising approach, Claire Andrieux mentions in her article the very different point of view of Raul Hilberg concerning the role of Vichy in the Final Solution, adding "The debate, although muted, was therefore not closed." But we have to say that this debate is so muted that it is, in effect, practically non-existent. The third, even the fourth, generation of historians in France, who constantly quote Hilberg, particularly using the stages framework which he set up (23), almost never mention his analysis of the French case. Yet these radically opposed points of view of the great historian of the Holocaust and of the main historians of the Holocaust in France should have provoked questions, some curiosity. But nothing happened, as if there were topics it was best not to talk about.

This phenomenon can be explained in several ways. The first is to do with the very importance of the works of the three great historians. Once recognised and eulogised by his colleagues and the media, a historian, especially at the beginning of his career, cannot easily start questioning what has become a real official doctrine.

The second explanation is ideological. Many historians construct their research under the influence of their own political and social roots. From this point of view it can be said that history is never entirely objective. The question is to what extent the historian attempts to distance himself from his own ideological preconceptions, or lets himself be guided by them. Paxton himself recognised the existence of this problem in the new edition of *Vichy France* (24):

"Rereading some of my judgments today, I concede that they seem totalizing and unforgiving. They were colored, it must admitted, by my

loathing for the war then being carried on in Vietnam by my own country. I still think it is legitimate to argue that Vichy was integrally stained by a kind of original sin, by having made a fateful choice in June 1940.”

Klarsfeld, for his part, speaking to a conference in the Creuse (25), explained that, after a career as a lawyer, he went back to history so that it could never be said that Vichy had saved Jews. We can understand the honourable motivations of a man whose father was deported. But we must also understand that Serge Klarsfeld is preventing himself from envisaging all possible hypotheses in his reading of historical events.

This brings us to the following point: the confusion between memory and history. (26) Memory is an essential thing, for the identity of a group, a people or a country, but also as an act of fidelity to those who disappeared (what some call the duty of remembrance). But memory is a reconstruction which fulfils subjective needs, and which does not aim to recreate the past as it was (which is what the historians aim to do), but aims to put forward a reading of the past such as it is desired that it should be preserved and transmitted. It seems to us that people have great difficulty, particularly in France, in making a clear distinction between the Holocaust and the Vichy regime; these two topics should not be confused if you want to avoid manipulations of all types and origins. As the historian Henry Rousso has written (27):

“Studying the Second World War was, in this sense, almost as difficult in the nineties as it was twenty years previously, but for different reasons: before people were reticent to engage with the period, whereas today on the contrary there are pressures to commit oneself to public action, in every sense of the term, and to write a history dedicated to the ‘duty of remembrance’, pressure that had to be resisted at all costs.”

It is doubtful, especially on the question of the final Solution in France, if everyone was able to resist that pressure.

An additional difficulty comes from the fact that Hilberg’s opinion is generally either not known, or else disregarded, and consequently the argument that foreign Jews were handed over in exchange for the protection of French Jews is often regarded as highly suspect: the only ones to put forward this hypothesis are the men of Vichy, during the purge trials, or later the defenders of the

memory of collaborators, or yet those who were nostalgic for the National Revolution. It is typical that Professor André Kaspi, one of the rare people to have broached the question (28), introduced his article ‘*Did Vichy save Jews?*’ not with Hilberg’s historiographical thesis, but with a quotation from Pétain’s lawyer Jacques Isorni, in his address to the tribunal at the 1945 trial. The answer to the title question is therefore implicitly given right at the start of the article. If the positive reply is also Vichy’s line of defence, the reader already knows that the true reply can only be in the negative, even if Kaspi protests he does not want to be Manichean in his analysis. His analysis is summed up in the last lines of his text:

“The conclusion holds in two sentences. The Vichy government did not feel called upon and was not much tempted to save the Jews of France. If it had played the Germans’ game even more, its action would have been more harmful. All things considered, what it did is both a lot and not very much.”

The last difficulty which is felt by anyone trying to look differently at what is *a priori* evident to everyone else, is that historians make mistakes in their work. Not only because new archives are opened, putting into question certain aspects of previous research, but also because the historian, obviously, is only human, and therefore fallible. Sometimes the mistake they make is giving too much weight to a particular personal account or to a particular document. I made that mistake myself in my first book, where I stated as a fact what was an interpretation of the Chief Rabbi Isaïe Schwartz’s situation, which I had from a trustworthy source. (29) The much missed Renée Neher, a historian and a friend, brought it to my attention, but it was too late, the book had been printed. Other errors are committed because the historian can’t check everything, and he relies on work done by his colleagues, supposing them accurate and problem free. That is how errors are reproduced from book to book, until someone takes the trouble to check. But the quantity of sources, especially in contemporary history, is often so vast that there is a great temptation to gain time by repeating what has already been said, without taking the time to carry out checks oneself. And then of course there is the whole question of interpretation, which can lead, even with the greatest of historians, to errors in the reading of facts, or in their sequencing, or even to

complete misunderstandings.

The historian who goes against the flow of established opinion must also be critical of those whose word has become sacred in the eyes of the public. The recent discovery by Serge Klarsfeld of an early draft of the Statute of the Jews of October 1940 (30) is an illustration of this. The document was undoubtedly interesting, but the interpretation given by Klarsfeld, because of his pre-conceived ideas about Vichy, was very problematic, as the historian Tal Bruttman pointed out the same week in *Le Nouvel Observateur*. (31)

As you can see, attempting to reinterpret the role of Vichy in the final Solution is no walk in the park. If I have finally decided to throw myself into this enterprise, it is not as a Don Quixote. I did it, encouraged by colleagues, after testing my ideas on a great many students and participants during conferences held under various auspices and in three languages; if through my book the debate and ideas concerning historiography of the Holocaust in France can make some progress, and new horizons be opened, I will have contributed to the building of a better knowledge of this difficult period. I am aware that what I put forward in the following pages is neither perfect nor complete. It consists in a series of propositions and ideas which others, I hope, will take up and refine, modify and, in some cases, refute. This is how the writing of history progresses and develops.

Before I start I must also make an apology. This book is principally about the average situation of the greatest number. Our focus is understanding the elements which permit us to explain the survival of three quarters of the Jews who were in France, and what part Vichy played in this. Many people have an individual history which does not fall within this law of average of general history. Their experience, or that of their parents, is far removed from the some of the descriptions and explanations this book sets out. I can understand the frustrations they might feel. The greatest number of ancestral French Jews who were victims of the Holocaust fell victims only in the last year, even the last months, of the Occupation. Those who had an ancestral French Jewish parent deported with the first convoy of March 1942 have a personal family history very different from the average. This does not mean that my assertions are false or their story is inaccurate. This shows simply that this generalist book does not dispense with the reader’s need

to complete his global knowledge with accounts of individual cases, which, even when they are specific, singular, different from the ordinary trajectories, constitute nevertheless the complementary element indispensable to all theoretical history narratives.

