

Church & State

An Irish History Magazine

And Cultural Review Of Ireland And The World

Abraham Lincoln

**Robert Lynd
And James Connolly:
*A Shotgun Wedding!***

**Crime Against Humanity
*Remembering Bishop O'Dwyer***

William Jennings Bryan

Solzhenitsyn in the USA

Editorial

Abraham Lincoln

The American Civil War ended a century and a half ago, and Abraham Lincoln, who started it, was assassinated.

The American Civil War, unlike the war in Ireland that goes by the name of the 'Civil War', was a real Civil War. The Irish were all agreed what they wanted—an independent Republic—but Imperial Britain would not let them have it. They did not achieve independence and then find that they disagreed over what to do with it. What they fought over was whether to submit to a British offer of something less than independence, backed by a threat of intensified British aggression if they did not submit.

No Imperial Power manipulated the Americans into fighting each other. They had driven out the Empire and they had not allowed an Empire Loyalist Fifth Column to survive and flourish in their midst. They were free citizens of free republican states.

Or most of them were. Some states had the "*peculiar institution*" established by Britain in the colonial period—a slave population of Africans transported to the American Colonies and to the Caribbean islands by English free enterprise during the 18th century.

The Caribbean islands were English Slave Labour Camps, specialising in the production of sugar by industrial methods. They were not slave-owning Colonies. Slaves constituted the majority of the population and the English populations were not developing colonies but slave-masters. The English on those islands had their local assemblies, but they did not seek to enhance those assemblies into independent states at the time when the mainland Colonies revolted and made themselves into states. They did not want to be left alone with their slave majorities. They needed English power for security.

The Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland half-rebelled. They asserted the independence of their Parliament when England was occupied with the American War but they did not go on to establish an independent Government. Like the Caribbean English, they did not want to be left alone with the majority that they had been oppressing for a century. While declaring their legislative independence, so that they might oppress more freely, they made a point of remaining under English government.

(That extreme separation of the Legislature and Executive powers of state was unworkable. In 1800 the Government bribed the Ascendancy Parliament to dissolve itself, and modern Irish history began.)

The English slave system in the Caribbean, freed from Government restraint by the Glorious Revolution of 1688, flourished for about a century and a half. It was central to the establishment of the English world market, and it facilitated the take-off of industrial capitalism at home. It was formally abolished in 1838.

American slavery, which was existentially unlike English slavery, continued into the 1860s. Some states had it and some states didn't. It was abolished incidentally to the Civil War and its immediate aftermath. It was not the issue on

which the Civil War was fought. The issue was whether the United States was to be an alliance of states or a Continental super-state.

A number of states seceded from the Union, taking it for granted that it was their constitutional right to do so. The Northern states, capitalist states conducted on the basis of free wage-labour, made war on them, asserting that the Union was a single state from which secession was not possible. The constitutional issue was decided by a war in which a million people were killed.

The Northern capitalism had world-conquering ambitions from an early stage in its development. It was the Northern will to power, not a superior ability in the reading of Constitutions, that determined that the United States was meant to be a single state from the Atlantic to the Pacific, rather than a kind of Europe on the American Continent.

Lincoln, in the course of the War, and as a war measure, issued a Proclamation abolishing slavery, but only in the states which were attempting to secede from the Union. Slave-owning remained legal in states which supported Lincoln's interpretation of the Union. And secessionist states could end the Unionist war on them by ending their secession, but not by ending slavery:

"I hold that, in contemplation of universal law and the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual... It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination..."

"Again, if the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of contract merely, can it as a contract be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak; but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it?..."

"But if the destruction of the Union by one or by a part only of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is less perfect than before the Constitution, having lost the element of perpetuity..."

—that is, the perpetuity implied by the Declaration of Independence.

"It follows from these views that no State upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union... I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States"

—meaning that as President of the Union he will uphold the Constitutional right to slavery in the states where it exists.

"If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the Government must cease. There is no other alternative; for continuing the Government in acquiescence on one side or the other.

"If a minority in such case will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which in turn will divide and ruin them, for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such a minority..."

"Plainly the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy..."

"One section of our country believes slavery is right, and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. The fugitive slave clause of the Constitution and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave trade are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law ever can be where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself..."

—meaning that, not only is existing slavery supported by the Constitution, but that slaves fleeing to states which do not have slavery must be returned to their owners.

"I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends... Though passion may have strained, it must not break, our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union..."

That is the substance of Lincoln's *First Inaugural Address* in March 1861, shortly before the war began. It attributes to the Union the character of an absolute nationalism from whose authority there can be no escape, and denies that it is a civil association which could be dissolved amicably.

Stephen Vincent Benét ("*Bury my heart at Wounded Knee*"), though an admirer of Lincoln, puts it like this:

"The men who died for the South died, as they thought, for the independence their fathers had won before them. The men who died for the North died, as they thought, to preserve the Union their fathers had made before them" (*America* p59).

The progressive capitalism of the North, based on free labour and given a seemingly infinite power of expansion by the availability of free land—"Go West, young man!"—crushed the secession and forged the Union into the absolute nationalism which acts wherever it pleases, and in whatever way it pleases, by right of its absolute sovereignty.

Lincoln created this America, at the cost of about a million lives.

"There is a typical American watchword: 'We don't know where we're going, but we're on our way'... They want to act and to do. They want to get something in a hurry and turn to the next thing..." (Benét).

But for Lincoln's dogmatic Unionism and his singular political talent for warmaking, it is possible that, in place of the Continental monster state driven by a need to dominate the world, there would now be several states—Eastern, Southern, Western—which acted as a brake on each other and allowed the rest of the world to exist.

Post-Lincoln America does not stand for an ideal which is realisable in other parts of the world. The USA does not stand as an example to the world which other countries might emulate. It is not an example to the world, but a dominating World Power, which interferes actively against those who would emulate it.

The only foreign state of which it really approves, and allows to emulate it, is Israel—a small colony which came to a land full of people and set about turning it into "*a land without people for a people without land*".

There have been two great moral issues in the domestic history of the United States: the enslavement of a black population brought in from Africa, and the extermination of the native peoples who populated the Continent when the first English colonists arrived.

Unionist victory in the Civil War resolved both of these issues in a way that satisfied the conscience of the victors. Slavery was abolished and the slaves were emancipated into a different kind of misery for a hundred years. And the extermination of the peoples who were still clogging up so much of the western part of the Continent in 1865 was briskly carried to a conclusion in the course of 30 years by the irresistible power structure built by Lincoln. The last flicker of resistance—of insurgency?—was snuffed out at Wounded Knee in 1890.

To page 4

Contents

	Page
Abraham Lincoln	
Editorial	2
Robert Lynd And James Connolly:	
<i>A Shotgun Wedding!</i>	
Brendan Clifford	5
The Crime Against Humanity	
Pat Walsh	13
Dr. Edward O'Dwyer—Patriot—Bishop of Limerick (1842-1917)	
Thomas J. Lavin, MA, CC	15
Vox Pat: Home Burial; Juries; Philosophy; Rev. Ivan McKay; The Faithful; Islam; Fr. Prout; Lies, Damned Lies and US Lies; Padraig O Cuanachain; Property; Presbyterians And SSM; Conversions; The Gilmore Certificates; Gallipoli; Frangletterre? Property; Profiteering!; Niall Khan?	
Pat Maloney	17, 39,40
Teaching morality in schools in France	
Cathy Winch	19
Pied Piper Of The Great Plains (Rev. Jennings Bryan)	
Stephen Richards (Part 1)	21
Material For A Satire?	
William Balch	
(Introduced by Jack Lane)	25
Thoughts On Empire	
John Minahane (The Spanish Polemic on Colonisation, Part 8)	26
Vibes And Scribes Of Same Sex Marriage Referendum	
Pat Maloney	18
Solzhenitsyn in the USA	
Peter Brooke (Part 1: Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Alexander Dugin And The Russian Question)	32

Some web addresses for associated sites—

Athol Books: <http://www.atholbooks.org>

The Heresiarch: <http://heresiarch.org>

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

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

Church & State

Editor: Pat Maloney

ISSN: 0332-3625

All Correspondence should be sent to:

**P. Maloney,
C/O Shandon St. P.O., Cork City.
TEL: 021-4676029**

SUBSCRIPTIONS: €20 (Sterling £16) for 4 issues

ELECTRONIC SUBSCRIPTIONS: €8 (Sterling £6)

Cheques/postal orders payable to ATHOL BOOKS please from

athol-st@atholbooks.org

Completion of the genocide was an unquestioned moral obligation for the progressive forces which drove the development of the United States. It had all the power of democracy behind it, and it might even be said to have been a precondition of the development of the United States as a free-ranging democracy without a ruling class.

In Europe capitalism and democracy had the problem of establishing themselves in the native populations of densely populated states with a long history of other ways of living. But, in the Lincolnist United States, there was no heritage of something else to be overcome. The principle of development was: *Go West young man into those vast, emptied spaces where you will be your own master and can increase and multiply in freedom.*

Sir Charles Dilke, the eminent Gladstonian, in his *Greater Britain* (1869), praised the Anglo-Saxons as the greatest exterminating race the world had ever seen. The fact was hardly disputable, least of all in America. And there was no noticeable public dissent from the praise. And, only twenty years ago, at a public meeting in Dublin, two public figures denied that the wiping out of the peoples of North America was genocide. During the past decade, however, US academia has been feeling its way towards an acknowledgement of the fact that multiple genocide was a fundamental element in the construction of the United States. And, if it ever falters in its drive for total dominance of the world, and has to stop and think, it will have some awkward things to think about.

The English Liberal Imperialist demagogue and politician of the mid-19th century, Macaulay, said that the US Constitution was: "all sail, and no anchor". In this mode it has made the world dependent on it. Twenty-five years ago it seemed to have achieved omnipotence, and to be alone in the world, hearing nothing beyond itself but echoes of its own greatness. But it was still not content. What it wanted beyond what it had achieved was something it did not seem to know.

Although its propaganda suggested that it wanted the rest of the world to be like itself, this was the last thing it could tolerate. It can tolerate no independence but its own, and its own independence must be absolute. But its handling of the world after it became uniquely dominant in it in 1990 has now brought about a situation which it cannot tolerate.

Two independent states have arisen which will not do its bidding, but which it cannot make war on without gambling with its own existence.

It had, for about two generations, the fixed idea that China was destined to be its client state. Under that delusion it gave it formal Superpower status in 1945, with a Permanent Seat on the UN Security Council and a Veto on UN decisions. Three years later China became a Communist state. The US vetoed UN recognition of the regime change in Peking. Its client Government retreated to the island of Formosa/Taiwan, but it retained the official status of the Government of China for a generation. Eventually the US recognised the party that actually ran China as the Government of China. This was for the purpose of widening a rift that had opened up between the Communist Governments in Peking and Moscow.

Peking then chose a form of economic development by means of the market and Washington imagined it reverting to its pre-1948 condition of a client state. But China did not become an enormous market for American commodities. Its Government ensured that its market development was directed towards the formation of a strong national economy—as both the British and US Governments had done with their markets. Capitalist China replaced Communist China as an enemy—and a more dangerous enemy in some ways because it was a strong rival within the world market constructed by Britain of which the US had taken control in 1945.

Then the Soviet Union collapsed. Russia became capitalist. But, unlike China, it did so anarchically. During the 1990s it had no national Government. The living conditions of the populace plummeted. Its capitalists were the "*oligarchs*", who had become billionaires by appropriating state enterprises, not by fighting their way up through the jungle of the market. This Russian capitalism was submissive to US Capitalism and Washington gave priority to expanding NATO eastwards, pushing it up against what remained of the Russian state, apparently with the intention of suffocating it. But what all of that gave rise to was a kind of national-capitalist revolution in Russia which restored the State, shaped market activity to the requirements of national economy, and brought an abrupt end to NATO's process of strangulation by annexing the Crimea with the consent of the populace, in response to the anti-Russian *coup*

enacted by the USA and the EU in Kiev, and prevented NATO encirclement of its Crimean Naval base.

The irresistible force of American "*manifest destiny*", made into a Super-state by Lincoln, has now come up against irremovable objects in the form of capitalist China and capitalist Russia. It is not in its nature to admit that it has been resisted. It must believe that it can subvert those apparently irremovable objects. What the subversive policy has achieved so far is to drive China and Russia into alliance.

In 1948 the world was divided between Capitalism and Communism. It is now divided by Capitalism, between states which accept US hegemony and states which do not. Social ideology has been demonstrated to be beside the point.

The abolition of slavery was incidental to a Civil War fought on another issue: the formation of a Continental Super-state.

At the end of the War, however, the Emancipationist ideology became dominant in Congress and, with the removal of Lincoln, it attempted to subordinate the slave-owning population of the defeated states to rule by the emancipated slaves. This gave rise to the Ku Klux Klan, which restored white supremacy by informal terror—and saved the Union from a second danger.

The first American film classic, *The Birth Of A Nation*, celebrates the Ku Klux Klan. President Wilson, who was saving the world for Democracy, premiered it at the White House. And, in his earlier capacity as a historian, he agreed with the view that the Union could not have been sustained if the cultivation of black-ruled states by abolitionist idealists in the defeated Confederacy had not been prevented. There does not seem to have been any serious disagreement about this amongst those who conducted American politics.

The informal subjugation of the emancipated slaves and their descendants was not challenged officially for a hundred years. It was only in the 1960s that the process of phasing them into US national life began. Their increasing prominence in public life in Lincoln's Super-state does not seem to have diluted its sense of universal destiny any more than the rise of the Irish or the Italians did before them. The all-important thing is the State and its pursuit of universal power. That is Lincoln's heritage to the United States. His heritage to humanity is something else. *

Brendan Clifford

Robert Lynd And James Connolly: *A Shotgun Wedding*

{The following article was written in the Fall of 1991, following a weekend Conference on Robert Lynd, held at the Ulster People's College in Belfast. An account of the Conference was published at the time in the *Northern Star*. This article was intended for publication as a pamphlet in response to the Conference. A Dr. Eamon Collins, Director of the Robert Lynd Trust, denounced me as a fascist because I said that Lynd was a British war propagandist while Connolly was an active supporter of Germany in the Great War on both anti-Imperialist and Socialist grounds. Something distracted me from finishing the pamphlet. What was written of it has now come to hand again and, despite all the 'scholarship' and Left publishing that has gone on in the meantime, the matter at issue has not been dealt with, and remains topical. }

James Connolly was until 1916 a socialist agitator and propagandist known to comparatively few. In 1916 he became a national figure: a member of the famous pair, Pearse and Connolly, who had organised a military assault on the British Empire in the midst of the Great War and had been shot for it. The way Connolly was shot singled him out from the others from the start. Being wounded, he was shot a fortnight after the others. But he was only sufficiently recovered to sit on a chair to be shot.

This mode of execution was an act of barbarism. England, the pioneer of civil liberty, had established the civilised standard by which these things should be judged. And that civilised standard had decreed that a wounded man should be restored to health and fitness before being killed. If the Germans had been found propping people up in chairs to shoot them the world would certainly have heard of the bestial ways of the semi-civilised Hun, who was civilised to the extent that he had chairs but who remained a barbarian in his use of them. But here were the arbiters of good taste in the ways of slaughter sitting a man in a chair and shooting him.

It was necessary to shoot Connolly in a chair because a delay until the thing could be done properly might mean that

it could not be done at all. *The Irish Independent*—a Home Rule paper—was made very anxious by the delay. It kept on reminding the authorities that one of the insurrectionary leaders was still unshot. The *Independent* was owned by William Martin Murphy, who had organised the employers in the great industrial battle of 1913 in which Connolly had organised the workers.

Circumstances could not have been better arranged to focus attention on Connolly. And the nation discovered that he was not only the organiser and leader of Trade Unions and armies but was one of the most prolific and interesting writers among the insurrectionaries, or beyond them.