NOTES

Note 3: We will explain later this important qualification.

4. Jean Dutour *Au bon Beurre* Gallimard 1951

5. A comedy by Robert Lamoureux, 1977

6. Georges Weller, *The Yellow Star in Vichy* Times Fayard, 1973

7. Drama by Roselyne Bosch 2010 (film)

8. EIF Editions 1984

9. Calmann-Levy, 1981

[10. Maurice Moch and Alain Michel, *The Star and the Francisque, some Jewish Organisations under Vichy*, Le Cerf, 1990.

11. We will comment later on these works.]

12. PhD examined in 1993 but published in 2003: *Scouts, Jewish and French*, Elkana Editions, 2003

13. Read on this topic the excellent book by Sarah Gensburger *Les Justes de France, Politiques Publiques de la Mémoire*, 2010 (The Righteous among the nations of France, Public Policies of Remembrance).]

14. *The Resistance*, films broadcast on Antenne 2 on 18 and 19 February 2008, produced by Emmanuel Giraud and Christophe Nick.

15: This does not mean, of course, that individuals within the Resistance did not act to save Jews.

16. Nearly three million spectators in a few weeks.

17. Serge Klarsfeld being the historical adviser for the film, one wonders if these distortions were included to support his thesis.

18. *Without Forgetting the Children—The Camps of Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande (19 July-16 September 1942)* Grasset Publishers, Paris 1991, Livre de Poche 2006.

19. A reminder: this title, a recognition rewarding non-Jews who saved Jews, was created by the Israeli law founding Yad Vashem in 1953. From the start of the nineteen-sixties, a search was made to find and reward such persons. In 2010, more than twenty-two thousand saviours had been recognised throughout Europe. See also Sarah Gensburger's book, *op.cit.*

20. Fayard Publishers.

21. Claire Andrieux, 'Writing the History of Anti-Semitic Spoliations, France, 1940-1944' *Histoire@Politique. Politique, culture, société* No9, September-December 2009. www.histoire-politique.fr Michael Marrus, 'Vichy and the Jews: fifteen years later' in Sarah Fishman, Laura Lee Downs, Ioannis Sinanoglou, Leonard Smith (dir.), *La France sous Vichy, Around Robert O. Paxton*, 2000, Bruxelles, Complexe, 2004 for the French edition, p.49-62.

22. See the site www.edechambost.ifrance.com-Paxton-Aron_intro, a very interesting and serious site run by an 'amateur' historian.

23. Hilberg, who comes from a Political Science background, considers that you can summarise the process of extermination in a succession of four stages: definition, expro-

priation, concentration and destruction. This framework is a useful analytical tool, however history is more complex, and many examples throughout Europe show the limitations of this model.

24. New edition, 1997, p.31. My thanks to Emmanuel de Chambost who drew my attention to this point.

25. See under the direction of René Castille, *The Saving of French Jewish Children*, Contribution to the Conference of Guéret, 29 and 30 May 1996, A.R.S.V.H. 1997.

26 For an in depth reflection on these questions, see Paul Ricoeur's book, *Memory, History, Forgetting* Seuil Publishers, 2000. For a reflection on the subject of Vichy, see Henry Rousso in his introduction to *Vichy*,

Events, Memory, History, Folio Histoire No 102, 2001.

27 *Op.Cit.* p.33.

28. 'Did Vichy save Jews?' *L'Histoire* No 148, p.46, included in *Les collections de l'histoire* No 3, p.56, October 1998.

29. *Les Eclaireurs Israelites de France pendant la Seconde Guerre Mondiale*, p.98.

30. *Le Monde* 3.10.2010.

31. p. 50

Vichy et la Shoah

Enquête sur le paradoxe français

Alain Michel

Editions Elkana, Jerusalem, 2014

{*Vichy and the Holocaust—An Investigation of the French Paradox*}

Pat Maloney

"Many Australians are prepared, apparently, to place Australia below the Empire in their affections.

"These Imperialists, in the abundance of their alleged loyalty to the Empire, are ready to sacrifice Australia politically and economically.

"The sun never sets on the Empire, with its many-coloured races. But we, a handful of whites in a huge continent, insist on a White Australia policy.

"Our coloured fellow-citizens of the Empire ask for entry. But no, not even for the Empire's sake do we lift the embargo," thundered Mannix back in 1917." (Archbishop Daniel Mannix, *The Sun*, Melbourne, 5.1.1985)

Archbishop Mannix and Conscription

Australian voters were asked on 28th October 28,1916, and again on 20th December 1917, to vote on the issue of conscription. Universal military training for Australian men aged 18 to 60 had been compulsory since 1911. The referendums, if carried, would have extended this requirement to service overseas.

The 1916 referendum

Australian troops fighting overseas in World War I enlisted voluntarily. As the enormity of Australian casualties on the Western Front became known in Australia and no quick end to the War seemed likely, the number of men volunteering fell steadily. There was sustained British pressure on the Australian Government to ensure that its Divisions were not depleted : in 1916 it was argued that Australia needed to provide reinforcements of 5,500 men per month to maintain its forces overseas at operational level. With advertising campaigns not achieving recruiting targets, Prime Minister William Hughes decided to ask the people in a referendum if they would agree to a proposal requiring men undergoing compulsory training to serve overseas. The referendum of 28th October, 1916 asked Australians:

"Are you in favour of the Government having, in this grave emergency, the same compulsory powers over

citizens in regard to requiring their military service, for the term of this War, outside the Commonwealth, as it now has in regard to military service within the Commonwealth?"

The 1916 referendum was defeated with 1,160,033 against and 1,087,557 in favour.

The 1917 referendum

In 1917, Britain sought a sixth Australian division for active service. Australia had to provide 7,000 men per month to meet this request. Volunteer recruitment continued to lag and on 20th December 1917, Prime Minister William Hughes put a second referendum to the Australian people. This referendum asked:

"Are you in favour of the proposal of the Commonwealth Government for reinforcing the Commonwealth Forces overseas?"

Hughes' proposal was that voluntary enlistment should continue, but that any shortfall would be met by compulsory reinforcements of single men, widowers, and divorcees without dependents between 20 and 44 years, who would be called up by ballot. The 1917 referendum was defeated with 1,181,747 against and 1,015,159 in favour.

The conscription referenda were divisive politically, socially and within

religious circles. Newspapers and magazines of the time demonstrate the concerns, arguments, and the passion of Australians in debating the issue. The decisive defeat of the 1917 second referendum closed the issue of conscription for the remainder of the war.