Connolly's *Labour In Irish History* was published by Maunsel, a Home Rule publisher, in 1910, when it had attracted a very modest amount of notice. It was reissued by Maunsel in 1916, along with the *Re-Conquest Of Ireland*, the two being combined in one volume under the title *Labour In Ireland*, with an Introduction by Robert Lynd.

Labour in Ireland, with Lynd's Introduction, was reprinted in the twenties and thirties. *Labour In Irish History* was published by New Books with Lynd's Introduction in 1956 and was reissued, again with Lynd's Introduction, in 1967. New Books was the publishing name of the Communist Party of Ireland. In the fifties and sixties the Communist Party was called the Irish Workers' Party in the 26 Counties as a survival tactic, but an official party history published in the seventies confirms that the Irish Workers' Party and the Communist Party, Northern Ireland, were in fact the constituent parts of a single party all the time. (In 1970 they took on a single name: The Communist Party of Ireland.)

I first read *Labour In Irish History* in the early sixties, in the Communist Party edition. I knew very little about Connolly then so I took what Lynd had to say on trust. But I wondered who Lynd was. His reprinted Introduction in the CP edition was preceded by another Introduction written by Anthony Raf-

ferty, one of the top leaders of the Communist Party. But Rafferty did not explain who Lynd was—did not even mention him. So I went and found out something about Lynd. And I found that he had in his time been a very famous *belles-lettrist*.

I took a quick glance through Lynd's numerous books and found that each consisted of many slight essays. Pretty well every year from 1915 to 1945 he published a collection of these little essays with titles such as *Thoughts At A Tango Tea*; *On Black Cats*; *On Saying A Thing Three Times*; *Weeds: An Appreciation*; *Afternoon Tea*; *Going For A Walk*; *The Mouse: A Problem*; *A Sermon On Shaving*; *The Jam Pot*; *On Laughing Aloud*; *On Lent*; *On the Dresses At Ascot*; *The Goldfish*; *On The Nutritive Qualities Of the Banana*; *Writing Letters*; *Sleep*; *the Week-End*; *On Knowing the Difference*; *Laziness*; *Eggs: An Easter Homily*; *The Pleasures Of Abstinence*; *Questions About Happiness*; *Bath Water*; *Pleasing The Foreigner*; *Tall Men*; *In Defence Of Pink*; *Christian Names*; *The Right To Feel Disappointed*; *The Most Popular Animal*; *In Defence Of The Trivial*; *On the Average Man*; *Life's Little Oddities*; *Should Kissing On The Stage Be Stopped?*; *On Buying A Lemon*; *On the Lesser Celandine*; *More Taxes*; *On Weaving A Made-Up Tie*; *Pockets And Buttons*; and *The Pleasures of Credulity*, to mention but a few.

I trust that I have made the reader feel weary with that list, because the sight of all those books of essays made me feel weary. Whenever, during the seventies and eighties, I happened to see a mention of Robert Lynd my mind yawned.

I have now gone back and looked at those books again and I reckon they must contain close to a thousand essays. And, since each book was a selection made from the essays published in various newspapers and magazines during the preceding year, it is reasonable to assume that Lynd must have published a few thousand essays after writing the *Introduction to Labour In Irish History*. And though I have now looked through the collection I have not noticed a single reference to Connolly in any of them.

I asked the people who had told me I must read *Labour In Irish History* what this Robert Lynd had done to entitle him to have an introductory essay in it, but nobody could tell me. That group of people which I consulted in the mid-

1970s was a unique combination of Trotskyists and Communist Party types, along with Christian Anarchists, briefly allied in the Irish Workers' Group and it therefore included an unusually wide range of conventional left-wing wisdom. Since none of them was critical of Lynd's *Introduction* I assumed it must be sound. I thought that if it was not sound the great intellects of the Trotskyist tendency, who prided themselves on being rebellious, would have ferretted out its unsoundness and made it a point of criticism of the Communist Party. But clearly neither Ted Grant nor Tony Cliff nor Gerry Healy had found anything wrong with Lynd's *Introduction* because their followers were not critical of it.

I supposed, therefore, that Lynd must have kept up a personal acquaintance with Connolly after becoming an eminent member of the *literati*, and was for that reason asked by the publisher to write a memoir of him for the 1917 reprint, and that he made an honest assessment of Connolly in that memoir.

I subsequently found out a great deal about Connolly, and I had almost forgotten about Lynd when in 1991 I saw an advertisement for a *Robert Lynd Weekend School* to be held in the *Ulster People's College*, Malone Road, Belfast. Being in Belfast, and never being averse to a trip into the idyllic tree-lined avenues of the Belfast upper middle class, I went along to this affair expecting that it would clear up a minor puzzle for me without any effort on my part. I attended most of the sessions (which went on from Friday evening to Sunday). But I was no better informed about the relationship between Lynd and Connolly at the end than I had been at the beginning, even though the centrepiece of the weekend was a long session on Connolly. I was, however, irritated by John de Courcy Ireland's lecture into going into the matter myself. I have never felt at ease with the facile anti-Imperialist rhetoric that has saturated the British and Irish Left since I strayed into politics in the early sixties. Because I was critical of it I have been marked down by Marxists as an Imperialist apologist. That criticism never bothered me because I have been convinced since the early seventies that Marxism in its established political organisations in Britain and Ireland was heading nowhere.

Facile anti-Imperialism was the common ideology of the various people who addressed the Robert Lynd School. The organising force behind the School, and behind the Ulster People's College

in which it was held, was the Communist Party. I knew that the Communist Party was lavishly subsidised—through its various fronts—by the Government of Northern Ireland. But somehow it had never clicked with me until then that this facile anti-Imperialist rhetoric was a camouflage on a very definite and committed Imperialist alignment in world affairs. Listening hour after hour to the asides and the underlying assumptions of de Courcy Ireland and others I realised that they were British Imperialists who had a grudge against Britain over its handling of Irish affairs.

It was the fact that their speeches were being delivered at a Robert Lynd forum that made obvious what had previously escaped my notice. I had forgotten much about Lynd, but I recalled that he was a British Imperialist war propagandist, therefore I heard what de Courcy Ireland and Professor Boyle were *not* saying, and I heard asides which indicated their agreement with Lynd's Imperialism.

Then I went and read Lynd's *Introduction* again, for the first time in 25 years, and I saw what a thoroughly dishonest piece of work it was. It was British Imperialist war propaganda designed to negate Connolly's influence on the socialist movement at a critical point in the Great War.

Here is what Lynd said:

"There are two questions that bewilder many people as they consider the last act of Connolly's career. They ask wonderingly how it came about that so good a European as Connolly could remain apparently indifferent to the German menace to European liberty. The second thing that puzzles them is that a man not merely of high character, but of strong intelligence, of experience of affairs, of, on the whole, orderly thought and speech—in fact, a man with his head as sound as his heart—should have consented to throw himself into a design so obviously incapable of success as the Easter rising."

Having assured myself that Lynd was on the opposite side to Connolly in the most important event that happened in the world during the time they were both alive in it—the source event of all the catastrophies of the century—Britain's war on Germany, I thought I should sift through Lynd's writing to see if I could find some secondary affinity between his outlook and Connolly's. So I went to the British Museum and got out everything they had of Lynd's. And I found that, whatever way you took it, funda-

mentally or superficially, Connolly and Lynd were incompatible. In intellect, spirit, character, opinion, occupation, aspiration, taste, manner and political position they were incompatible.

It would not be entirely beside the point to say a word about my relationship with the Reading Room of the British Museum. I have it in common with Connolly that I am a labourer who writes. In British culture—and Irish culture has become all too British in this respect—that does not happen—not even by way of eccentricity.

It is not unheard of that labourers should *become* writers. British culture allows for upward mobility. It has done so for many hundreds of years. But labourers become writers in the way that they become lawyers or capitalists—that is to say, they cease to be labourers in the process of becoming writers. A writer may also be a lawyer or a capitalist, but he may only be a former labourer. A labourer who fancies being a writer seeks adoption into the stratum or coterie of commercial or academic writers. If he succeeds he is then content to pass away his life amongst them. If he fails he accepts that he is not a writer.

Robert Burns was for many years a ploughboy who wrote poetry without reflecting on the incongruity of the two activities. At a certain point he was 'discovered' by the intellectually-inclined gentry of Edinburgh who invited him to spend a few months among them. For these few months it was in certain respects as if he was a gentleman. But the gentry of Edinburgh, thoughtlessly perhaps, made no economic provision to enable him to continue in the life to which he was treated for a couple of months. He had to return to the plough. But the harmony of his life had been spoiled by his stay in Edinburgh, and forever after he was cursed with a sense of incongruity. He succeeded through influence in getting a Government post and he spent the remainder of his life as a bourgeois in cities, acquiring an appropriate position within the capitalist division of labour. And when after his death biographies of him had to be written, his biographers too had a problem about how to represent this wayward human being who ploughed and wrote poetry. The existential problem which he experienced in his later years became a literary problem for them. They could not without impropriety take it matter-of-factly that here was a ploughboy who wrote poetry better than any poet of his time. They coped with the problem by

adopting a patronising attitude towards him. It was left to Carlyle, the most comprehensively human writer in mid-nineteenth century Britain, to point out the absurdity of that way of trying to resolve the problem.

I have no idea how it was that Connolly escaped the influence of the profound division of labour which stultifies a great part of British society. But he did escape it. When he thought that something needed writing he wrote it. His make-up included no inhibitions against writing while remaining a labourer. He wrote prolifically for twenty years without showing any inclination to enter the literary profession.

In my case the explanation is straightforward. I grew up outside the division of labour. I lived until my early twenties in Slieve Luacra, a region of swamps and bogs and poorish farmland and very small towns or villages in which the cultural relationship of town and country which is normal for Britain was comprehensively reversed. It was literate while retaining a very vigorous oral culture. A late flowering of Gaelic culture occurred there in the eighteenth century after Gaeldom had been broken in the richer areas. But it was a novel form of Gaelic culture in which the caste structure had been melted down. One of its great heroes was Owen Roe O'Sullivan, the last of the classical Gaelic poets, who was sometimes a labourer, sometimes a schoolmaster, but always acted out of personal impulse.

I was a labourer there for many years and felt no urge to become anything else. The mental/manual division of labour, which is deeply ingrained in British society, had still not penetrated there in the 1950s, and egalitarian culture still predominated over the economic division into classes. Life was interesting in a multitude of ways, and there was little or no connection between occupation and cultural interest.

I did not leave Slieve Luacra in the spirit of clever peasant seeking broader horizons in the city. I had seen a small bit of city life before I left, and I was repelled by the narrowness of what I saw. But I had to leave because the religious mania of urban Ireland was gradually encroaching on Slieve Luacra, and around the age of 13 I had found that I was unreligious. For about eight years I tried to work out a tolerable compromise, but then I gave up and left.

A couple of days after leaving I went to the British Museum and got a ticket

to the Reading Room to read some of Nietzsche's books that I had not been able to get in Slieve Luacra. (A Cork city bookshop through which I used to get books by post decided it could do without my custom after I asked it to get *Beyond Good And Evil*.) The British Museum Reading Room where Marx wrote *Capital* was the only library I knew about, so it is where I went. And fortunately it was made for the likes of me, having been developed by an Italian liberal of the mid-nineteenth century who sought refuge in England from a terrorist charge and who had thoroughly uncommercial and unacademic ideas about the pursuit of knowledge. His rules, designed to keep out the University student, were still in force, and so I got a ticket for the asking. And ever since, whenever I have been curious about something, I have gone there and satisfied my curiosity, knowing that all other libraries are poor imitations.

Being myself a labourer who has written quite a bit without having any inclination to enter the literary profession, I found nothing problematical in the fact that Connolly did likewise. And since the socialist movement is abstractly committed to revoking the division of labour, at least in the long run, it might be supposed that socialists who write about Connolly would not find it problematical either. But clearly that has not been the case. The mental/manual division of labour exists within the socialist movement no less than elsewhere. And it existed within the Communist Party no less, and at times much more, than in the Labour Party. Ernest Bevin—a labourer who organised a trade union and who made his own way intellectually in politics—was the dominant force in the somewhat amorphous Labour Party for a decade after the 1931 collapse, and ensured that for one term of Parliament there was basic and effective reform in the working class interest. In the highly structured Communist Party it would have been impossible for an unreconstructed labourer to achieve a guiding influence.

For many years I took the pious shibboleths of the socialist movement against the mental/manual division of labour at face value. Since I had not myself been used to this division of labour, and remained entirely unadapted to it, how could I not have taken the shibboleths for self-evident truths? But in time I came to understand that the notion of the rolling back of the division

of labour developed under capitalism was taken in earnest by nobody.

Connolly, the labourer who wrote, represents a road that society did not take—or at least that it has not taken so far, and that it shows few signs of taking. And Robert Lynd was not the person who would give encouragement that the road indicated by Connolly should be taken. He was a socialist after a fashion, and he was a nationalist after a fashion, but as a literary phenomenon he was the antithesis of Connolly.

Lynd, the liberalising middle-class son of an Ulster Unionist Presbyterian Minister, was for most of his life—about thirty years of it—a commercially successful writer of light literary essays—*Belles Lettres* as they used to be called—for London's 'quality' newspapers and magazines. For a few years before hitting the big-time in London he wrote in support of Arthur Griffith's early Sinn Fein movement and John Redmond's Home Rule Party. In later years he retained a sentimental affection for Griffith and the Redmondites, but after his 1916 *Introduction to Labour In Ireland* I have not found that he ever again made a reference to Connolly.

Lynd found his land-of-the-heart's desire as *Belle-lettrist* to the progressive element of the English middle class. He had the knack of stringing together inconsequential little essays which made his middle class readers feel a bit more cheerful as they read their morning paper or week-end magazine. And his whole life revolved around the production of these little essays.

He was perfectly adapted to the environment of which he succeeded in becoming an inhabitant. He married usefully within that environment. He cultivated the people it was useful to cultivate. He had beautiful manners. And, if there was in his make-up something that might be called conscience, it was what in Catholic casuistry prior to Vatican 2 used to be called "*instructed conscience*". But I doubt that he had even an instructed conscience. An instructed conscience is an autonomous conscience which submits to curbs. People who do what they do not spontaneously feel to be right because they are authoritatively instructed that it is right usually have to struggle with themselves to a greater or lesser degree. He was an entirely harmonious moral being, perfectly adapted to the lucrative morality of his circumstances. His conscience never led him into struggle with the

prevailing morality, nor was he ever known to lose a struggle with his conscience, as Huckleberry Finn did, and to do an evil action out of sheer human sympathy. He was simply perfect in the way that a barometer is perfect, or a weathercock.

So I cannot say that he acted maliciously towards Connolly. Even malice implies a kind of integrity which he lacked. He was a creature of fashion. Connolly did not form part of the reference material of the fashionable world in which he found complete spiritual and intellectual satisfaction, therefore he did not refer to him. Insofar as the term "*smug Philistine*" has meaning it applies to Lynd more than to any other writer I have ever come across.

In his 1926 book of essays, *The Little Angel*, there is one called *With An Oath* in which he moralises as follows:

"Mr. Kipling observed the... law of artistic selection in putting down on paper the speech of soldiers. We may quarrel with attempts to reproduce the Irish brogue in Mulveney or the dialect of Yorkshire in Learoyd; but, at least, he showed an admirable spirit of moderation in his use of the more sanguine part of the vocabulary of the barrack-room. The language of "Barrack-Room Ballads" was not considered particularly chaste on its first appearance, but how chaste it was in comparison with the unprintable, if circumscribed, eloquence of the master blasphemers of the service everyone knows who has talked to soldiers of all sorts in their cups. Mr. Kipling knew the words he left out, and a large percentage of his readers knew. But he was too good an artist—apart from any question of the possibility of police prosecution—to set them down in print. There are some words that are meant only for private circulation. They are, for general purposes, as foreign as the words of a foreign language, and it is the artist's business to translate them into terms of everyday speech. This is not entirely a matter of decency...but is due to the fact that some words, transplanted from life into literature, lose their native liveliness and become as dull as aspidistras.