Mannix and Conscription

Below is an address Dr. Mannix made in the Melbourne suburb of Clifton Hill on 16th September 1916, three days before he launched the fund for the relief of the families who had been casualties of the Dublin Easter Rising of April 24, 1916:

“I am as anxious as anyone can be for a successful issue and for an honourable peace. I hope and believe that that peace can be secured without conscription in Australia. For conscription is a hateful thing, and it is almost certain to bring evil in its train. The present war could not have assumed such disastrous proportions, it could never have been stained with such horrors, if conscription has not prevailed in Europe” (*Daniel Mannix: A Biography*, B. A. Santamaria, Melbourne University Press, 1984).

“We can only give both sides a patient hearing, and then vote according to our judgement. There will be difficulties among Catholics, for Catholics do not think or vote in platoons, and on most questions there is room for divergency of opinion. But for myself, it will take a good deal to convince me that conscription in Australia would not cause more evil than it would avert. I honestly believe that Australia has done her full share, and more, and she cannot reasonably be expected to bear the financial strain, and the drain upon her manhood that conscription would involve” (*ibid.*).

“If conscription were to be adopted, I should expect to find later on that many of those who are now its loudest advocates would be the first to rise up against the taxation necessary to redeem our obligations to the returned soldiers, or to the widows or orphans or dependents of the soldiers who gave their lives on the battlefield. I think I can say that I have read most of the appeals that have been made for conscription in Australia. But, in spite of these eloquent and impassioned appeals, my common-sense will not allow me to believe that the addition of 100,000 or even 200,000 conscript Australians to the fifteen millions of fighting men that the Allies have at their disposal could be a deciding factor, or even a substantial factor, in the issue of the war” (*Ibid.*).

Right of Expression

Mannix’s second—and as far as the

1916 Referendum was concerned, final—reference to the conscription question took place at Preston, six days before the vote. It was simply to say:

“I have been severely criticised for my action, though, of course, it was admittedly in a secular place, at a secular function, and in my own individual personal capacity... Non-Catholic ministers of religion, at synods, and in churches, chapels, and conventicles of all kinds, have been publicly supporting conscription, and attempting to impose a moral obligation on their people to vote for conscription. But for them there has been no word of reproof or rebuke. Perhaps, however, we must look for sincerity or consistency in the press... And, perhaps, if that function of moulding public opinion were not left so much in the hands of our daily press, the public opinion of the country might be more wholesome, wise and just” (22.10.1916).

The first Australian Conscription Referendum which took place on 28th October 1916 resulted in a “No” vote of 1,160,033 defeating a “Yes” vote of 1,087,557.

Despite the campaign of vilification, it could not be said that Mannix played a significant part in relation to the first referendum. His influence on the result was inconsequential. Victoria, [the State where he resided] in which his influence should have been the greatest, carried the “Yes” vote. Tasmania, which might have been considered most likely to follow suit, voted “Yes”. In New South Wales, where Archbishop Kelly favoured conscription, it was overwhelmingly rejected. This was also the result in South Australia where, despite Archbishop Spence’s declarations, the “No” vote was carried. Western Australia alone of the states voted as its Catholic Archbishop would have wished. Mannix may have riled Labour Prime Minister Hughes but did not sway the electorate.

L.F. Fitzhardinge has no reservations in describing “*the greatest single cause of defeat*” of conscription as “*the patient and pervasive organisation of the unions, with their ready-made network of branches and their tradition of solidarity*” (L.F. Fitzhardinge, *The Little Digger 1914-1952 : William Morris Hughes, A Political Biography*, Vol. II., p.218).

December 20, 1917 Second Referendum

The Second Referendum on Conscription took place on 20th December 1917: by this time there had been substantial increases in the cost-of-living index. The issue of whether

the War should be financed by loans or taxes had become critical. Mannix said:

“They talk loudly enough about the ‘last shilling’, but when it comes to raising the taxes, these people and their press are ready enough to pass on the burden to others and to talk about spoliation. Now we know these gentlemen well. When it comes to providing for soldiers, many of whom had returned home maimed and broken, these gentlemen, who talk so loudly do not show much anxiety to pay their last, or second last shilling.”

On 3rd September 1917, Archbishop Mannix had repeated the economic argument to which he had already adverted to on several occasions:

“Australia had a population of only 5,000,000 and we had a debt of £500,000,000. We had to find from £20,000,000 to £25,000,000 every year in order to pay the interest on the huge debt. He regretted to say that most of the interest went to London. It was said we should be very grateful to the people who lent the money. Where did the gratitude come in? Every penny of the principal had to be paid back, and interest had to be paid on the nail” (*The Argus*, Melbourne daily, 3.9.1917).

On 12th November 1917, he added:

“Wealthy people invested in war loans, and were free from taxation in respect of the amounts subscribed. Interest on the money invested had to be found and it would come mainly from poor people who had nothing to invest in the loans.”

“A lot was said about equality of sacrifice”, the Archbishop had declared on the previous day, adding—

“It looked a plausible thing, but there was nothing plausible about it when it was examined. Even if persons gave all their wealth to the prosecution of the war, they would not be doing as much as the men who risked their lives in the trenches... the burden in the long run would fall on the poor...” (*The Argus*, Melbourne daily, 12.11.1917).

Prime Minister v Archbishop

In an effort to win the support of Australian troops in World War I prior to the 1917 December Referendum, an extraordinary Manifesto, was sent out over the signature of Prime Minister Hughes to all soldiers serving abroad:

“Archbishop Mannix, who has assumed the position of leader of the Government’s opponents in this fight, has preached sedition in and out of season. You who are near the vortex of world affairs know what Sinn Fein

means. You know its disloyalty, its insatiable hatred of Britain. Yet Dr. Mannix declared: 'You in Australia are Sinn Feiners, and more luck to you'.

"The Sinn Fein, which has gotten German gold to do Germany's dirty work, declared that every man who wears khaki is a traitor. Dr. Mannix, owing to his episcopal position, holds a commission in his Majesty's forces as Chaplain-General, but in his anxiety to escape the stigmas which this commission would place upon him in the eyes of the Sinn Feiners, he declared recently that people will not worry themselves about his disgrace and obloquy, as he had not a uniform to wear.

"It is Dr. Mannix who, now that Britain has set her back to the wall, and is fighting for her existence against the enemies of liberty and democracy, declares that Ireland would seize her opportunity and strike for independence. His disloyal utterances have moved prominent Catholics in Australia to public protest. Mr. Justice Heydon, whom you all know by repute, declares that Dr. Mannix has proved himself to be, 'not only disloyal as a man, but untrue to the teaching of a Church of which he should be the guardian'.