"In our own time Mr. James Joyce has attempted to transplant into literature most of the foul words known to an ordinary Victorian schoolboy, and how dull "Ulysses" is to those who did not see the words for the first time in its pages! To others these words have the charm of novelty, but, if Mr. Joyce has many imitators, even his admirers will gradually find themselves flying back to Addison and Jane Austen in order to escape from boredom."

And in "*The Triangle*", another essay in the same volume:

"Lord Oxford, speaking at the award of the Hawthornden Prize as a hardened playgoer, confessed that he "had become heartily sick of the stale and monotonous reproductions of the sex problem with its triangles and complexes, its more or less thinly disguised indecencies, both of language and situation." Thirty or forty years ago many people believed that the stage and literature were about to be revived by what was called a frank treatment of the sex problem. Yet now that we have had more than a generation of frankness, we are wearily turning back to Jane Austen and Anthony Trollope...

"The authors write as they do, not because they know a great deal about human nature, because they know very little about it. They appeal, not to the imagination, but to one of the cheaper kinds of curiosity—a curiosity that goes after every will-o-the-wisp in the desolate bogs of Freud."

(Lord Oxford, under the name of Herbert Henry Asquith, started the First World War in which between twelve and twenty million people were killed, depending on what you include in it.)

I am not suggesting that there is nothing to be said for Lynd's opinions about Joyce and the use of language in literature expressed here. English—the English of England at any rate—consists of two languages. It has sources in Latin and Anglo-Saxon, and these sources have not fused into a single language in common usage—not in England. There are a couple of names for every thing, derived from the two sources of the language. The middle classes use the Latin word while the working classes use the Anglo-Saxon. For the most part this makes the difference between refinement and vulgarity, but in the case of a small stock of words—but of words which refer to the most familiar things—it makes the difference between what is moral and what is immoral. In the light of pure reason it is absurd that the use of a Latin word should be moral while the use of an Anglo-Saxon word for the same thing should be immoral, but such is the English way.

Practical morality is grounded in custom and it is pointless to argue with custom. Kipling used substitute words for the barrack-room language that everybody knew though it never appeared in print and that was OK, even though the real word was supplied by the reader. Joyce put down on paper the words in

common use among the mass of the people through whom the human race is reproduced—and Lawrence gave vocabulary lessons about them to Lady Chatterley—and that was immoral and indecent. And Lynd made his stand against Joyce's dirty book.

But this dirty book rapidly acquired the status of a literary classic, and Lynd adjusted his mode of reference to Joyce accordingly. It was not in his nature to sustain an opinion against the stream of the literary coterie in which he had his being.

I followed Lynd in chronological order through the twenties and thirties and I could not resist the conclusion that he had absolutely the emptiest mind of any writer I had ever read. He was as conventional as a chameleon, diligently reflecting the fashion of the moment. But the chameleon is a constant and purposeful animal behind his changing facade, while in the case of Lynd it began to seem that he was nothing but a changing facade. At first you thought his *belle-lettrist* success was causing him to lose himself in the labour of producing trivia, but soon you began to suspect that there was nothing there to be lost—that he was an instance of the later Althusserian notion of "*a process without a subject*". And then in 1939 something entirely unexpected turned up—an insight: a moment of truth in which Lynd knew himself to the extent of knowing that there was nothing to know: an expression of internal life testifying to its own non-existence: a revelation that there was nothing to reveal. It came in the essay, *Happiness On The Increase* in the book, *Searchlights And Nightingales* (1939):

"Though born into a Puritan world, I experienced none of the severities of Puritanism. I never knew an unkind relation or a cruel schoolmaster. Even the illnesses of my childhood—chicken-pox and measles—were made delightful with gifts of pictures and books..."

"Politics, too, was a source of happiness. I have changed from faith to faith in politics, but I have always been happy in the faith of the moment. To know men who would die for their beliefs—and many of the men I knew have died for their beliefs—was to live in a nobler world... Yet I doubt whether I myself would ever have died for a belief except by an accident beyond my control. I revere self-sacrifice, but I do not revere it more than I shrink from it. This is partly because I am essentially an arm-chair politician and partly, though in a smaller degree, because I have the

unfortunate gift of not being able to believe that the particular occasion on which men sacrifice themselves is the right one. But even if it were the right one, I should feel attached to my arm-chair...

"Not being sure whether I am happy myself, then, I cannot easily be sure whether anybody else is happy..."

When I came across this authoritative piece of autobiography, I had been wondering whether his Connolly *Introduction* could be put down to ignorance (though culpable ignorance, to use a Catholic phrase) or was the product of malicious hate. Then I wondered no longer. Lynd would never have disturbed his equilibrium with strong feelings. He engaged in character assassination of Connolly in a perfectly even temper. At any given moment he believed the beliefs of his chosen *milieu* and, uninhibited by either principle or empirical knowledge, whatever he did served the purpose of the moment.

He liked to refer to the Puritan world of his ancestors and his youth, but nothing of the essential Puritan spirit was transmitted to him—unless prudery be considered a legitimate variant of Puritanism. He simply had no conscience in the Puritan sense. There was nothing in him of the moral fibre of, for example, John Cooke, Irish Chief Justice in the early period of the Rule of the Saints in Ireland, who wrote as follows in 1655 when Cromwell, after a period of vacillation, was regressing towards the old order:

"If we must return to the Old Channell, I wish I could find out some Protestant Monastery... and spend the Remainder of my Days in Prayers and Tears...I dare not (indeed) return with the Dog to his Vomitt againe...Every man ought to be fully satisfied in his own mind, of the Lawfullness of what he Undertaketh, for what is not of faith, is of Sinn; formally, as to him, though not Materially, in itself. A man must rather suffer the Greatest Evill of Punishment, than to Consent to do any thing against his Conscience, though it be Erroneous. That being the Candle which God hath sett up in his Soule to direct him, Which to oppose, is a High Scorning of the Divine Majesty. And he that can do any one Action, against his Conscience, is ready upon any Occasion to perpetuate the greatest Wickedness that can be Imagined." (*Commentary on the Legal System*. Printed in *Irish Life in the 17th Century*, Cork University Press, 1950)

Cooke had prosecuted Charles I in 1649 and was executed for it by Charles II in 1660. To help him see the error of

his ways he was given the head of the recently executed Major General Harrison for company on the drive to the scaffold, but he maintained his equanimity. On the scaffold he was himself made use of to evoke terror in Hugh Peters, who was next in line. His body, while still fresh, was quartered by the executioner under the eyes of Peters to reinforce the good advice he was being given. But Peters, too, maintained perfect equanimity in the face of human butchery.

That was the Puritan spirit. And it was still not extinct in Ulster.

Subjective integrity which obliges certain things to be done, regardless of the consequences does not only come in the Puritan form—nor has Puritanism been its main form in recent centuries. So it might be said that, in developing discontinuity with the cultural inheritance of Protestant Ulster, Lynd sloughed off an obsolescent form of culture under the influence of the wider spirit of the age. But that would not be accurate. If Lynd was formed by a spirit of an age, it was the spirit of a previous age, a spirit that was more obsolete than the Puritan spirit. It was the age of the interlude in which he actually lived that was conducive to placid *belletrism* on trivial subjects, a brief English interlude between two English World Wars—an interlude of escapist denial of the consequences of the first War while the second was being frivolously prepared for.

In the outer world of which Britain had become the nominal master, the age was in turmoil and its spirit was frenzied. Lynd participated wholeheartedly in the act which disrupted the evolving order of the world and gave rise to the spirit of frenzy—the British war on Germany. But as the chaotic consequences of that War worked themselves out, he wrote as if he had been living in the pre-War era. He supplied the daily newspapers and weekly magazines with a constant flow of essays about *Life's Little Oddities*. His spirit was disengaged from the general spirit of the age which as a war propagandist he had helped to unleash.

His abilities were perfectly suited to the production of *Life's Little Oddities*. But he felt the urge to stretch himself by wiring about *Great Literature*, and in this he over-reached himself. He had an eye for little things but he had no mind for big things. When he engaged his mind with big things, he only displayed its essential banality.

Dostoevsky was the biggest subject to which he applied himself as a literary critic. In the 1860s Dostoevsky recoiled from the first development of the political tendency which within sixty years produced the Leninist State. His novels (written against the vision of Lenin's precursor, Chernyshevsky) are peopled with characters which display their humanity by acting on impulse. Impulsive action is action motivated by character, as distinct from action decreed by a system, and has therefore something in common with the Puritan mode as expressed by John Cooke.

Dostoevsky's powerful recoil from Chernyshevsky's vision of life led to the production of a series of novels in which the characters are pre-occupied with the most modern concerns. If Chernyshevsky's vision had not been realised in the Leninist State, and had not thus been poised for universal realisation, perhaps Dostoevsky's novels would have found a marginal place in world literature as an eccentric response to a phantom, and Lynd's assessment would have been justified. Or if Lynd had become a Leninist, or a fellow-traveller, his view of Dostoevsky would have had systematic justification. But that Lynd should have been anti-Communist, and should at the same time have dismissed Dostoevsky as eccentric, shows that his spirit was not engaged with the human predicament of his time but was lodged in an Edwardian time-warp.

Here are a few snippets from the Chapter on *Dostoevsky the Sensationalist* in *Old And New Masters* (1919):

"His people more nearly resemble madmen and wild beasts than normal human beings... He is fascinated by the loss of self-control... he is a novelist of torture. Turgenev found in his work something Sadistic... His passions are such as come before the criminal rather than the civil courts. His people are possessed with devils as the people in all but religious fiction have long ceased to be... He invents vicious grotesques as Dickens invents comic grotesques... It is easy to see why Dostoevsky has become a popular author. Incident follows breathlessly upon incident. No melodramatist ever poured out incident upon the stage from such a horn of plenty. His people are energetic and untamed, like cowboys or runaway horses. They might be described as runaway human beings."

And in the Chapter on Jane Austen:

"She is a naturalist among tame animals. She does not study man (as Dostoevsky does) in his wild state before he has been domesticated."

The barbarity on which Austen's nice world rested does not appear in her novels, and Lynd does not bother his head with it—the great slave labour camps in the Caribbean and the plunder of India.

(Jane Austen's picture of English life in the early 19th century, 1811 to 1817, is a whited sepulchre. Readers, reared in darkness, without the *Bible*, cannot be expected to appreciate the force of that statement on the spur of the moment: "*Alas for you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! Ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outwards, but are full of dead men's bones and of corruption*", Matthew, 23:27.)

And, in the Chapter on Oscar Wilde in *The Art Of Letters* (1920):

"Hundreds of people would not have the courage to sit down and read a book like *The Brothers Karamazov* unless they were compelled to do so as a matter of fashionable duty."

This strikes me as being merely absurd. I cannot imagine Dostoevsky being widely read either for titillation or out of a sense of fashionable duty. I must confess that I know little of what the intelligentsia might do out of the duty of fashion, but I know that Dostoevsky's readership was not mainly amongst the fashionable intelligentsia in recent decades, and that he was not favoured by them. Yet he has constantly been among the most widely read of the literary novelists. I read him in my mid-teens in Slieve Luacra and ever since he always been one of my reference points. He was not a reference point of the British Left during the sixties, seventies and eighties, when literary fashion was under Marxist influence, and he was banned in Russia, apart from a couple of early books. But, despite being out of fashion, he was never out of print. He was the human underworld of the systematically ideological world of the 20th century which he had rebelled against in anticipation. And the effective antagonist of the Leninist system from within was not some mimic of 'domesticated' Western Liberalism but a spirit inspired by Dostoevsky: Solzhenitsyn.

Jane Austen was not so much a domesticated as a hot-house variety—the English provincial middle-to-upper class variety in the early nineteenth century. And, so far as the male is concerned, what is represented by Jane Austen is the facet he presents at home in polite society. Abroad, and in his

relations with the lower classes at home, this "*domesticated man*" was an utter brute of a kind which is not to be found in Dostoevsky. The English gentry of that period had a very broad streak of savagery in them, and they applied it on a scale that savages rarely had either the opportunity or the inclination to. The English gentleman, indulging in verbal cut and thrust with the English lady within the parameters of genteel provincial manners, is a prettified abstraction from the actual English gentleman of the time.

By contrast, what one gets in Dostoevsky is whole people coping with the problems of civilisation in the era of the decline of Christianity. Literary prettification is discarded and the writer engages, through the medium of fiction, with the real world of his time—or with the germ of the real world of our time.

I think nobody could have been further removed from the influences of literary fashion than I was when I first picked up a Dostoevsky novel. I had never heard of him. But the title of *White Nights* caught my eye in a very small parish library in Boherbue village, so I picked it up and glanced idly over the opening pages. Since I found them intriguing I took it. And it just seemed to read itself. As did *The Idiot* and *The Possessed* soon after. What it fed in my mind was curiosity about human possibility.

"*He invents vicious grotesques as Dickens invents comic grotesques*"—that Lynd saw it that way raises psychological questions about Lynd himself as domesticated man—a lapsed Ulster Presbyterian domesticated in Hampstead. Something about Dostoevsky must have irritated him profoundly and distorted his perceptual apparatus. Possibly it was the long, memorable account of an advanced liberal with which *The Possessed* begins. Years before I ever encountered an advanced liberal in the flesh I knew the type through Mr. Verkhovensky.

It is true enough that Dickens created comic grotesques, and he strung them around one-dimensional heroes and heroines. And yet Lynd rated him as the best English novelist. That says something about Lynd's conception of the function of literature. I don't recall that he made an reference to the post-Dickens novelists who tried to escape from the sentimental grotesques and produce novels about human beings—George Gissing's *Born In Exile*, for example, or Samuel Butler's *The Way*

Of All Flesh. Nor do I recall a mention of Evelyn Waugh, who submitted the central character in *A Handful Of Dust* to the fierce punishment of obliging him to read the collected works of Dickens to his saviour/captor in the South American jungle. And, apropos "*a handful of dust*", Lynd wrote: "*Mr. Eliot is like a man dissecting—and dissecting with desperate earnestness—a corpse that isn't there*" (*Books And Authors*, 1922, p252).

The "*corpse that wasn't there*" was the English middle class after the Great War as represented by T.S. Eliot, the American poet who dominated post-War English verse.

Britain's Great War advertised itself from the first as Britain's first middle-class war. The middle class came into its own with this War. It displaced the old ruling class military combination of what Wellington called "*the scum of the earth*" officered by warrior aristocrats. The middle classes emerged from their counting-houses and disciplined themselves for battle in the War that was to consolidate British Imperial dominance in the world.

The war-propaganda was of a kind and on a scale never seen before in England. The middle classes determined to demonstrate that what the aristocracy had done well they would do better. People's War was declared. The populace was roused to a pitch of millenarian frenzy, and was conscripted for killing matches on a vast scale. In the millenarian spirit, a compromise settlement was ruled out of the question. The self-righteous do not make deals with an enemy which they have deluded themselves into seeing as the Power of Evil in the world.

The British will to war was not diminished by the diminishing prospect that the outright, unconditional victory was achievable. The War continued until the Americans joined in to save the vast debts owed to them by Britain, which would have been lost if Germany had won.

Then the United States disclaimed responsibility for restoring order in the world after the War in which it had intervened at the eleventh hour and won. Britain was allowed to act as if it had won the War.

But what was Britain in 1919? It had suffered the least casualties of the major states, but they were casualties on a scale never before experienced by English society.

In Britain's earlier Great Wars the ruling class had shielded and encouraged the middle classes, preparing them to take economic advantage of points victories in a world that was still orderly. But the middle class Great War was fought as total war to total victory and was concluded by a punitive peace which intensified the disorderliness.

The middle class traumatised itself in the course of winning its Great War. It had taken leave of its senses and had knocked the stuffing out of itself and it no longer knew quite what it was. It was zombified, recalling snatches of rhetoric from the days when it had a ruling class to look after it, but incapable of thoughtful and coherent action.

England, at the end of its Great War, ought not have been capable of being grasped by Eliot's images of the Hollow Men, the Wasteland, "*fear in a handful of dust*", the Undead. The middle classes had taken command from those to whom war had been a game. They had risen to the greatest height of nobility—of a moral nobility—by selflessly making the world an inferno for its own good, in order to purge it of Evil. And they had won. Their War had made the world good. How could it be that life in England, public and private, had been made dismal by that achievement, to be lived by rote according to routine—without pleasure, even in the case of a sexual liaison?

"She turns and looks a moment in the glass
Hardly aware of her departed lover.
Her brain allows one half-formed
thought to pass:
'Well, now, that's done, and I'm glad
it's over'."

The Undead made love, after a fashion. They made war in Ireland, after a fashion—but that is not mentioned. And they traipsed over London Bridge to make business in the City:

" Unreal City.
Under the brown fog of a winter dawn
A crowd flowed over London Bridge, so
many,
I had not thought death had undone so
many.
Sighs, short and infrequent, were
exhaled,
And each man fixed his eyes before his
feet,
Flowed up the hill and down King
William Street,
To where Saint Mary Woolnath kept the
hours
With a dead sound on the stroke of nine.

There I saw one I knew, and stopped
him, crying 'Stetson,
'You who were with me in the ships at
Mylae:
'That corpse you planted last year in your
garden,
'Has it begun to sprout? Will it bloom
this year?..."

Poisonous stuff! But Eliot's images were not discarded by the publisher. They were published, and they became the poetry of the England that had disabled itself in the waging of the Great Middle Class War—the War that was fought without aristocratic playfulness. So the poison was not in the poetry.

Lynd apparently felt nothing of this. He had contributed to the war propaganda as a Liberal intellectual, and Gladstonian Home Ruler, but he was essentially untouched by it. In the Autumn of 1914 he said what he had to say in order to be onside, and then he repeated it many times as part of the chorus—but he did not *experience* the War. He was present at it as an intellectual commentator, but when it was over he remained as if it had never happened.

Events that go on around you are not necessarily experienced just because you happen to be there amidst them while they are happening. If you are not engaged with those events from a definite standpoint, they will pass you by—no matter how busily you hold up a mirror to them.

Lynd must have known C.E. Montague, Assistant Editor of the *Manchester Guardian* and a Liberal Home Ruler. Montague was said to be the son of a priest. He married the daughter of the famous Editor of the *Guardian*, C.P. Scott. Scott, in late July 1914, had campaigned against British intervention in the European War that was brewing, even if the German Army should march through Belgium. (The march through Belgium came as no surprise, and could have been deterred if the British Government gave a straight answer to the questions put to it by the German Government and said it would treat a march through Belgium as a cause of war.)

When it became clear that the Government would declare war on the excuse of Belgium, Scott knew that his paper would have to debase itself by propaganda misrepresentation, but he couldn't do it himself. So he got his son-in-law, Montague, to write the War editorials. And Montague did the job so well that he argued himself into joining

up, even though he was approaching middle age. And then he found that he loved the experience of battle. And, out of that experience, he changed from a hack newspaper intellectual into a literary man.

It takes all sorts to make a world, and the world would not be as it is if in this region of it a love of battle was not widespread and war was generally experienced as misery.

I don't know how that side of things went with Tom Kettle, the brilliant Redmondite intellectual and Hibernian demagogue, who was on the Continent buying guns for the Home Rule Volunteers when the European War started. The two years of the Home Rule conflict—a British conflict at least as much as an Irish one—left him on close terms with leading Liberal circles in London. When Redmond, on his seat in the House of Commons on August 3rd, and without consulting the other leaders of the Party, was inspired to declare support for war on Germany, Kettle quickly took the lead in shaping the British war propaganda with lurid articles in the main Government paper, the *Daily News*.

He preached war, he recruited for war, and then he insisted on going to war.

He chanced to be home on leave when Connolly declared war on Britain, and led the Citizens' Army and the Irish Volunteers into battle.

The Home Rule Volunteers had split in September 1914 when Redmond, on the strength of a dead-letter Home Rule Act in the Statute Book, directed them to join the British Army. Redmond took the great majority with him as the National Volunteers while the minority prepared for battle in a different cause as the Irish Volunteers.

The National Volunteers, like the Ulster Volunteers, maintained themselves as an Army in Ireland while feeding recruits into the British Army. Recruits from these two lots of Volunteers appeared to get on well enough in France when they encountered each other as contingents of the British Army, while at home they prepared to do battle with one another when the Home Rule Act would be raised from the dead after the defeat of Germany. That was the spirit of the Review of the National Volunteers, held at Easter 1915.

The Irish Civil War (UVF vs. National Volunteers) over Home Rule that was

implicit in the Redmondite approach did not happen because the Irish Volunteers made war on the British State in Ireland.

Connolly's Army was defeated after a week's fighting. The centre of Dublin was reduced to rubble by British shelling. But Kettle knew that his game was over. Ireland fought Britain in a battle, the like of which had not been seen in Ireland since the days of Sarsfield and William of Orange. Such things do not happen without sufficient cause, and without consequences.

Kettle insisted on returning to the other War, knowing that it had been made futile, so far as Ireland was concerned, by Connolly's war. If he had still believed that the other War was as he had preached it in 1914, he would surely have stayed in Ireland and gone on the recruiting platforms to raise cannonfodder for it. His talent was needed to counter the impact of the Rising by discrediting it as a hopeless, destructive, anarchist diversion from the *War To Save Civilisation From he Barbarians*.

But, instead of making a supreme effort to keep up the flow of cannonfodder, he reduced himself to a piece of cannonfodder, becoming one body amongst millions, with a mind that didn't matter.

He applied this mind to a piece of personal escapist fantasy about the War—the poem that was found on his dead body. It was addressed to his infant daughter, *A Gift Of God* whom he had abandoned in order to preach and to wage a war against Evil in the form of the United German state that was inflicted with Nietzscheanised Prussianism:

"You'll ask why I abandoned you, my own
To dice with death. And, oh, they'll give you rhyme
And reason: some will call the thing sublime,
And some decry it in a knowing tone—
And tired men sigh with mud for couch and floor,
Know that we fools, now with the foolish dead,
Died not for flag, nor King, nor Emperor—
But for a dream, born in a herdsman's shed,
And the secret Scriptures of the poor."

!! A Professor of Political Economy dying for the "*the secret Scriptures of the poor*"!!

Not for King or Emperor! In 1914 Civilisation had meant the realm of the King Emperor who signed the Home Rule Bill into the Statute Book and then authorised its suspension. Barbarism was the force on which the Empire decided to make war—the unified German state. And the means by which Barbarism might be driven back was the Army of the King Emperor.

Kettle recruited for the Army of the King Emperor while Connolly formed an Army from those who had been beaten down in the 1913 Lock-Out. Kettle ridiculed the idea that there was any other way of fighting Barbarism than by joining the Army of the King Emperor. And 18 months later the Army of Kettle's choice crushed the Citizen Army and shot its Commander propped up in a chair.

But it was Kettle's moral world that collapsed in April 1916. And it was Kettle's death in the killing match of the Somme a few months later that was meaninglessly sacrificed. Whatever few Huns he may have shot during those few months would have been equally well shot by any one of a multitude of others.

The character of the War ceased to matter for him. If his last poem is to be taken in earnest—and why shouldn't it be?—he repudiated the character he had attributed to it in August 1914 when helping the Government to hustle the back-benches into a war-frenzy.

In conversation with Lynd in Dublin in April he explained that Connolly, with the simple understanding of a working-class socialist Utopian agitator, lost his grasp of world affairs when the workers of Europe made war on each other at the behest of the capitalists. In despair he became an Anarchist-Nihilist dynamiter and committed himself to mere destruction, and at least succeeded in destroying

himself so that he need no longer endure the existence of a world of which he could no longer make sense.

Kettle quoted a number of verses from Francis Adams' poem about a Nihilist Anarchist in *Songs Of The Night*. The poem ends with the lines:

"...a sombre hateful desire
Burns up slow in my breast
To wreck the great guilty Temple
And give us rest!"

I don't doubt that Lynd reported his discussion with Kettle accurately. He could not have invented it. His imagination was not creative.

Kettle said it. But it was Lynd who published it as Imperialist/Redmondite war-propaganda designed to nip Connolly's potential influence in the bud—doing it under a veneer of sympathy: Poor man! His mind gave way!

But in the light of Lynd's description of the impressive way that Kettle recited *The Anarchist* on the spur of the moment, and of what he did with himself during the next few months, it seems reasonable to think that the Nihilist feelings in a world that had gone wrong, which were attributed to Connolly, were feelings that were taking root in Kettle himself. He was, after all, not a routine Redmondite hack. The routine hack in the situation was Lynd, who in the War propaganda of the Autumn of 1914 had merely repeated what Kettle had invented.

Kettle was brilliant. Lynd was sedate. And Lynd sedately made use of a conversation with Kettle about Connolly as War propaganda against Connolly in his Introduction to the 1916 Maunsell reprint of *Labour In Irish History*.

And the Communist Party bound Lynd together with Connolly for later generations

To Be Continued

BOOK LAUNCH: All Welcome

"IRISH BULLETIN", VOLUME 3

(1st September 1920 - 1st January 1921)

at

The Ireland Institute, The Pearse Centre

27 Pearse St, Dublin 2

7.30 pm

by

Éamon Ó Cúiv TD and Professor Cathal Brugha

on

Thursday 26th November 2015,

Remembering Bishop O'Dwyer

The Crime Against Humanity

Another forgotten centenary of Britain's Great War passed by without comment. In August 1915 a Catholic Bishop, Edward O'Dwyer of Limerick, shattered the Redmondite propaganda about the Great War by stating that it was all about destroying Germany as a commercial rival and that anyone wishing to prolong it was guilty of a "crime against God and Humanity". Redmond was unable to contest the statement.

There is much talk these days about "Crimes against Humanity". It seems peculiar that the Great War is never associated with that phrase and lesser events—in terms of killing and destruction—are sought out to illustrate it.

Bishop O'Dwyer's contest with Redmond was a significant event on the road to 1916 by all accounts. At the end of November 1915, just after a second round of the Redmond/O'Dwyer contest, the Volunteers mounted a large muster in Cork City and Terence MacSwiney noted "a big success" and the turning of the tide. The formation of the British Coalition in the Spring, the threat of Conscription, and Bishop O'Dwyer's challenge to Redmondism, on behalf of Pope Benedict's Peace initiative, all had made their mark on the political situation in Ireland.

On 28th July 1915, around the anniversary of the start of the Great War, the Vatican took the initiative in attempting to end it, by issuing the *Allorche Fummo* Encyclical denouncing the War as futile and calling on Europe to make peace.

Earlier in the year Pope Benedict had attempted to bring about a secret deal between Germany, France and Belgium but had been rebuffed. He put the failure down to British intransigence in the background, acting on France.

Benedict announced, on the anniversary of the outbreak of the War, his "firm determination to devote every activity to the reconciliation of the peoples now engaged in this fratricidal struggle. He pledged himself to achieving "the cessation of the war" arguing that "It must not be said that this conflict cannot be settled without armed violence". And: "we invite all the friends

of peace to unite with us in our desire to terminate this war and... to solve differences not by the sword, but by equity and justice". Pope Benedict also said that those wishing to continue the war should "reflect that nations do not die; if humiliated and oppressed, they prepare to retaliate by transmitting from generation to generation hatred and the desire for revenge" (H.C. O'Neill, *History of the War*, p.441.)

The German Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, announced his country's readiness to discuss peace terms with the *Entente* within days of the Vatican initiative.

At this time, although the War had become a stalemate on the Western Front, Germany had the military ascendancy, showing it could defend and turn back the attacks of its opponents. The "Russian Steamroller" had been halted and Galicia liberated from the Tsarist forces, with Warsaw being taken. The British and French were halted both in Western Europe and in their invasion of Ottoman Turkey at Gallipoli.

The Vatican initiative produced a conflict between Redmond and Bishop O'Dwyer of Limerick over the Pope's plea for a negotiated peace. Bishop O'Dwyer wrote to Redmond:

"Dear Mr Redmond—the appeal which Our Holy Father the Pope has addressed to the belligerents in this awful war, which is devastating the world, will be read with the sympathy and backed up by the moral support of millions of the best of the human race... But amongst them all, none will receive this solemn appeal with deeper gratitude and reverence than our own Irish people, and for that reason I venture to address you, whose responsibilities at this moment are so heavy, and beg of you to throw the weight of your influence strongly on the side of peace.

"It is not easy to see what objection any of the belligerents can take to the proposal of the Pope. He does not ask any of them to make any concession, to undergo any humiliation, or to alter one jot of what it considers to be its just claims. He simply asks them, with the experience of the woe of the year that has just closed, to confer, either directly with one another, or through some

neutral, and see if it is possible to find terms, or even an approach to terms, on which they might put an end to this disastrous war.

"Unfortunately, one voice of passion has been raised already, without, we may hope due consideration, to make the shocking and unquestioned statement that to talk of peace at the present moment is immoral. There was never a more cruel and heartless untruth...

"Our Holy Father speaks words of sober truth and reason, and the impartial judgement of neutral nations, and much more of history, will utterly condemn those who refuse to hear him.

"At a crisis such as this where is the wisdom of repeating, like a parrot-cry, that no proposals for peace can be entertained until Germany is beaten to her knees? *Delenda est Carthago* is very fine, if you were sure of being able to do it. But is there a competent man in England at this moment who was confident to being able to crush Germany? Or to crush her at a cost that would be less ruinous than defeat? It may or may not be desirable to annihilate German power; but that is not the question now, but is it practicable? Proud and arrogant talk gives no help, and revolts the consciences of men; and people who set out to smash Germany should ask themselves whether the defeat of Russia, and the weakening of France, and the state of things at the Dardanelles, have not recently somewhat altered the conditions of the problem.

"A few months ago they counted with confidence on the triumphant pedigree of the Russian 'steamroller'. That machine is not now quite so efficient. Then great hopes were placed in the accession of the Balkan States to the side of the Allies. The turn of events in Poland would probably show them the merits of the other side, and altogether he should be a sanguine man who still counts on an overwhelming victory for England.

"It is time to look facts in the face, whether we like them or not. There is no use in shutting one's eyes, and, in blind conceit, rushing to one's ruin...

"The prolongation of this war for one hour beyond what is absolutely necessary is a crime against God, and humanity, and the judgement of neutral nations, and still more of posterity, will be pronounced heavily against any government that now refuses to entertain the proposals which are made in the name of religion, by one who is perfectly impartial, and has no interest to serve but the well-being of all the nations. But over and above these general considerations of religion and humanity, the vital interests of our own

country call clamorously for peace.

"Therefore, we may hope that you will use your influence to get a fair hearing for the noble and Christ-like proposal of the Pope. In England some people have been complaining of his silence. Now that he has spoken we may hope that they will show deference to his words.

"But, whatever they may say or do in England, we Irish Catholics have no excuse for disregarding the appeal of Our Holy Father. Our duty and our highest interests are on his side in this movement for peace, and, therefore, I should hope that you will bring your great influence to bear on the English Government and press it to give his proposal a fair and reasonable consideration.