"Mr. Justice Duffy, of the High Court, and Sir Thomas Hughes, both prominent Catholics, have followed Justice Heydon in his defence of the loyalty of Catholics generally. They protest against the Archbishop endeavouring to 'lead his flock along the path of sedition'.

"Behind Dr. Mannix are arrayed the Independent Workers of the World and the reckless extremists responsible for the recent strike, the pacifists, and the pro-Germans. It is this type of men who are urging you to vote NO on this referendum. Think what they stand for.

"The passionate loyalty which led you to risk your lives so willingly can have nothing in common with this hatred of the Empire. Behind the NO campaign are all the Sinn Fein, I.W.W., and anti-British influences in our midst. What they urge you to do is what Germany would wish you to do. Refuse to play Germany's game. Vote YES.

W. M. HUGHES [Prime Minister of Australia]

Despite these inflammatory sentiments, ninety thousand soldiers serving in the Australian forces abroad voted NO. The final result in the Second Referendum on 20th December 1917 was:

No: 1,181,747

Yes: 1,015,159

The 'NO' majority of 72,500 in the first referendum was thus increased to 166,500 in the second 1917 referendum.

"The fury of his opponents was equally marked. In a letter to Herbert Brookes, perhaps his most able opponent, Worsley—one of Brookes's supporters—called Mannix 'the Rasputin of Australia', who would 'eventually bring about a state of political and administrative paralysis in the Commonwealth more or less comparable to that obtaining in Russia before the Revolution' (*Santamaria, Ibid*).

Ironically, years later, in the process of taking on the influence of the Communist Party of Australia in the Trade Unions and the Labour Party, Mannix earned the ire and contempt of the Left. At the time the Communist Party of Australia had the highest membership per head of population of any of the countries in the English-speaking sphere. However, *sin sceal eile*, (that's another story).

The "Trade War" Episode

Dr. Mannix spoke in the Melbourne suburb of Brunswick in January, 1917:

"They had heard much about the causes of the war, and about the fight for the small nations. It was fortunate for them that they were fighting on the side of small nations. But, when all was said, and all concessions made, the war was like most wars—just an ordinary trade war. As long as they could remember, Germany was capturing more of the world's trade than other nations thought to be her due. The other nations, or some of them, had equal opportunities, but they could not, or they did not, achieve the same success. Trade jealousy on both sides had seemed for many years past to make a great war inevitable. How it came about was a matter of accident. The invasion of Belgium was the spark that lighted the fire in Great Britain. But it was useless to shut one's eyes to all that went before. (*Applause.*) Trade jealousy was long leading to a trade war, and the war came. Even now, [1917] people were arranging how the vanquished nations—when they were vanquished—were to be crippled in their future trade. They told us that the victory would be a barren victory, and all the blood shed in vain, if the enemy were to retain after the war a chance of again beating in trade the rivals whom they failed to beat in war. Whatever else may be involved, it was just a truism that the war was a trade war. But like so many truisms, it was likely to startle those who take all their views from the daily press."

All hell broke out! *The Argus* leader (31.1.1917):

"The speech delivered on Sunday

last, at the opening of a new Roman Catholic school at Brunswick, was, perhaps, the most wicked and mischievous of an extremely unpleasant series of speeches designed to outrage the loyal feelings of the great mass of the people... it would be vain to attempt to argue with one who outrages decency by his monstrous perversions as Dr. Mannix does, with apparent enjoyment of the pain he inflicts."

Well! Well! The *Argus* must have forgotten the words of Prime Minister Hughes at a rally in the Melbourne City Hall a short time previous:

"While the guns still roared on all fronts, and while millions of men wrestled together in a life and death struggle, the industrial and commercial world were preparing for a more potent and fiercer conflict. **Only the premature interruption of war saved the Empire from commercial disaster.**" (*Archbishop Mannix : Champion of Australian Democracy*, Cyril Bryan, Melbourne 1918)

MANNIX, Daniel was born in Charleville, Co. Cork in 1864. Died in Melbourne in 1963. From 1903 to 1912, he was President of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, Co. Kildare. He arrived in Melbourne on Easter Sunday, 1913, becoming Archbishop in 1917. Banned by the British from landing in Ireland in 1920, he eventually visited Ireland in 1925 when he was snubbed by the Free State Government and the majority of Bishops. He never returned.

A promoter of *Catholic Action* (i.e., lay apostolic activity in the temporal society) and of the Catholic social movement. Following World War II, Mannix sought to stop Communist Party infiltration of the Australian Trade Unions; he played a controversial role in the dissensions within the Australian Labour Party and backed the largely right-wing Democratic Labour Party which broke away in 1955.

He denounced the US bombing of Hiroshima in 1945 and in 1953 cabled President Eisenhower to seek clemency for the condemned American communists Ethel and Julius Rosenberg who were executed in 1953.

HUGHES, William Morris: Born London 1862, died Sydney, Australia 1952. Prime Minister of Australia 1915-1923. Emigrated to Queensland 1884. Active in the Labour movement. Appointed Secretary of the Waterside Workers' Union 1890. Entered Federal Parliament in 1901 as a Labour MP,

succeed to the leadership and Prime Minister in 1915. Chief architect of the rejected referendum plans (1911 and 1913) to give Commonwealth Government control of economic and industrial life of Australia. When his Conscription proposals were rejected in 1916, Hughes was expelled from the party. He then helped form the Nationalist Party, whilst remaining Prime Minister.

Australian delegate to the World War I Peace Conference (1918-19), signed Treaty of Versailles; secured Australian mandate on New Guinea and avoided Japanese attempts to secure international recognition of racial equality which would have upset the White Australia policy.

DUFFY, Sir Frank Gavan Duffy (1852-1936), Chief Justice of Australia, was born on 29 February, 1852 in Dublin, first son of Charles Gavan Duffy of the Young Ireland movement, and his second wife Susan, née Hughes. He

came to Victoria with his parents in 1856. Frank was sent to England to attend Stonyhurst College, Lancashire, from 1865 to 1869. His education continued at the University of Melbourne, where he graduated B.A. in 1872. In 1874 Duffy was admitted to the Bar.

Duffy was considered a sound lawyer, but his outstanding gift was as an advocate. Duffy, by inclination a liberal but never active in politics, refused Senate nomination when it was offered to him.

His half-brother from a third marriage, George Gavan Duffy (1882-1951) became President of the Irish High Court. He was also part of the delegation, along with Michael Collins who negotiated the Anglo-Irish 'Treaty' in 1921, he was the last to sign. During the Civil War he suggested that Republican prisoners be treated as prisoners-of-war and attacked the execution of Erskine Childers while an appeal was pending in the High Court.

After the successful French campaign of spring and summer 1794, the Coalition fell apart, with Prussia, the Netherlands, and Spain signing successive separate treaties with France in the winter and spring of 1795" (*Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution* by Paul R. Hanson. Published by Rowman and Littlefield, Maryland, 2015, p.70).