"Assuredly you have a right to be heard. You have given them help beyond price. We may hope that when you speak on behalf of the Supreme Head of our Church, and for the vital interests of your country, they will give heed to your words.

"Before this disastrous war, by your wise and upright statesmanship, you deserved well of your country, and brought her to the very threshold of Home Rule. It may be in God's providence that you, a Catholic Irishman, are destined to render her, and the whole world, a still greater service by leading the English Government to take the first step at the word of the Pope towards the re-establishment of peace on earth" (*Freeman's Journal*, August 1915).

Redmond had the active support of the Catholic Hierarchy and the clergy at the outset for his war on Germany. Bishop McHugh had declared that "*the sympathy of our people one and all is with the arms of England*" and he described Germany as "*a Power that would set at nought the very foundations upon which civilisation rests.*" (*Irish Catholic*, 15 August 1914.)

In August 1914, Pastoral Letters were read out at masses across the country urging prayers for British military success. The *Independent* ran a story on the 29th September headlined, "*The Loyalty of Ireland—Cardinal Logue and the War*", which attributed to the head of the Irish Church, on his return from the Papal Conclave held after the death of Pope Pius X, the view that "*there was no more loyal country than Ireland*". The *Independent* also quoted the Cardinal as saying that "*Irishmen throughout the world would stand by the Empire in the crisis, and were prepared to fight shoulder to shoulder, petty animosities being forgotten*" (David

Miller, *Church, State and Nation in Ireland, 1898-1921*, p.310).

Archbishop Walsh had maintained a diplomatic silence in the face of these statements and the clerical warmongering heard on Redmondite recruiting platforms—as did Bishop O'Dwyer of Limerick. Bishop O'Dwyer, the Party's strongest critic in the past, had held his tongue since the Home Rule Bill and had ceased his attacks on the Home Rule/Liberal alliance.

Archbishop Walsh, and particularly O'Dwyer, were the more Vatican-orientated members of the Hierarchy. As such they took into account the international interests of Catholicism—particularly the threat to Catholic Austria—to a greater extent than the warmongering nationalist clergy in Ireland who threw in their lot with Redmond. I have not seen this fact commented upon by Irish historians. But it must have had important implications for Church/State relations after Redmondite Ireland had collapsed and been replaced by Free State and then Independent Ireland.

The *Freeman's Journal* published a very short and dismissive reply to Bishop O'Dwyer from Redmond on 13th August, 1915. It consisted of a couple of sentences, avoiding discussion of the main points of the Bishop's letter

With the fall of the Liberal Government in May 1915 and its replacement by a Coalition including anti-Home Rule Unionists, without the troubling of the electorate, British or Irish, O'Dwyer felt justified to publicly air his opposition to the Redmondites. The Bishop was prepared to face facts and say what Redmondite Ireland refused to acknowledge—that the Home Rule Act was a sham and Irishmen were being recruited to fight and die in an Imperialist war for a Great Fraud.

The Unionist *coup* put Conscription firmly on the agenda. The recently published and widely praised Charles Townshend book on 1916 says that:

"By the autumn of 1915, the threat of Conscription was becoming an obsessional topic in rural Ireland. In this increasingly neurotic atmosphere, a damaging sequence of events set in train the unravelling of the Irish Party's long-established political control" (*Easter 1916: The Irish Rebellion*)

It says much about the mind-set that has engulfed Irish academia that a desire not to be compelled to kill and die for

the British Empire should be seen as a medical condition compared to mental illness!

But Townshend is correct in suggesting that it was the moral power of the Catholic Church, exercised by Pope Benedict through Bishop O'Dwyer in Ireland, that began to challenge the Redmondite propaganda which had sought to establish a virtual monopoly on Irish thought, assisted by British repressive legislation.

Redmond was demanding that the Irish populace supply 1100 men a week to replenish the Irish cannon-fodder used up by the British Army at its numerous Fronts. The Redmondite Recruitment drive was launched to stave off the threatened Conscription which the Unionists were intent upon implementing on the "*neurotic*" Irish—who were being threatened with it (according to Stephen Gwynn, the Redmondite) on Recruiting platforms.

Some felt there was no escape from Conscription except emigration. So they headed for the boat. The British prevented escape from Ireland by stopping sailings from the island, so those fleeing military Compulsion had to travel to Liverpool. After the Cunard and White Star Lines held back the Irish from escaping their duty at the Fronts, an English mob attacked them.

The event produced outrage in Ireland, exposing the voluntary principle that the Redmondites trumpeted as a chimera and pointing at things to come.

Redmond declared that the people fleeing Conscription were ignorants from the West and compounded his mistake by saying they had "*no excuse*" and it was "*very cowardly of them to try to emigrate*" (*Irish Times* 9.11.15). The *Irish Times*, which quoted Redmond, condemned the "*Irish shirkers*" who were "*running away in the hour of their Empire's need*".

This was the trigger for Bishop O'Dwyer's most effective attack on Redmondism. He wrote to the *Limerick Leader*, defending the Irish emigrants attacked by the Liverpool mob:

"What wrong have they done to deserve insults and outrage at the hands of a brutal English mob? They do not want to be forced into the English Army and sent to fight battles in some part of the world. Is not that within their right? They are supposed to be freemen, but they are made to feel as they are prisoners, who may be compelled to lay down their lives for a cause that is

not worth 'three rows of pins' to them. It is very probable that these poor Connaught peasants know little or nothing of the meaning of the war. Their blood is not stirred by memories of Kossova, and they have no burning desire to die for Serbia. They would much prefer to be allowed to till their own potato gardens in peace in Connemara... and it seems a cruel wrong to attack them because they cannot rise to the level of the disinterested Imperialism of Mr. T.P. O'Connor and the New Brigade."

O'Dwyer continued:

"Their crime is that they are not ready to die for England. Why should they? What have they or their forebears ever got from England that they should die for her? Mr. Redmond will say: 'A Home Rule Act is on the Statute Book. But any intelligent Irishman will say: 'A simulacrum of Home Rule with an express notice that it is never to come into operation.' This war may be just or unjust, but any fair-minded man would admit that it is England's war, not Ireland's. When it is over, if England wins, she will hold a dominant power in the world, and her manufactures and her commerce will increase by leaps and bounds. Win or lose, Ireland will go on in her old round of misgovernment, intensified by grinding poverty which will make life intolerable. Yet the poor fellows who do not see the advantage of dying for such a cause are to be insulted as 'shirkers' and 'cowards' and the men whom they have raised to power and influence have not one word to say on their behalf" (Limerick Leader, 11.11.1915)

Bishop O'Dwyer's letter was suppressed by the Dublin papers (except the *Irish Times*). It was the only way it could have been handled by the Redmondites. O'Dwyer, or the papers printing the letter, could have been prosecuted under the *Defence of the Realm Act*. But such a prosecution, of a Catholic Bishop, would have proved disastrous. So the Bishop's letter was suppressed.

In response to the suppression it was distributed in leaflet form around the country. The RIC found and seized copies in 17 Counties. The *Irish Times* reported (24.11.15) that copies appeared all over Donegal in the middle of the night. The Inniskilling Fusiliers spent their time ripping them down, even from the notice boards of Catholic chapels. Dublin Castle toyed with the idea of prosecuting those who quoted Bishop O'Dwyer's words but thought better of it.

The Irish Party was placed in an uncomfortable position by the situation. John Dillon issued a statement via the AOH condemning the English mob for attacking the Irish, the Irish for attempting to escape Conscription and the Unionists for demanding Conscription. He argued that Conscription (or "*Prussianism*" as he called it) would not be attempted in Great Britain, let alone Ireland. The English Radicals and Irish Party would see to that (*Irish Times* 15.11.15).

Dillon argued that the Unionist calls for Conscription were a Unionist device to undermine Irish recruitment. However, if this was a War for civilization, of Good over Evil etc. this seemed a peculiar stance—of resisting those who wished to fight it without compromise. And it was an unsustainable position that could only be continued through the supply of greater and greater amounts of Irish cannon-fodder to stave off Compulsion to fight and die.

What was happening in Ireland was the opening of a great political division.

Dr. Edward O'Dwyer—Patriot—Bishop of Limerick

(1842-1917)

By Rev. Thomas J. Lavin, MA, CC

One evening away back in the mid-summer of 1913 an aged churchman was sitting in the lounge of a Kilkee hotel. He was reading avidly and with evident emotion Canon Sheehan's novel, *The Graves At Kilmorna*. A priest-friend entered unexpectedly and was surprised to find him so deeply moved, his eyes moist with tears. But down through the years he had always kept a warm spot in his heart for the Fenians who rose gallantly in the spring of his ordination year. Now he was reading, for the first time, Sheehan's beautiful but pathetic story of Fenian courage and idealism, and it struck a responsive chord in his own generous heart. To many at the time, the story of the now ageing churchman being moved to tears by Sheehan's novel seemed highly improbable, if not, indeed, mythical, for hitherto even those closest to him—his own diocesan clergy—had not realised the deep love of Ireland that lay beneath the apparent indifference with which he viewed Ireland's bitter agrarian troubles, and the seemingly anti-national feeling which inspired his denunciation of the Plan of Campaign. But within a few short years Ireland would have rebelled against her

The Redmondites, with their Home Rule Bill on the Statute Book, were attempting to sacrifice more and more Irishmen to keep it there. And they were being forced to get more and more to kill and die for the Empire, with the threat of Conscription hanging over the country if it did not give up its sons voluntarily. That would spell doom for the Party and the Home Rule project.

On the other side were the Volunteers. They were determined to break out of the trap into which Redmond had been led in his pursuance of Home Rule with the English Liberals and into which he had led the country. That trap led to Irishmen having to volunteer to fight and die in various parts of the world and or be labelled "*shirkers*" and "*cowards*" if they did not. And if they did not volunteer they could always be compelled.

Escaping from that trap ultimately involved fighting and dying on a smaller scale in order to prevent destruction and annihilation on a much larger one. That really was what 1916 was all about.

centuries-old oppressor, and the lineal successors of the Fenians would find their stoutest and most intrepid defender in this seventy-two years old churchman. Indeed, within four years death would have claimed him, and not merely his own diocesan clergy, but the clergy and laity of all Ireland, and of the greater Ireland beyond the seas, would realise that he who had passed away had entered the glory of Ireland's patriot dead. Dr. Edward Thomas O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick from 1886 to 1917, was, in truth, a great patriot-bishop.

To chronicle the activities of Dr. O'Dwyer from the Fenian Rising of '67 to his death in 1917 would necessitate a talk of much greater length than the Director of Radio Éireann can accommodate on one programme. So, I can barely mention many facets of his career: the magnificent ecclesiastical work done by him during the long years of his episcopate, his condemnation of the Plan of Campaign, which, on principle, he deemed unjust; his opposition to the Irish Parliamentary Party; his deep interest in all branches of education (his evidence before the Royal Commission on University Education was no less

valuable than his founding of the brilliantly-edited *Irish Educational Review*); his dominating personality in the councils of the Irish Hierarchy (he wrote the Pastoral Letter of the Maynooth Synod 1900, and drafted many of the episcopal pronouncements emanating from Maynooth), his powerful defence of Newman against the modernists, which won him an autograph letter from Pope Pius X, his golden-voiced tongue which held the audience in Limerick and elsewhere spellbound; his deep personal sanctity, and rare manliness of character. But it is not for these admirable characteristics and many-sided activities that Dr. O'Dwyer's name is held in such high esteem by patriotic Irishmen of this generation, rather it is for the historic part played by him in espousing and supporting the cause of Sinn Féin and defending the honour and integrity of those who fell in 1916.

Dr. O'Dwyer first came into prominence as a Nationalist in 1915. Already the English recruiting campaign had lured thousands of Irishmen into the British army, and was, in fact, daily achieving greater and more spectacular successes, when, to the consternation of its supporters, it was dealt a deadly blow by Bishop O'Dwyer. It so happened that, in November of that year some Connacht emigrants embarking at Liverpool for the U.S.A. were attacked and mobbed as shirkers by English civilians, and the crew refused to man the ship in which they intended to travel. This unprovoked attack on Irishmen drew a spirited protest from Dr. O'Dwyer. In an eloquent letter to the newspapers, he wrote: "*Why should those Irish lads be forced to join the British army? What is the war to them? Their crime is that they are not ready to die for England. Why should they? What have they or their forbears ever got from England that they should die for her? This war may be just or unjust but any fair-minded man will admit that it is England's war not Ireland's.*" The letter came as a benediction on the cause of Sinn Féin.

Time moved quickly. It was Easter 1916. On the Thursday of that historic week, General Sir John Maxwell arrived in Ireland as Commander-in-Chief of the British forces, with full powers to crush the insurgents and the insurrection. By Saturday, 29th April, the rising was over. On May 3rd, Pearse, MacDonagh and the veteran Tom Clarke fell before the firing squad; next day, Plunkett, Daly, Willie Pearse, O'Hanrahan; on

the 9th, Thomas Kent; on the 12th, the disabled Seán Mac Dermott and the wounded Connolly. Within a few weeks scores had been sentenced to death, thousands arrested, and without any semblance of trial, deported to English jails, while England, through her unscrupulous press-agencies had spread, and was spreading, throughout the world, the damnable lie that the insurgents were criminals, looters, murderers, "*the riff-raff and rabble*" of Dublin.

It was in these circumstances that Maxwell set about silencing the patriotic priests of Ireland. He would start with Limerick diocese where two priests were known as outstanding supporters of the rebels. On May 6th he wrote to Bishop O'Dwyer complaining that Fathers Wall and Hayes "*were a dangerous menace to the peace of the realm*", and asking that they be changed from their parishes to such offices as would deny them intercourse with the people. He concluded by asking Dr. O'Dwyer to co-operate with the military authorities in restoring peace to the realm. Dr. O'Dwyer received the letter at Kilmallock, where he was staying for confirmations. He instructed the local Parish Priest, Canon O'Shea, to reply asking Maxwell to specify his charges against the priests. On May 12th, the very day that the fifteenth insurgent had been executed, Maxwell launched his charges. One of the priests had spoken against conscription, had blessed the colours of the Irish Volunteers, had attended lectures by P.H. Pearse; the other had appealed to all members of the G.A.A. to join the Volunteers, had shown disrespect to the King, and had inspired disloyalty in the people by his public approval of Sinn Féin.

Now, the Bishop, himself, replied, and his reply, more than anything else in his long episcopate, has indelibly written his name into the history of Irish nationalism. He wrote:

"I have carefully read your allegations against Fathers Hayes and Wall, but I do not see in them any justification for disciplinary action on my part. They are both excellent priests, who hold strong national views, but I do not know that they have violated any law, civil or ecclesiastical. In your letter of the 6th instant you appealed to me to help you in the furtherance of your work as military dictator of Ireland. Even if action of that kind were not outside my province, the result of the past few weeks would make it impossible for me to have any part in proceedings which I regard as wantonly cruel and oppressive."

And he concluded, in words which thundered the scorn and defiance of an outraged nation:

"Personally, I regard your action with horror, and I believe that it has outraged the conscience of the country. Then the deporting of hundreds and even thousands without a trial of any kind seems to me an abuse of power as fatuous as it is arbitrary; and altogether your regime has been one of the worst and blackest chapters in the history of the mis-government of this country."

The influence of these patriotic and defiant words on the minds of the Irish people at a time of national crisis and seeming defeat was incalculable; and of no less potency was their echoes wherever Catholics and Irishmen were to be found in the capitals of the English speaking world, offsetting, as they did in large measure, the vile propaganda so sedulously spread by the British press. And Ireland was no less grateful to Dr. O'Dwyer than to the men who died. "*The heart of Ireland*", said one of the patriot-soldiers and writers of the time, "*leaped with love for the men who died, with love for the cause that called them, with pride in this new champion who had risen up to speak for Separatist Ireland in her hour of need*".

Resolutions of congratulations and thanks were passed by public bodies throughout the country, and by Irish-Ireland societies in the leading American cities. In the course of his reply to a resolution from Tipperary Board of Guardians, 23 June 1918, Dr. O'Dwyer wrote:

"Ireland is not dead yet; while her young men are not afraid to do and dare for her in open fight and when defeated stand proudly with their backs to the wall as targets for English bullets, we need never despair of the old cause ... Your resolution will be a comfort to those who reverence the memory of Ireland's latest martyrs, and will assure them that our countrymen, in spite of all the corruption that is at work, distinguish between genuine patriotism and all the spurious stuff that has been disgusting us of late".

On 14th September, Dr. O'Dwyer received the Freedom of the City of Limerick, and replying, he delivered a memorable and inspiring speech, in the course of which, he again vindicated the men of Easter Week, and referred in scathing terms to the professed but hypocritical war aims of England. With cutting sarcasm, he speaks of Asquith's proposals for the partition of Ireland:

"If Germany were to offer corresponding proposals to Belgium, with what scorn they would be rejected; with what burning indignation Mr. Asquith would roll out his resounding periods of denunciation of such an outrage on national rights; and if some young Belgians [sic] faced the German soldiers and fought like men until their resources were exhausted, and when they surrendered were shot dead in cold blood, in two and threes for days after, how England would appeal to heaven for vengeance on their murderers. One thing I know and that is, that their country would never disown them. The men of Easter Week were the true representatives of Ireland and the exponents of her nationality".

And, he concluded, in words which place him alongside Tone, O'Donovan Rossa and Pearse, as an authentic interpreter of national aspirations:

"Ireland will never be content to be a province. God has made her a nation, and while grass grows and water runs, there will be men willing to dare and die for her. Sinn Féin is the true principle."

In May 1917, the British censorship in Ireland refused publication to another forceful Letter of Dr. O'Dwyer, condemning, with all his powers of invective, the harsh treatment meted out to Republican prisoners in English jails. It was his last effort to further the national cause.

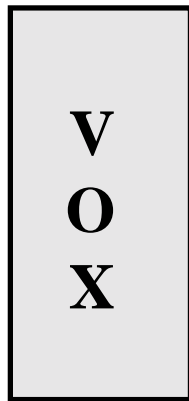
The voice that rallied a distracted and leaderless Irish nation, gave it cohesion and inspiration, was on the Sunday within the Octave of the Assumption stilled for ever, and the great soul of Limerick's fearless patriot-bishop passed to join Pearse, Connolly and the rest of that noble company of 1916 leaders whose ideals and honour he had so ably upheld and defended during life.

It was unfortunate that he did not live to see the fruit of the great work to which he lent such splendid aid in the sweeping victory of Sinn Fein in the 1918 election, and the subsequent establishment of Dáil Éireann. But, perhaps, a greater destiny awaits him; perhaps, as Francis Ledwidge wrote of Thomas MacDonagh—

When the Dark Cow leaves the moors
And pastures poor with greedy weeds,
Perhaps he'll hear her low at morn
Lifting her horn in pleasant meads.

4th April 1956

[Bureau Of Military History, 1913-21
Statement by Witness, 1407]



Home Burial

A single farmer in Swinford, Co Mayo, has won an appeal which will allow him to build a private burial plot for himself on his land.

"Mayo County Council had refused Martin Neary's planning permission but he won his appeal to An Bord Pleanála and will now be permitted to construct the plot for use when he passes away.

"The Mayo farmer intends for the land to be a private burial place for himself only, as he has no next of kin. He wants to erect a simple headstone with the names of deceased family members next to the proposed grave.

"It is his intention that the lands will never be sold or redeveloped and no grazing will occur on the site" *Western People*, Ballina, 22.6.2015).

Juries

Members of the public can avoid jury service by signing up for a nominal fee to be a 'minister' in an online church.

Emmett Vaughan, a self-styled minister with the 'Church of the Flying Spaghetti Monster', has been excused jury duty in the Irish courts because of his beliefs.

The 44-year-old decided to join the US-based registered church, who are also known as Pastafarians, online.

Under current guidelines, a priest or minister of any denomination can be exempted from jury duty.

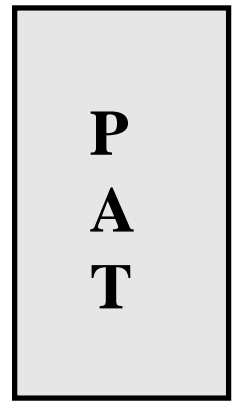
When he put his new-found pastoral role on the jury reply form, Mr Vaughan, an active member of Atheist Ireland, waited for the Court Service to seek verification of his position.

The scheduled jury date passed and no verification was ever sought.

He told the *Irish Independent* his actions expose the "inequality" which allows members of the clergy a privileged position when it comes to jury duty (*Irish Independent*, 14.4.2015).

Britain's Great War, Pope Benedict's Lost Peace: How Britain Blocked The Pope's Peace Efforts Between 1915 And 1918 by *Dr. Pat Walsh*. €6, £5 postfree from athol-st@atholbooks.org

Home Burial
Juries; Philosophy
Rev. Ivan McKay
The Faithful
Islam
Fr. Prout
Lies, Damned Lies and US Lies
Padraig O Cuanachain



The Faithful

Two thirds of people worldwide still claim to be religious, while the other third are either not religious or convinced atheists.

Research by WIN/Gallup International found that more than six out of 10 (63%) citizens say they are religious, while one in five (22%) say they are not and one in 10 (11%) consider themselves convinced atheists.

In Africa and the Middle East, more than eight out of 10 people (86% and 82%, respectively) describe themselves as religious followed by seven out of 10 in Eastern Europe and the US (71% and 66%, respectively). Six out of 10 people in Asia say they are religious.

Thailand is the most religious country in the world (94%), followed by Armenia, Bangladesh, Georgia, and Morocco (all circa 93%).

Western Europe (51%) and Oceania (49%) are the only regions where approximately half of the population say they are either not religious or convinced atheist.

The least religious country on the planet is China with twice the amount of convinced atheists than any other nation (61%) followed by Hong Kong (34%), Japan (31%), Czech Republic (30%), and Spain (20%). The Swedes prove to be the least religious people in the Western world with 78% saying they are either not religious or convinced atheists.

Just 30% of Britons consider themselves religious, compared to 70% of Russians and 56% of Americans.

People aged under 34 and those without an education tend to be more religious. Religious people are a majority in all educational levels.

Between 1991 and 2011, the numbers of atheists, agnostics, and those with no religion in Ireland increased more than

The Graves At Kilmorna: a story of '67 by *Canon Sheehan*, Introduction by *Brendan Clifford*. Appendix of extracts from Canon Sheehan's other novels. 296pp. €24, £20 postfree

four-fold to 277,237.

This group included 14,769 children of primary school age and 14,478 of secondary school age. There were 4,690 children aged under one who had no religion.

The largest proportionate increase was in atheism, from 320 to 3,905.

The president of WIN/Gallup International Association Jean-Marc Leger said the result shows that religion still plays a central role in most people's lives. (*Irish Examiner*, 15.4.2015).

Philosophy

"Religion as an unconscious collective behaviour is dying in Europe, but the obligation to ask philosophical questions isn't going away.

"The ultimate question—why should I struggle so hard to be me when I know that 'me' is going to dissipate—religion used to answer. It doesn't mean we won't find new ways to try to answer that question" (Michael Harding, Writer and Actor from Westmeath, former clerical student, *Sum. Bus. Post* 19.4.2015).

Rev. Ivan McKay

The next Moderator of the Presbyterian Church is the Rev. Ivan McKay (57), who ministers in the suburban parish of Dundonald on the outskirts of Belfast.

Mr McKay was nominated by 11 out of the 21 Presbyteries who met on 4th March 2015, throughout Ireland to vote for a new Moderator.

The Rev. Ken Newell of Belfast's Fitzroy congregation, received 10 votes.

In February, for the first time in 10 years, a meeting for the election of a new "principal public representative" of the Church ended in a tie between Mr. McKay and Mr. Newell.

Mr. McKay will take up office on June 2nd in succession to Dr Russell Birney who will continue as Moderator until that time.

Born in Ballymoney on June 25th, 1945, Mr McKay moved to Belfast at the age of two. He was brought up in the Oldpark congregation in north Belfast and was educated at Methodist College; Trinity College, Dublin and the Presbyterian College in Belfast.

Mr. McKay is married to Marleen with two grown up children and two grandchildren. He described himself as a "traditional minister preaching God's word and applying it to life today while pastoring people as they live out their faith in the context of their own circumstances" (*Irish Times*, 5.3.2015).

Islam

Patricia Crone, who has died aged 70, was a scholar who explored untapped archaeological records to challenge conventional views of the roots and evolution of Islam.

Historian colleague Fred M Donner said Crone had made it clear that historians of early Islam had failed to challenge the validity of their sources, complacently accepting instead the version of history created by the Islamic tradition itself.

Crone disputed assumptions that Islam had been transmitted by trade from Mecca, suggesting rather that it had been spread by conquest. She also identified how indigenous rural prophets in what is now Iran had defied conquering Arabs and helped shape Islamic culture, setting the stage for conflicts that endure today.

Current events frequently intruded on her scholarship. Writing about present-day Muslims, she said:

"Wherever they look, they are being invaded by so-called Western values—in the form of giant billboards advertising self-indulgence, semi-pornographic films, liquor, pop music, fat tourists in indecent clothes and funny hats, and politicians lecturing people about the virtues of democracy."

Patricia Crone was born in Kyndelose, Denmark, in 1945. She attended the Universities of Copenhagen and London, then taught at Oxford, Cambridge and Princeton. She argued that Muhammad was first perceived not as the founder of a new religion but as a preacher in the Old Testament tradition, at a time when Arabs and Jews were allies. His success, she argued,

"...had something to do with the fact that he preached both state formation and conquest: Without conquest, first in Arabia and next in the Fertile Crescent, the unification of Arabia would not have been achieved" (*Irish Times* Obituary, 1.8.2015).

Fr. Prout

Francis Sylvester Mahony was born into a wealthy family of woollen merchants in Blarney. He aspired to become a member of the Jesuit Order but settled for ordination as a secular priest. He was of an irascible nature, but a celebrated linguist, mastering and writing in many modern European languages as well as Latin and Greek.

In 1832, having worked throughout the cholera epidemic in Cork, he had a dispute with the Bishop and left for London. Although he affected a religious garb for the rest of his life, he apparently

did not practice his priestly function, engrossing himself instead in the literary life of London. He was associated with *Fraser's Magazine*, worked with Dickens on *Bentley's Magazine* and was Roman correspondent of the *Daily News*.

Fr. Prout, the pen name adopted by Francis Mahony, took issue with such personalities as Tom Moore, charging that Moore had plagiarised many of his melodies from other countries. He savaged Dr. Kenealy who had dared to attack Thomas Davis, asking "is Repeal become such a common urinal that any blackguard can make a convenience thereof?"

Prout turned his satire against Daniel O'Connell, "the bog trotter of Derrynane", incensed that, during the Famine, O'Connell had accepted a sum of £20,000, donated by the poor:

Hark, hark, to the begging box shaking,
For whom is this alms money making?
For Dan who is cramming his wallet
while famine
Sets the heart of the peasant a-quaking.

Francis Sylvester Mahony, alias Fr. Prout, author of *The Bells of Shandon*, was born on 31st December, 1804 (*Day by Day, A Miscellany of Cork History*, Sean Beecher, The Collins Press, Cork, 1992)

Remarkably, Mahony's body is interred in a vault at St. Anne's Church of Ireland, Church Street, Shandon in Cork city.

Lies, Damned Lies and US Lies

In October, 1990 'Nurse Nariyah' testified before the US Congress that she had worked in a maternity hospital in Kuwait at the time of the Iraqi invasion, that she had witnessed Iraqi troops pulling infants out of incubators and dumping them on 'the cold floor to die', prior to walking off with the machines. It later turned out that 'Nurse Nariyah' was the daughter of the Kuwaiti ambassador to the U.S.A. and had never worked in a Kuwaiti maternity hospital. She had been coached to give her fabricated testimony by the PR company Hill & Knowlton, which had been hired by the U.S. government and Citizens for a Free Kuwait to promote the Gulf War—*History Without the Boring Bits*; Ian Crofton.

Padraig O Cuanachain RIP

The late Padraig O Cuanachain, the Gaelic scholar from Cork did tremendous work during the building boom in persuading builders to title their new estates with names appropriate to our Gaelic past and place.

the secret of his conscience a duty that no one can force him to accomplish, but which failure to accomplish would lead to a feeling of guilt towards himself and towards God."

The methods to be used

Teaching morality in France today is very problematic, because the main value is freedom, and absolute personal choice; one build one's life as one likes. Thus you can't limit people's freedom by telling them what to do. Many teachers, imbued with multi-culturalism and the cult of total personal freedom, think morality should not be a school subject. The Deputy President of one of the main teaching unions said: "*Values are not transmitted, like a virus or a vaccination, they are brought to life.*" (Meaning the teacher puts them into practice in the classroom. This is what morality in the class-room will often boil down to: school rules, like listening to others and taking turns speaking, which presumably teachers have always taught.)

This idea that values are not transmitted is central to Government philosophy: Ministers such as Vallaud-Belkacem the Minister for education, strongly want pupils to be freed "*from the determinism of social and territorial environment*", meaning they want them freed from the influence of their family and origins. The child is therefore supposed to consider himself as alone in the world. Not only will teachers introduce him to moral values, of which he would have no idea otherwise, but they will also teach him elementary hygiene, safety and nutrition, as if he was making his own way in the world. Pupils are assumed to have learned strictly nothing at home, not even to wash their hands. Teachers are supposed to become the main source of moral and practical influence.

Since they can't be seen officially to take the place of the family, teachers will not tell the child anything, they will just set up discussions among pupils, and let values emerge, with the help of reasoning. They will lead discussions centred on an event, a text, a maxim, and this will be followed by "*an interpretation, clarified and shared, then written down and memorised*". That means that one interpretation is arrived at, and the whole discussion was directed towards that interpretation; the teacher has to make sure the discussion leads where she wants it to. The debate is initiated and concluded by the teacher who therefore imposes the official view of the world, which is fine because it is benign, as we will see.

Teaching morality in schools in France

The Government is reintroducing the teaching of morality in schools, after it was abolished post 1968.

Schools will teach morality to children from the age of 5. The official programme is on the Ministry of Education website, and, strangely, the second document in a short list of supporting literature is the 1883 Letter from the then Minister of Education, Jules Ferry, to school teachers, regarding the teaching of morality. The idea presumably is to pretend that there is republican continuity in the actions of the Government. Jules Ferry is a respected figure as the founder of Republican Education, who wrenched schools from the grasp of the Catholic Church. The other continuity is in the assumption of a universal morality that everyone is able to find in his conscience; in 1883, that assumption relied on still present Christian belief; in 2015, it is just an assumption, supposed to be based on reason, i.e. anyone reasonable will agree there is a universal morality.

Two Approaches

In fact, as the quotations below will show, present day teaching bears no relation to the 1883 Letter, either in content or in intent. Unlike 1883, the 2015 programme treats the child as a lone individual, unconnected to a family or a community, except school and France, and the aim is to make him think, question his beliefs and give them up: "*The pupil is encouraged to think, name things, listen to other points of view, defend his position, question his position, doubt, find out more, and be prepared to change his opinions.*" The French text ends with 'renoncer' which I have translated as '*be prepared to change his opinions*' but really means '*give up*'.

The 1883 Letter expressly says the opposite:

"It goes without saying that the teacher will avoid as a bad deed anything, in his language or his attitude, which might hurt the children's religious beliefs, anything that could trouble their spirit."