Under the terms of the Peace of Westphalia the right to close the Scheldt estuary was reserved to the Netherlands. From the French point of view the Scheldt estuary was important because it offered a navigable means of access via the Scheldt river into the French interior as far as the city of Cambrai. Access by this route however would first bring any invader to the town of Valenciennes.

On 13th June 1793 the town was besieged by the Coalition armies under the command of the Duke of York and, when the town fell on 28th July 1793, it became the occasion for much celebration in Britain. News of the town's fall however, took a while to percolate back to Britain and a little longer to reach Ireland. So it was that on 9th August 1793, just less than a fortnight after the event, the news reached a small town in County Cavan in Ireland and on receipt of this news the local authorities were determined to mark the event by a public display of support.

Kingscourt is situated on the borders between Cavan and Meath. It was built according to the plans of Mervyn Pratt, a local landowner and grandee, which he began to put into effect in 1780. He encouraged the settlement by selling town plots with an adjoining garden of one rood in area on a 999 year lease. The price he charged was the pro-rata equivalent of one guinea per acre. When he died in 1798, his brother the Rev. Joseph Pratt continued the scheme and was responsible for the construction of the Kingscourt Rectory in 1816 with a gift of £100 and the supply of the land-site. This, together with a grant of £825 from the Church of Ireland through the Board of First Fruits, made the building possible.

Thus, in 1793 the town of Kingscourt was well on the way to being populated. Although the ban on Catholics buying land under a lease of more than 31 years had been repealed in 1778 the prevailing climate and religious preference of the Pratt family ensured that Protestants would be disproportionately represented. This meant that, within ten years of the plan for the town being first mooted, there was a significant Church of Ireland

Eamon Dyas

where family and social history intersect . . .

The War Against France and an Irish Presbyterian in Kingscourt, Co. Cavan

Valenciennes is a town on the Scheldt river (called the Escaut in France) in the north of France. At one point in its history it was known for its porcelain—an industry that was given impetus by the discovery of coal in the region in the second quarter of the 18th century. It was the porcelain industry that also attracted many artists to the town towards the end of the 18th century giving it the reputation as an Athens of the North.

The town achieved temporary fame in Britain during the War of the First Coalition which was fought between 1792 and 1797. In the aftermath of the French Revolution royalist *émigrés*, assisted by Austria and Prussia, schemed to prepare a counter-revolution to re-establish the monarchy. The revolutionary Government in France then declared war on Austria (20 April 1792). Having previously, in February 1792, entered into an official alliance with Austria, Prussia was also embroiled in the war with France. However, British involvement with the First Coalition only really came into existence in the Spring of 1793.

"The First Coalition coalesced behind the leadership of Great Britain in the spring of 1793. The execution of Louis XVI served as a pretext, but the French occupation of Belgium and the opening of the Scheldt estuary, in violation of the Peace of Westphalia, were more important instigating factors. Prussia and Austria, at war with France since April 1792, now joined the British, along with the Netherlands, Spain, and several of the Italian states. Although never effectively unified, the First Coalition enjoyed initial success most notably the defeat of General Charles Dumouriez at Neerwinden in March 1793 and the British occupation of Toulon under the Admiral Samuel Hood in late August. Gradually, however, the Committee of Public Safety restored discipline to the French army, and the *levee en masse* of late summer mobilized the French nation and converted the war into a form of military conflict for which the monarchies of Europe were ill-prepared. Prussian and Austrian cooperation was hindered by their conflicting interests regarding the fate of Poland, while the British were always more concerned about protecting their overseas trade and colonial empire than defeating the French on the continent.

population together with a sizable Presbyterian component in the new town.

At the time news of the victory at Valenciennes reached Kingscourt the place was in the midst of political upheaval. The year 1793 was an interesting year for the populations of Cavan and the adjoining County of Monaghan.

The Society of United Irishmen had been formed in October 1791 in Belfast and there was growing disenchantment with the Irish Parliament in Dublin, both among the Presbyterians and the Roman Catholics. Initially, the attempt by the leaders of the Society of United Irishmen to generate a united movement between Protestants and the Roman Catholics met with little response from the Catholics.

The urban context within which it emerged meant that the Society of United Irishmen did not initially fully comprehend the importance of the land issue. Land had been the central arena of contention between Roman Catholics and Protestants since the Penal Laws. The relaxation on the prohibition of Catholics owning land in 1778 caused an outbreak of anti-Catholic sectarianism among elements of the Protestant community. Organisations like the Peep O'Day became more assertive as they reacted to what they saw as the increasing encroachment of Roman Catholics into their areas. These Roman Catholic interlopers were prepared to accept a lower standard of living and therefore threatened the continued well-being of the poorer Protestant communities. In response to this the Peep O'Day Boys undertook a campaign of raiding and destroying the homes of Roman Catholics in an attempt to drive them out.

The reaction of the Catholics was to provide increasing support to the "Defenders Society". Organisations bearing the name "*Defenders*" can be traced back to 1641 and went in and out of existence at various times since then over a period of one hundred and fifty years. Their most recent manifestation was in 1782 when "Defenders Society" was formed in direct response to the Protestant pressure being exerted on rural Catholics attempting to procure land. For this reason it has been described as a sectarian body by many historians—almost on a par with the Peep-O'Day Boys:

"Historians have often in the past alleged that the Defenders Society was essentially a sectarian society, recruiting only from Roman Catholics for its membership, which often misrepresents this society. Nothing could be further from the truth, as membership of the

Defenders, was by no means solely confined to Roman Catholics. In time the Defenders directed their support towards the republican aims of the United Irishmen, and in Ulster many Presbyterians swelled the ranks of their membership. The redoubtable Jimmie Burns and James Napper Tandy, who were of the Presbyterian faith, were also members of the Defenders. The Defenders, like many Masonic lodges, in the counties of Monaghan and Cavan, were later to be absorbed into the United Irishmen, through the efforts of a number of influential linen merchants in southeast Ulster" (*Dissension, Radicalism, and Republicanism in Monaghan and the Role of Freemasonry up to and during the 1798 Rebellion*, by Larry Conlon. Published in the Clogher Record, Vol.16, No.3, 1999, pp.94-95).