That 1883 Letter has content, and presents the child as being part of a family he or she must love, respect and help. The teacher must teach the child to love nature and God. The Ferry Direct-

ive begins:

"Secular moral teaching is different from religious teaching but does not contradict it. The teacher does not take the place of the priest or the father; he joins his efforts to theirs in order to make of each child a good and honest man."

"Later, when they have become citizens, {the children} may become divided by dogmatic opinions, but at least they will agree in practice to place the purpose of life as high as possible, to hate all that is base and vile, to admire all that is noble and generous, to have the same ready recognition of duty, to aspire to moral improvement, whatever the efforts it might cost, to feel united in this general cult of what is good, beautiful and true, cult which is a form, and not the least pure, of religious feeling."

This feeling of something greater than yourself extends to nature: "*To lead children upwards to a feeling of admiration for the universal order and to religious feeling by presenting to them great natural beauty*".

From age 9 to 11:

The child is considered as first of all part of a family: he has duties to his parents and grand-parents: obedience, respect, love, gratitude; helping the parents in their work, bringing them comfort when they are ill; supporting them in their old age. Duties to brothers and sisters: love each other, the older ones to protect the younger ones, give a good example. Then the child at school has duties towards the teacher and his schoolmates. Finally the child has a duty to France, "*in her greatness and her misery*".

Regarding material goods: avoid debt, do not have an excessive love of money and gain; work (do not waste your time, work is obligatory for all men, nobility of manual work.

Then from age 11 to 13:

The teacher will show pupils the difference between duty and self interest, even when they seem to be the same, because duty has an imperative and disinterested character.

The distinction between written law and moral law will be taught:

"the first is a minimum of rules that society imposes on pain of penalties, and the second imposes to everyone in

There has to be some content eventually for moral education; this content is a set of empty words.

Teachers will follow a list of themes for discussions, under four headings: *Introduction to moral notions* (good and evil, truth and falsity, sanction and reparation, respect for rules, etc), *Respect for the self* (dignity, hygiene, the right to intimacy, The image I project of myself as a human being), *Social life and the respect for persons* (rights and duties, equality of sexes and of human beings, self control); and *Respect for the property of others and public property*. These are given as headings, with no explanation or content.

To guide the discussion of these bald themes, there are principles, the principles of the Republic: dignity, liberty, equality, solidarity, secularism, justice, respect of persons, equality of men and women, tolerance, the absence of all forms of discrimination.

Critique

Some of these principles are completely vague and meaningless in themselves; Freedom is notoriously difficult to define: freedom from what? Freedom to do what? Interestingly the curriculum stresses the limits to freedom: "*your freedom is limited by the rights of others*", "*freedom, which is achieved through education, is fundamental to any democracy*" and education will "*set the basis for a well understood exercise of individual freedom within society*". But how freedom is limited is problematic; the golden rule "*do as you would be done by*" is a minimal guide, as it does not apply to the majority of actions, such as acts that impinge indirectly on society.

Equality is equally vague and problematic: in what respect are people equal? In the wages they can expect? In the prestige they enjoy? In the houses they live in? In the gardens they have? The 1789 *Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen* spelt out that equality was only equality of Rights: "*men are equal in rights, and inequality is there only to maintain the good order of society*". This means that aristocrats do not have extra rights by virtue of their aristocratic birth. The 'equality' of 1789, supposed to be the pillar of French society today, is in fact meaningless, when there are no aristocrats placed above the populace by right. Groups of people today enjoy extreme privilege, and at the same time defend 'equality' as sacred. As for *dignity, solidarity and tolerance*, they are ideals at best, or pious words in fact. Although dignity is an

interesting value to promote, since crassness, as shown on television for example, is supposed to be a good thing.

The principles which have some content are not moral principles as such, which must be universally acceptable, but the dogma of people who happen to be in power at the moment: "*equality of men and women*". This is as problematic as equality in general: equal in what respect? Does equality allow difference? Often it translates as 'must be treated the same, the same things must be expected of both': the same Minister for Education, Vallaud Belkacem, told little girls in the classroom at the time when gender theory was going to be part of the primary curriculum: "*you too can play war*".

"*Absence of all forms of discrimination*" must be a joke if you are the child of an immigrant.

The other modern dogma is *laïcité* or secularism, understood in this context as 'freedom to think and to believe or not to believe', but which is popularly understood to mean that religion is only acceptable if it is entirely private and does not visibly influence your behaviour. This denies the very nature of religion, which is for a large part a guide to good behaviour. This right to be religious is explicitly denied in France, see cases of people who allow their religion to influence their behaviour (for example, Muslim women who understand modesty to mean covering your hair): they are not allowed to enter public places.

These are the themes and the general principles; the baffled teacher—history and geography teachers will be in charge initially, as they were in charge of civic education—will find that the actual curriculum covers mainly practical matters such as school rules, hygiene, healthy eating, road safety, internet safety, and knowing the symbols of the Republic. Later pupils will practise 'identifying situations of discrimination contrary to the values of the Republic, liberty, equality, fraternity and (radical) secularism'. They will learn about human rights, the rule of law, and social customs. Pupils will learn to feel that they belong to their country, and that they are also citizens of the European Union; they will learn the symbols of the EU, its flag and hymn. That will form citizens who are "*aware of the principles and rules that found our democracy*".

Texts

These are the texts offered to teachers to help them teach morality:

- a compilation of moral maxims,
- Declaration of the Rights of the Child,

20 November 1959

- International Convention of the Rights of the Child 1989
- French Constitution of 4 October 1958
- Speeches on the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen by Castellane, Barnave and Malouet (1st August 1789)

The compilation of hundreds of moral maxims of the world through the ages does not add up to a morality of any sort. I will give as an example the four maxims which come under the heading of Good and Evil:

« *Toute la morale est dans ce vieux proverbe : Qui mal veut, mal lui arrive.* » All of morality is in this old proverb: who wants evil, evil will befall him. Jean-Baptiste Say—*Des hommes et de la société*—1817.

« *Excuser le mal, c'est le multiplier.* » Excusing evil means multiplying it. Gustave Le Bon—*Aphorismes du temps présent*—1913.

« *C'est par les actions qu'on peut juger du bien.* » It is through actions that you can judge what is good. Térence—*Héautontimorouménos* – second century BC

« *Le mal qu'on dit d'autrui ne produit que du mal.* » The evil you say of others only produces evil. Nicolas Boileau—*Satire VII, Sur le genre satirique*—1663.

How these maxims are supposed to help teach pupils the difference between right and wrong is not clear.

Rights

That leaves '*human rights*' as a guide to behaviour. But human rights cannot be a guide to behaviour.

Rights are a legal concept, and they can only be effective if there is a legal mechanism in place which can enforce the rights. You need to be able to have an answer to the question: who will enforce the right? How should my right as a human being be enforced?

Human rights in the abstract cannot exist except as ideals: there is no context and no person or body that can recognise an obligation towards all human beings in their quality as human beings.

Take the question of clean water. Do human beings have a right to clean water? They all have a need for clean water, but what would it mean to say they have a right to it? How would that right be enforced? Who do you appeal to?

The same questions could be asked about other basic things like a right to work, never mind the right to a happy childhood etc.

Declarations of universal rights are abstract and general, mere expressions of wish; pupils reading in the United Nations *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, 1989:

"Recognizing that the child, for the full and harmonious development of his or her personality, should grow up in a family environment, in an atmosphere of happiness, love and understanding,

Considering that the child should be fully prepared to live an individual life in society, and brought up in the spirit of the ideals proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations, and in particular in the spirit of peace, dignity, tolerance, freedom, equality and solidarity"

could be forgiven for thinking they were just reading pious words. Older children might be aware that the UN, far from being a source of moral guidance, is a body that also sponsors wars, using 'human rights' as an excuse to wreak destruction.

Human rights are accepted today as 'a good thing', an expression of idealistic feelings; but feelings are not rights. When universal rights were first mooted in France in 1789, the obvious objection that they would not apply to the majority was raised. Speeches at the Assembly questioned the wisdom of a *declaration of the rights of man*, when the fact of the matter was that inequality was recognised as the basis for an ordered society. A Third Estate (non noble) deputy made that point (*Speeches on the declaration of the rights of man and the citizen by Castellane, Barnave and Malouet, 1st August 1789*):

"We have as our fellow citizens an immense multitude of men without property, who need for their subsistence regular work, a settled life and consistent protection, and who are sometimes irritated, not unreasonably, by the spectacle of luxury and opulence.

"I do not conclude from this that this class of citizens does not have an equal right to freedom. Such a thought is far from me. Freedom should be like the sun, which shines for all. But I believe that in a great empire men placed by destiny in a dependent condition should be shown the just limits of natural freedom rather than its extension."

The conclusion is straightforward and our Minister for education also aims to show pupils *"the limits of natural freedom"*. But the whole passage contains a hint that those not in a dependent condition might have duties and obligations towards their fellowmen, since they need *"regular work, a settled life and consistent protection"* and are *"sometimes irritated, not unreasonably, by the spectacle of luxury and opulence"*. This

is no more than a hint, a survival of feudal and Christian notions, to be rejected at once; it will be rejected also by the non-Christian Left, as paternalistic. Hence Left and Right both reject the idea of obligation to your fellow man, and both constantly evoke the 1789 motto of *'liberty and equality'*, the Right because it gives a justification and a revolutionary gloss to the imposition of individualism and the Left because they like the Revolution and don't look any further.

Absurdities

The idea of reintroducing morality on the curriculum was mooted in 2008, then in 2013, then made urgent after the Charlie Hebdo events of January 2015. The idea of reintroducing moral teaching came with the realisation that the perpetrators of recent attacks on French soldiers and journalists were French and had attended French schools. Further, pupils in 200 schools had refused to hold a minute's silence for the victims of the attacks, saying *"they were not Charlie"*. In the panic induced by the events, schools were made to bear responsibility, and teachers were tasked with helping to prevent further outrages. The new programmes were introduced as a direct response to these events, and rushed through without textbooks or training for teachers.

The men who killed the Charlie Hebdo journalists belonged to the *"immense multitude of men without property, who need for their subsistence*

regular work, a settled life and consistent protection" and who furthermore see France participating in the destruction of fellow Muslim peoples in the Middle East. The idea you can calm their anger with pious words is absurd.

The new curriculum is an attack on religion, this time Islam as well as Catholicism. But it shows up the difficulties a society based on individualism and absolute freedom faces when trying to imagine a guide to behaviour, that is, a morality which involves recognition that we live in communities and are bound to depend on each other for our well-being.

The best that the Minister and her committee can come up with is that children should make their way in society without being disruptive: *"exercise their freedom without infringing other people's rights"*. Putting yourself first, as long as you don't infringe other people's freedom, leaves the way open to actions that undermine families and communities. The trouble is that the Minister and her committee don't recognise that we need families and communities and that we depend on them for our happiness. Instead they explicitly deny that we need families and communities: for them, there is ideally nothing between the child and the State. This for them is not the deplorable result of sustained attacks on the family and communities, but a desirable state of affairs.

Stephen Richards

William Jennings Bryan 90 Years On
Part One

Pied Piper Of The Great Plains

In the aftermath of the election of Jeremy Corbyn to the leadership of the British Labour Party it might be instructive to revisit the career of the great insurgent of US politics. From 1890 to 1915 small town America was entranced by Bryan. What Americans call the middle classes gave him unconditional loyalty. They couldn't get enough of him, and readily forgave his three failures to secure the White House for the Democrats, in 1896, 1900 and 1908. Bryan didn't quite live into the age of mass radio, let alone coast to coast TV: if he had been born a bit later he would probably have been unstoppable. Even diehard opponents were temporarily

unmanned by his brilliance on the platform; and the same speech heard for the second or third time managed to retain its original impact. The crowds were intent on getting close enough to touch him, as if they could catch some virtue from his body; and, being an easy-going type, he didn't seem to mind it when on his many speaking tours on the railroad the locals gazed into the carriage at him while he was shaving.

The downside of Bryan's great gift of course was that rhetoric tended to overshadow hard analysis, and he was punished for it. Many who were dazzled by his speeches suspected afterwards that it was a trick of the light. Here is a

Republican called Ira Smith with his memories of Bryan many years after he heard him in the 1896 Presidential campaign:

"I listened to his speech as if every word and every gesture were a revelation. It is not my nature to be awed by a famous name, but I felt that Bryan was the first politician I had ever heard speak the truth and nothing but the truth."

The next day Mr. Smith read the same speech in a newspaper and "*disagreed with almost all of it*".

In the course of his campaigns Bryan transformed the Democratic Party into something approaching the coalition that won under Wilson and, later, Franklin D. Roosevelt. Some have argued that the New Deal, which kicked off eight years after his death, was the Promised Land that Bryan had just seen from afar. This should be worthwhile to look it in a later article. I sense that Bryan would have felt emotionally disconnected from the New Deal, despite Roosevelt's implementation of several of his crusading ideas. Bryan's political pedigree has a lot of Jefferson in it, and probably something of Gladstone; and his rhetoric looks forward to John F. Kennedy. FDR was like Bryan without the humanity, the charm, and the sense of Christian vocation and moral purpose.

John Stewart, who died a few years ago, was a west coast country singer who campaigned for Robert Kennedy in 1968. His elegy for those days includes the somewhat maudlin lines:

We were tired, we were hungry,
We were living on a dream,
For all forgotten people,
Never heard and never seen,
That there would come a time
For a moment they would shine....

That sentiment is an apt summing-up of Bryan. He had the vision of a People's Republic, in the best sense, made up of smallholders, clerks, Ministers, teachers and (to use the New Labour jargon) hard working families: little house on the prairie sort of people. They were all equal citizens of an egalitarian republic and they all deserved to be heard. He would be their spokesman.

Kazin To The Rescue

I confess I hadn't ever heard of Bryan until an episode of Alastair Cooke's *Letter from America* about twenty years ago, where he paid tribute to the young man from the prairies who with his voice and physical presence stormed through campaign after campaign, putting the frighteners on the Establishment interests

on the East Coast. Some time later I came across a photo of him with Clarence Darrow chewing the fat in the lawyers' changing room in Dayton Tennessee during the Scopes "Monkey Trial" in 1925, shortly before Bryan's death. How these long term associates became adversaries, although not enemies, is the story of Bryan's last campaign.

I'm now certainly much better informed after reading the only modern biography of Bryan I could find, that by Michael Kazin of Georgetown University (*A Godly Hero: The Life of William Jennings Bryan*, pub. Alfred A. Knopf, 2006). I'm indebted to Mr. Kazin for widening my vocabulary: his repeated and unexplained references to mugwumps and standpatters forced me to consult an online dictionary.

This is certainly a workmanlike readable book. There aren't many jokes and there are even fewer literary pyrotechnics. Kazin is not in the business of praising or burying his subject, whom he regards with a sort of patronising affection. So, in the best academic tradition, there is no sustained argument pursued, not but what there are many interesting insights along the way. One thing I hadn't known was that Bryan, the archetypal runner against Washington, had ended up in Woodrow Wilson's first Cabinet, as Secretary of State no less, from 1913 to 1915, before the inevitable rupture.

Piety And Paradox

Bryan is often described as a leading Presbyterian layman, and so he was, as an Elder, Sunday School teacher and frequent preacher. He was actually born of a Methodist mother and a Baptist father, Silas, a self-made product of western Virginia; and he himself in his mid teens was attracted to the Cumberland Presbyterians who were holding what the Americans term "*revival meetings*" in his parents' home town of Salem Illinois.