The Defenders Society began to change in character from 1792 from one primarily interested in defending local Catholics from Protestant aggression to one which increasingly viewed the wider national perspective. To a large extent this was achieved through the efforts of a number of Presbyterian United Irishmen. The Masonic organisational structure of the Defenders Society in turn proved to be an advantage to the United Irishmen:

"However, from 1792, the Defenders Society, had changed in character from that of a society engaged in religious disputes to one actuated by political motives, and this change was affected by the endeavours of the United Irishmen. For example, United Irishmen such as Jemmy Hope, Sam Neilson, Thomas McCabe and William Hamilton were given the specific task of recruiting from the Defenders. Emissaries from the United Irishmen, from Dublin to Belfast visited rural lodges of regular, and clandestine Freemasonry, in the provinces, and to manipulate the hospitality of the Masonic brethren, making good use of their shared bond of membership of both societies. And, more importantly, it gave the United Irish agents access to a ready made network of Masonic lodges, which enabled them to spread the United Irish movement rapidly throughout the province, and to encourage their Masonic brethren to support their cause for revolution. For example, the United Irishmen John and Henry Sheares were organisers of the Bailieborough, and east Cavan United Irishmen. During occasional visits the Sheares brothers, had attended Divine Worship, in Corglass Presbyterian Church." (ibid, p.95).

Gradually the Defenders were absorbed into the United Irishmen but in 1793—the year in which we are currently interested we find them making

their presence felt in the Counties of Louth, Monaghan and Cavan. On 31st January 1793, Mr. John Campbell, the Assistant Agent for the Irish estates of the Shirley family wrote to Evelyn Shirley in the following terms:

"I suppose you may have read in the public print what progress the set of people called Defenders have made in our counties in Louth, Monaghan and Cavan. They have carried their outrages to great extremity and as they were all Roman Catholics the Protestants alone were the object of their fury. There was not a Protestant house in the country that they had not stripped of its arms and other weapons of defence and after nightfall it was at the peril of his life for a Protestant to stray out of his dwelling... The Protestants and Presbyterians having united begin now to retaliate on the Catholics and indeed have dispersed the greater part of the Defenders" (quoted *The Presbyterian Dilemma: A Survey of the Presbyterians and Politics in Cavan and Monaghan over Three Hundred Years*, by Lindsay T. Brown. Published in the Clogher Record, Vol.15, No. 2, 1995, p.44).

The events mentioned by John Campbell to his absentee landlord were a gross exaggeration of what actually took place. It is to be expected that an agent of an absentee landlord will colour his account of the predicament in which he finds himself in order to generate goodwill in his direction. Likewise, the reports in the press of the events in question need to be taken with a grain of salt. The homes of a number of Protestant families were raided by Defenders in search of arms. As a result of this several families decided to move temporarily to Dundalk or Dublin until the activity subsided.

"In consequence of several Protestant and Presbyterian gentlemen in this neighbourhood, Baileyborough and Kingscourt, having had their houses attacked at the silent and unprepared hour of midnight, and robbed of their arms by the Defenders, who are now known to be the Roman Catholic peasantry and small farmers of the county, the Gentlemen determined on making active exertions to suppress them, as soon as they receive the assistance of a Company of Foot at Virginia" (Extract of a letter from Kells, Jan. 24. Published in the *Morning Chronicle*, 31 January 1793).

This mobilisation consisted of 40 armed Protestant and Presbyterian gentlemen and 20 soldiers under the direction of Rev. James Young, a Justice of the Peace of Cavan. According to the

reports in the press they eventually confronted “a party of 600 and upwards of the Defenders” and

“As soon as they {the Defenders—ED} fired they ran behind the walls, and joined the main body on a hill in a large field belonging to Mr. Tuckers of Petterville. The gentlemen and soldiers got over the wall, amidst repeated shots from the Defenders which were so ill directed that not a man was touched by them, except one soldier, who was slightly wounded in the arm. The gentlemen repeatedly fired. Several of the Defenders fell, and many were wounded. They then fled in all directions, throwing away their arms, many tearing off and flinging away their coats, to make a speedier escape. The panic was universal,—several fled to Mr. Tucker’s house, forced in, and there stood on their defence. Nine were killed in the house and several wounded; amongst the wounded was a William Bryan, a daring leader of a party and is since dead. There were eighteen killed in the action, and upwards of twenty more have since been found dead in different places” (ibid).

Depending on which report is read, the only casualties on the side of the gentlemen and soldiers was one slightly wounded soldier or two wounded soldiers. But, aside from the questionable accuracy of the reports of this event, what it shows is that by 1793, despite the existence of significant support for the United Irishmen, the situation in the area of Cavan and Monaghan did not find the Presbyterian community united in that cause. The situation also enabled those in authority to fracture the Presbyterian community in the area by emphasising the fact that those Presbyterians who supported the United Irishmen were, by dint of that organisation’s support of Catholic rights, on the side of the Defenders—something that was used to discredit the actions of one Presbyterian individual in the town of Kingscourt on the night of 9th August 1793.

The central character involved is an ancestor of mine. Family legend has it that one Edward Dyas, having fought in Ireland in the armies of William of Orange, was rewarded with a gift of lands in Meath, Westmeath. I have not established the fact of this claim but on 2nd and 3rd March a report was published in the *Daily Gazetteer* and also in the *London and Country Journal* on 10th March 1741 to the effect that:

“Capt. Dyas is dead in Dublin, aged 110, who served King Charles II, King William and Queen Anne” (Daily

Gazetteer (County Edition), Monday March 2, 1741. ditto in London edition of 3 March 1741; and *London and Country Journal*, 10 March 1741).

This may or may not be the man in question but what is verifiable is the fact that, during the course of the 19th century, the Dyas family expanded and thrived in Meath and Westmeath and by the late 18th century had expanded into the adjoining County of Cavan. With few exceptions they were ruthless landlords and responsible for many evictions as they cleared their lands of Roman Catholics in order to convert arable land into grazing pastures for cattle. Unsurprisingly, there were several assassination attempts on them during these events. Such was their fearsome reputation in County Meath that, when myself and a cousin went researching in the area about 15 years ago, knowledge of them still survived among the local rural community around Kells and none of it good.

However, the individual involved in the controversy in Kingscourt in 1793, James Dyas, provides a rare example of a member of the Dyas ancestry not oppressing his Catholic neighbours. It seems that the members of the Dyas family who resided in Cavan were of the small farmer class and did not share the same prosperity as the leading members of the Dyas people in Meath and Westmeath. Some of them also appear to have been Presbyterians while their more prosperous namesakes in Meath and Westmeath were all of the Church of Ireland persuasion. By the way the local Presbyterian Minister for the area of Kingscourt, William Moore, in common with several such Presbyterian Ministers in the County, was an open supporter of the United Irishmen and when he died in 1811 James Dyas was one of the commissioners delegated to find his replacement. However, by then they all appear to have settled down as loyal subjects of His Majesty. In fact, within a generation, a John Dyas (possibly the son of James Dyas), was one of the founders of the Kingscourt Brunswick Club which was established “on the principle of preserving the integrity of our Protestant Constitution”, with the object of denying the right of Roman Catholics to become Members of Parliament—a far cry from the principles on which James Dyas made his stand on the night of 9th August 1793.

This is the case of James Dyas, as reported in the *London Packet or New Lloyd’s Evening Post*, 25th April 1794.

Although the events in question took place on 9th August 1793 it seems that it took quite a while for the legal case to reach the Cavan Assizes.

“Ireland: Curious Case tried in the Late Cavan Assizes.

Monday 7th instant, was tried before the Hon. Justice Cruckshank, an action brought by Mr. James Dyas, of Kingscourt, against Gordon Jackson, Esq., a very active Magistrate of the county Cavan, to recover damages for breaking the plaintiff’s windows, on account of his not illuminating them on the 9th August last, when intelligence was received of the surrender of Valenciennes.

Plaintiff laid his damages at £500. The trial lasted three hours.

The plaintiff’s case was stated by Counsellor O’Farrell; and a number of witnesses called to substantiate it.

Joseph McKibban, a constable, was first witness called on the part of the plaintiff—he said, that he went, by order of the Magistrate, Mr. Jackson, to the house of the plaintiff, on the 9th August last, and desired he might illuminate his windows, on account of a victory gained by the Combined Armies over the French; he delivered the order of the Magistrate to the plaintiff; the houses in the town of Kingscourt were very well illuminated; the plaintiff refused to illuminate his house. Mr Jackson, who resided in the town, sent the witness again to the plaintiff’s house, requesting him to illuminate, but the plaintiff positively refused to comply with the Magistrate’s requisition. Mr. Jackson sent the constable a third time, and desired him to inform Mr. Dyas, he would be much obliged to him to place a single candle in one of his windows to satisfy the people; Mr. Dyas still persevered in his refusal, and declared he would not put a single light up in his windows; Mr. Jackson then desired the witness to throw stones at the plaintiff’s windows, and called him a Republican scoundrel, and said he was disaffected to the Government of the country, and must illuminate his windows, at least he should hang out false lights. The witness said, he only threw one stone at the plaintiff’s house, and only broke one pane of glass; Mr. Jackson rebuked the witness, and ordered the people who were in the street to break the windows, and went up himself with his sword and broke some panes.

On his cross examination, he said

Mr. Jackson was a very active Magistrate, and had uniformly hunted and apprehended Defenders and without his exertions the country would be destroyed; that he had often ran very great risques of losing his life on account of his activity.

The damage sustained by the Plaintiff was ascertained to the value of 20 panes of glass.

Several witnesses were called to the same facts, on part of the Plaintiff, who gave their testimony, and with very little prevarication.

Counsellor John Hopkins was examined on the part of the defendant; he said, that on the 9th of August last, the army, in their different cantonments, were ordered to fire a *feu de joye*, on account of the surrender of Valenciennes to the Combined Armies; that a party then at Kingscourt were brought out in the morning by Captain Campbell, to celebrate the happy event; that Mr. Jackson sent a constable to the inhabitants of the town, requesting them to illuminate their houses, on account of the victory gained by the Allied armies over the French; all the inhabitants of the town complied with the magistrates request but Mr. Dyas, who shewed a stupid insensibility on the occasion, and refused to illuminate his house. Mr. Jackson sent a constable three several times to Mr. Dyas's house, requesting he might illuminate his house, and not stand singular, as the country was in a disturbed state, otherwise he could not be answerable for the consequences that might ensue, as Mr. Dyas was very much disliked by the Presbyterian inhabitants on account of his principles: Mr Dyas replied, 'that he would not burn a rush candle on the occasion to gratify Mr. Jackson or the witness'—Mr. Jackson said he was a scoundrel of Republican principles, and that the windows of all those who would not illuminate on such a happy occasion should be broken, but did not mention Mr. Dyas's windows in particular; that the Presbyterian inhabitants of the country, who were of Mr. Dyas's communion, consulted the witness and Mr. Jackson about throwing down the house of Mr. Dyas, on account of the part he had taken with respect to the Defenders; and that there was a sort of Jacobin Club in Kingscourt; that he believed Mr. Dyas was not the least conspicuous among them;

that Mr. Jackson and the witness disapproved highly of the proposal to pull down the house of Mr. Dyas, saying, that 'they could not correct an outrage by committing a greater;' was certain, had they given any encouragement to the Presbyterians, that they would have put their intention of throwing down Mr. Dyas's house into execution.

Mr. Justice Cruckshank submitted the evidence to the jury without any comment.

The jury retired for a few minutes, and brought in a verdict for the Plaintiff, of £2-10s being the exact value of the damage sustained.”.

Wilson John Haire

The Star-Spangled Banner

The Star-Spangled Banner today is sung with gusto by its Imperialist inheritors but back in 1814, when it was written by Francis Scott Key, a 35-year-old lawyer, it was revolutionary song. The first verse goes:

O say can you see, by the dawn's early light.

What so proudly we hail'd at the twilight's last gleaming.

Whose broad stripes and bright stars through the perilous fight

O'er the ramparts we watch'd were so gallantly streaming?

And the rocket's red glare, the bombs bursting in air,

Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there,

Oh say does that star-spangled banner yet wave

O'er land of the free and the home of the brave?

America had, in 1812, declared war on Britain. It seems that a few things had to be tidied up from the War of Independence. The war was declared as: Between the United States of America and Great Britain and Ireland, its North American colonies and its Indian allies. Ireland, as a colony, had no choice in the matter. The war lasted 32 months and didn't involve any boundary changes. The war was brought about by trade restrictions caused by Britain's war with France, the press-ganging of American merchant-ship sailors into the Royal Navy, Britain's support of American Indian tribes against settler expansion, and possible American interest in annexing part of Canadian territory which had been denied to them in the settlement ending the American Revolutionary War.

The line up was:

The United States and the Indian Tribes:

Choctaw, Cherokee, Creek

The British Empire; British North America (Canada), Province of Upper Canada, Province of Lower Canada; and Indian Tribes in both the US and Canada: Shawnee, Creek Red Sticks, Ojibwas, Chickamauga, Fox, Iroquois, Miami, Mingo, Ottawa, Kickapoo

Britain, with the majority of Native Americans and Native Canadians on its side, had promised the Indian Nations an Indian Confederacy and an independent Indian state in the Midwest under British sponsorship. But the Americans gained control of Lake Erie in 1813, seized part of western Ontario and ended that dream. Considering what happened later with the promise of a super-state if the Arabs helped to defeat the Ottoman Empire, would that have come to fruition with a British victory over the US? Though it was to be an American victory, they didn't manage to take overall control of Canada and were finally defeated on that issue.

With the defeat of Napoleon on the 6th of April, 1814, Britain was able to send in three large invading armies. In their victory at the Battle of Bladensburg in August, 1814, they were able to capture and burn Washington DC, along with its Treasury and the President's house. Meanwhile, General Andrew Jackson for the US defeated the military strength of the Indian Nation, the Creek Red Sticks. Probably with most of the Indian Nations collaborating with Britain, the US Government policy could have been turned towards genocide in revenge and of course the need to seize Native American land without experiencing the usual fierce resistance.

Next the British forces attacked Baltimore on 13th September 1814. British warships sent a downpour of rockets onto Fort McHenry for 25 hours.

A week earlier Francis Scott Key had boarded the flagship of the British fleet in Chesapeake Bay in the hope of persuading the British to release a friend who had been arrested. Key's tactics were successful, but because he and his companion had gained knowledge of the impending attack on Baltimore, the British did not let them go, though they allowed the Americans to return to their own vessel but continued guarding them.

It was from there that Key watched the bombardment of Fort McHenry. Key is quoted as saying: "It seemed as if mother earth had opened up and was vomiting shot and shell in a sheet of fire and brimstone." When darkness arrived Key only saw red erupting in the night sky. With the scale of the British attack, he was sure the British had won. But, as dawn broke and in the clearing smoke, he saw the American flag and not the Union Jack flying over Fort McHenry. This inspired him to write *The Star-Spangled Banner*. Few people realise that it only became America's national anthem in 1931, 116 years after it was first written. The words must have meant something totally different by then.

25 April, 2014

The All-For-Ireland League

"One other person got into the same carriage as me and no sooner had we started moving, but this man initiated a conversation. At first, I thought he was talking to himself as he had a bad squint in one eye and appeared to be looking out of the window of the train when he was actually looking at me. He spoke in English and we weren't long chatting before I understood from him that he was some sort of a travelling teacher in the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

"In fact, he was so enthusiastic about spreading the Gospel and strengthening Catholicism that the then pope wouldn't have held a candle to this man—Joseph Devlin. There was hardly a country in the world which had Catholics in it that Ireland didn't have a special relationship with—and the maintenance of this relationship was in large part due to the diligence and hard work of Joseph Devlin—according to himself at any rate. Then he whispered to me conspiratorially about the dangerously irreligious and Socialist group known as the All for Ireland League, a group whom—as Devlin said—we all needed to be wary of. 'Wait until you hear!' he was saying to me. He launched into a tirade about the All for Ireland League then and there was hardly a name under the sun (many of them 'complicated' English words that I didn't understand to be honest) that he didn't call them.

"I was immediately suspicious of this man's approach. My natural inclination has always been to side with the minority and the fact that this man was so vehemently opposed to this group made me wary of his comments from the outset. Apart from anything else, I was actually quite friendly with a man named William O'Brien who was the then head of the All for Ireland League. I knew for a fact that O'Brien, who was a staunch patriot, was both a dedicated cultural nationalist with a great interest in the Irish language and a religious man to boot. Every time I tried to get a word in edgeways during Devlin's rant, however, the man completely ignored me. Instead, he just raised his hands in the air as if forming an arc of the world. Then he

dropped his hands into his lap, slamming his right fist into the palm of his left hand as if clinching his argument. He told me to remain patient for a couple of minutes until he finished speaking and continued to talk quickly without a break. Just as our train approached the County Galway town of Tuam, he told me that he was at his destination. He had a meeting to attend that night in the centre of town. When he left the train, I breathed a sigh of relief, I can tell you" (*On The Run : the story of an Irish freedom fighter*—a translation of Colm O Gaora's {Colm Geary} *Mise* (1943); ed. by Michael O hAodha and Ruan O'Donnell. (Mercier Press, Cork 2011,p.135/37).

St. Finbarr!

"Where Finbarr taught let Munster learn", Headline in the Cork *"Evening Echo"*, January 26, 2015: *"University College Cork is named Cork's top business."* Poor ould Finbarr!

Internet Deity

The internet has topped a list of modern-day essentials people say they cannot do without.

A bath or shower, and a television came second and third on the list, leaving comforts such as a daily coffee and make-up further down.

Just under half of those polled (48%) in the British survey said they could comfortably go longer without seeing their family than using the internet. One in eight (12%) admitted they could forego food longer than they could go without social media sites.

The research was conducted online by Opinium Research among 2003 British adults.

Criminal Conversation

"One of the most oppressive anti-women laws on the books at the start of 1975 was that of Criminal Conversation which had been the subject of a notorious court case that had scandalised society a couple of years earlier.

"Criminal Conversation, which

enshrined in law that a wife was the property of her husband, had been abolished in England in 1857 but remained on the Irish statute books.

"In June 1972, Werner Braun, a German settled in Ireland, sued Roches' Stores director Stanley Roche,for 'debauching' his wife Heidi at various locations.

"Werner told Dublin's High Court that he'd been tipped off about the affair in an anonymous Christmas card which accused him of 'pimping' his wife. The court heard that at one point the angry husband had 'struck' his wife in a row over her affair. *The Irish Independent* reported that on hearing this the judge remarked that: 'No man of spirit would have done otherwise'.

"Awarding Werner the hefty sum of £12,000 in damages for what was deemed the theft of his wife, the judge pointed out, as reported by this newspaper at the time: 'In this country a wife was regarded as a chattel, just as a thoroughbred mare or cow, and the jury was concerned merely with compensating Mr Braun for the value of the loss of his wife and the damages to his feelings'..." (*Ir. Indep. Damien Corless, 3.1.2015*).

Views Of Ireland

An international survey has shown that people in other countries have a far higher opinion of Ireland than we do ourselves.

The survey commissioned by Lifes2good showed that 90% of American and British people, agree that Irish people are hard working, and 61.3% of U.S., British and German people think Ireland is too slow to talk up its recovery from recession.

One of the report's major findings was the ultimately self-deprecating nature of Irish people. (*Eve. Echo, Cork, 23.10.2014*).

Mountainy Men

"His one book, {William Bulfin} *Rambles in Eirinn*, helped a great deal to teach self-respect to Irishmen and may profitably be read in these times, when we hear of Irishmen fighting as mercenaries. Here and now I must say that every effort should be made from school, platform, and pulpit, to point out to young men the immorality and disgrace of fighting in foreign armies. I think the name 'the fighting Irish' the greatest insult ever offered to our race. It implies that we fight just for the fun of it. Alas for the poor lads who died in the Tugela valley fighting against the Boers, against the Zulus and other weak people. If only they had fought for those oppressed peoples, 'Their graves we would keep where the Fenians sleep.' And that brings me to the greatest slaughter of our young men in the service of Britain, during the world war of 1914-1918" (Micheal O'Suilleabhain, *Where Mountainy Men have Sown-Anvil Books, Tralee, 1965*)