The Cumberland Presbyterians took their name from the County in Kentucky where they had originated around 1810, one of the breakaway sects spawned by the Second Great Awakening. There are some parallels with the almost unintentional beginnings of the English Methodist Church, which also sprang out of a Revival, in their case the English Revival of the mid-eighteenth century. Like the Remonstrants of early nineteenth-century Ulster the Cumberland Presbyterians were non-subscribers, albeit for more fundamentalist reasons. They balked at the Westminster Confession of Faith (WCF) formulae on pre-

destination. Not wishing to be chained to what they saw as a dead scholastic code they pursued their own revivalist agenda. In some ways this was a difference of emphasis: certainly they remained on speaking terms with their former co-religionists, and in some cases, including in Salem, the breakaway Church rejoined the mother denomination.

Yet there must have been something subtly different about the Cumberland atmosphere from that of the mainstream. They were early proponents of the egalitarian principle in relation to women in the Churches, and were the first American denomination to ordain black Ministers. Indeed there is to this day a separate but associated African American Cumberland Presbyterian Church, founded in 1869 by friendly disengagement. (There also appears to be a Chinese Cumberland Church, which sounds intriguing.)

This is where Bryan's Christian outlook was formed. It was common denominator white American Protestant rather than distinctively Presbyterian; somewhat expansive and extrovert; it was all for social action and had little patience with dogmatic theology. It was as if Bryan breezily took the Bible for granted—theologically I suppose this is presuppositionalist!—using it as his primer in teaching himself and the nation how to live. The tensions of grace and law, faith and works, God in human flesh, death and resurrection, with Bryan had little to do. He could see through a glass clearly. All would be well if we simply followed the teaching of Jesus of Nazareth as set out in the Gospels. The darkness of the human condition isn't a big feature of Bryan's vision. His view of human nature is sunny and optimistic, and indeed quintessentially American.

Of course this is an exaggeration: I have no doubt that Bryan believed in the Apostles' Creed, Original Sin, and so on. But his energies were directed to communicating a simplified and less mysterious version of the faith (and incorporating it into his manifesto) rather than to reflecting on the faith itself. Among his contemporaries were the luminaries of Princeton Theological Seminary, that great bastion of Old School Presbyterianism, men such as Warfield, the Hodges and the Alexanders. I don't think that he and they would have understood each other at a very profound level. When Bryan spent a year travelling the world in 1903-4 his most significant encounter was possibly that with the aged Tolstoy at Yasnaya Polyana. According to Kazin each found in the other a kindred spirit, and he comments, perhaps a bit tongue in cheek:

"Afterward, Bryan rejoiced that Tolstoy was a foe of protective tariffs, trusts, and a system where a manicured elite ruled over a sweaty mass of peasants and workers. The great writer could almost have drafted the last Democratic platform."

In his in-house magazine *The Commoner* (produced by his more administratively gifted brother Charles, back in Nebraska) Bryan spoke up for Tolstoy:

"His philosophy rests upon the doctrine that man, being a child of God and a brother of all the other children of God, must devote himself to the service of his fellows."

This is very reminiscent of the homilies we used to hear from Tony Benn about the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. It's Christianity reduced to moral uplift and the example of Jesus: what has for long been staple fare in the chapels of the English public schools. God is brought in with a rhetorical flourish, just as Stephen Hawking does in the last sentence of *A Brief History of Time*. But this is where the paradox comes in: Bryan actually believed it. His Social Gospel may have lacked some theological ballast; it may have over-stressed the transformative societal power of the human will, properly instructed: but Bryan really did believe in a God who had singled him out for this mission to the American people. That partly explains his extraordinary ability to connect with the public. He wasn't only the orator *par excellence*, but people could see that he believed it, so they were inclined to forgive him some of his changes of direction.

The Political Trajectory

Bryan's adopted home place was Lincoln, Nebraska, where he set up his legal practice in 1885. This wasn't ideal territory for an ambitious young Democrat. The movements challenging the reigning Republicans were Populist rather than Democrat. Having cut his teeth campaigning for his unsuccessful party in the 1888 state gubernatorial contest, he fancied his chances running for Congress in 1890. That campaign coincided with disastrous weather in prairie states and the farmers were desperate. Taking his stand with the strugglers, he was able to convince the splinter groups to give him a clear run, and he was duly elected.

The step up to a national stage Bryan negotiated confidently, and he was soon getting noticed for his wit and fluency in debate. But to remain at that level he was going to have to ensure that his electoral base didn't melt away. He

achieved this by becoming a Populist in all but name, by becoming a Popocrat as it was derisively termed. Even if his moral stance hadn't dictated it, his political instinct would have told him that there was a million miles of difference between the concerns of the "Bourbon" Democrats of Washington and those of the hard-pressed farmers of Nebraska. The complaint made against Washington was the familiar one that the two main parties had created a cosy club for themselves and their hangers-on. It was an East Coast closed circle.

The Cross Of Gold

The most blatant example of this was the determination of the ruling elites in both parties to maintain the Gold Standard, in defiance of the prevailing mood elsewhere. This was where Bryan made his name, though he tended to downplay the issue in later years. In the 1892 campaign he forsook his own party on the issue to support the People's Party candidate for President, James Weaver, and he unashamedly appealed for the Populist votes he needed to get re-elected, which he managed, only just.

The Gold Standard defenders were worried, maybe with some justification, that the advocates of "free silver", the "Bimetallists" would end up debauching the currency and creating unsustainable booms. But the problem they were blind to was that there was just not enough gold to go round. This created a glass ceiling (a gold ceiling?) for borrowers. Even banks that might have wanted to support farmers and small businesses hadn't the wherewithal to do it. They succumbed to the pressure and their customers were left with nowhere to go. The Gold Standard, like the euro, was a Procrustean bed. When times were bad the only way to prevent people from lifting their bank deposits was to entice them with hefty interest rates, which of course applied across the board, so that farmers couldn't get finance to restock and had to run their businesses in credit. (I must say this sounds not unfamiliar to business customers of the banks today.)

In the meantime Bryan had become the one blazing comet in the Democrat firmament, and at the Convention of 1896 in Chicago he was certainly in the running to get the nomination. His speech was the highlight of the Convention and resonated throughout middle America:

"The man who is employed for wages is as much a business man as his employer, the attorney in a country town is as much a business man as the

corporation counsel in a great metropolis; the merchant at the crossroads store is as much a business man as the merchant of New York; the farmer who goes forth in the morning and toils all day... is as much a business man as the man who goes upon the board of trade and bets upon the price of grain; the miners who go down into the earth... are as much business men as the few financial magnates who, in a back room, corner the money of the world."

This is a potent appeal on behalf of the common man, buffeted by the "Goldbugs", but Bryan sounds more of a Poujadiste than a socialist. The spectacular *finale* is perhaps easier to tie in to a socialist philosophy:

"Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."

Yet the hammer always lagged some distance behind the sickle. Bryan had the endorsement of the People's Party and of his contemporary, the Socialist and Union organiser Eugene Debs, but Union endorsements were few and far between. There was also the suspicion that the industrial bosses in the North East would bully their workers into voting Republican. Despite Bryan's substantial following among Union members, and his, at times, shameless courting of Tammany Hall, this was always a problematic area for him. Maybe the east coast workers in a wage economy were less acutely aware of the gold shortage. And the GOP supporters perhaps just went out and voted quietly. Popular charismatic leaders can be so overwhelmed by the applause that they can't hear the tide going out.

Ironically the incumbent Democrat President, Grover Cleveland, was the biggest goldbug of them all. The gold question receded from view in the years leading up to the Wilson Presidency of 1912 because of large scale gold discoveries in the Yukon and elsewhere in the late 1890s. It surfaced again in the Depression years, after Bryan's death, and its partial abandonment was one of the planks of the New Deal, an abandonment that was made total under Richard Nixon in 1971. The long-term consequences for currencies without any anchor in gold have not been happy. The only reason why the dollar hasn't

gone down is that it's universal reserve currency, and the medium of exchange for petroleum.

Bryan tended never to renounce his early convictions—anti-Imperialism, free silver, abolition of tariffs, Prohibition, votes for women—but he was prepared to *finesse* them somewhat. One constant theme was that in a society full of small private banks which were failing the stress tests and going under, there needed to be a deposit protection scheme put in place and underwritten by the Federal Government. It would be another twenty five years before this was put in place. This was another cause that sprang from Bryan's formative years, a cause, like Prohibition, that was long in the gestation.

Defeat No Disaster

So, Bryan lost in 1896. Writes Kazin:

"What is remarkable is not that Bryan lost but that he came as close as he did to winning... By necessity as much as inclination, Bryan had to run as a protest candidate, a Populist in Democratic clothing. But he couldn't conjure up a grand activist coalition from fewer than a million unionists and a People's Party that had little presence east of the Mississippi and north of the Mason-Dixon line. ...Bryan would have been elected president if he'd drawn just 19,250 additional votes, distributed across six states where the result was agonizingly close: California, Delaware, Indian, Kentucky, Oregon, and West Virginia."

So, an impressive, inspirational defeat, but he still lost, to William McKinley, the Civil War veteran from Niles, Ohio, who had campaigned from his front porch. McKinley is of course one of that pantheon of Ulster Protestant heritage Presidents, the line that runs from Andrew Jackson, "Old Hickory", through to Woodrow Wilson. Clinton was nearly going to be another, but for some reason the trail went cold on his Fermanagh ancestors.

McKinley, with his roots between Ballymoney and Dervock, was one of the decent middle-ranking Presidents, suffering the double calamity of being assassinated, in 1901, and then having his mountain, Mount McKinley in Alaska, the highest peak in North America, renamed. It's now called Mount Denali, out of deference to native American sensitivities. His first term marked the emergence of the US as a colonial power with its war in the Philippines, a development that caused Bryan to be somewhat conflicted, fulminating against the war yet approving the Treaty with Spain that marked the US conquest.

1900 saw the contest between the two men repeated, with the same result. Bryan had become a two-times loser. In 1900 he didn't even come close. The Republican success owed a lot to Mc Kinley's vice-President, Teddy Roosevelt, who stumped the country on his leader's behalf. He duly succeeded Mc Kinley in 1901. The rainbow coalition which was to become the Democratic obsession, was as elusive as the rainbow itself. Among the immigrant groups, only the Irish Catholics stayed loyal to Bryan. The Gold Standard and protective tariffs were working fine for the industrial north east voters and they saw no reason to take a chance on Bryan. He appealed to their hearts not their heads.

Inconvenient Truths

In one respect the Democratic vote rested on morally dodgy foundations. The party's fortress was made up of the states of the old Confederacy. In 1877 the last vestiges of military occupation were removed from the South. The era of Reconstruction came to an end. The price of southern support for the Democrats was that the southern states be given a free hand to work out whatever civic arrangements they thought best. This was the dawn of the Jim Crow century. It wasn't until the mid-1970s that the last of the Jim Crow laws were repealed.

This is really a whole separate story on its own, but interestingly enough the major Supreme Court case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* was decided in 1896, the year of Bryan's nomination, and he had nothing to say about it. 1896 was also the year when the Indian Territories north of Texas were opened up to claimholders to go in and take over the land, which became the state of Oklahoma. There is no indication that Bryan thought this was an event worth commenting on.

So the South was the Democrats' very dirty back yard, and remained so for a long time. The southern Democrats were the problem, and their northern colleagues weren't prepared to restrain them. Not that, in a sense, the Northerners were much better. Bryan's father Silas had been one of the framers of the Constitution of Illinois, Lincoln's home state, which actually prohibited black people from settling there.

We tend to overstate the extent to which the Democrats, from the time of Kennedy and Johnson, repudiated their racist heritage. It's an extraordinary thing that during the Clinton Presidency the Speaker of the House, third in line to the highest office in the land, was Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia. I'd like to think

kindly of Mr. Byrd who, from the picture on the front of his biography, seems to have been a fiddler in his boyhood, but he also rose high in the ranks of the Ku Klux Klan. There is a disconnect here: the equivalent might have been to have retained Julius Streicher (had he been still alive!) as a major Government figure in the Federal German Republic. Byrd's legislative record makes for strange reading.

In his role as kingmaker at the Democratic Convention of 1912 Bryan unexpectedly threw his weight behind Woodrow Wilson rather than James "Champ" Clark of Missouri, who seemed to be more of a natural soul mate of Bryan's than Wilson, the desiccated former President of Princeton. For that Bryan gained his reward, the post of Secretary of State, which he occupied increasingly uncomfortably from 1913 to 1915. Ironically Wilson, who hoped to inspire post-War Europe with Bryan-esque universal self-evident ideas of equality under the law, democratic consent of the governed and so on, was quite easy about the way that the Jim Crow laws were extended on his watch. Whether this is of any relevance or not, it has been pointed out that Wilson was the first southern-born President since 1856.

I don't want to over-labour this blind spot. While most of Bryan's letters have been destroyed; there is nothing in his speeches to suggest that he was a virulent white supremacist. But some of his close political allies, such as Josephus Daniels of North Carolina, could be put in that category. Bryan's early gestures towards the black community were tacitly repented of by 1908 and he swung into line with the hard men to hold the Old Confederacy against an attempt by the Republicans to get a foothold on the anti-Nigger ground. This was political cowardice of a high degree on the part of The Great Commoner, but then that's politics. In a future article I hope to look at Jim Crow in more detail, and explore the attitudes of the white evangelical churches to it.

His Finest Hour

In a political career full of light and shade, conviction and equivocation, Bryan comes out at his most courageous during his two years in Washington as Secretary of State. His wife Mary enjoyed the associated prestige but Bryan himself was immune to it all. His slightly bumpkin-like unshaven ways drew some ridicule, as did the orange juice dinners he hosted.

But even here he can be faulted. Kazin states: "*He opposed U.S. entry into the cataclysm in Europe until the*

day Congress finally declared war on Germany." That is, he continued his opposition for two years after he left Office, but then he caved in. He didn't become a supporter of the War; he simply stopped opposing it.

While in Office his opposition wasn't much muted, although he didn't run with the socialist analysis of Eugene Debs, Emma Goldman and others. He didn't focus so much on the crisis of capitalism but on the moral bankruptcy of the belligerents.

At the start of the conflict Wilson was out of action because of his wife's death. Kazin writes:

"In his absence Bryan pressed to stop J.P. Morgan and Co. from loaning millions to Britain and France. He also refrained from denouncing either the German invasion of Belgium or the kaiser's charge that his enemies were using dum-dum bullets, unusually destructive weapons outlawed by treaty in 1899. The United States, argued Bryan, had to remain agnostic on smaller matters in order to remain an honest broker for peace."

And, later, he maintained that any American was at fault "who takes passage upon a British naval vessel knowing that this [submarine] method of warfare will be employed". About the Lusitania he wrote to Mary, very astutely, "I wonder if that ship carried munitions of war". He also implied that the deaths caused by the U-Boats represented evil on a lesser scale than the Royal Navy blockade of German ports. In all this Bryan had virtually no political cover. Even his own Ambassador in London, Walter Hines Page, openly sided with Britain.

It was the Lusitania incident that brought about Bryan's resignation. He passed on to Berlin Wilson's note of protest but more or less indicated he was doing so under duress, and told Wilson that equal criticism should be levelled at Britain's blockade.

Knowing that Bryan's position was untenable Wilson started to show him some deference, so that the inevitable resignation would look as if it came about from a fit of pique. So, after some manoeuvring the letter of resignation came on 8th June 1915.

For the next two years he continued to speak on behalf of the anti-War movement in America, with the occasional help of a couple of like-minded old style Republicans, La Follette and Norris. When the vote was held in Congress on 2nd April 1917, there were only 50 dissenting voices, of whom only 16 were Democrats (with only one

influential Democrat, the majority leader, Claude Kitchin); and the very next day Bryan threw in the towel: "Now that the United States was officially, unalterably at war, Bryan could not imagine opposing it" (Kazin).

This wasn't the end of the story for Bryan, and indeed he had a late burst of glory or notoriety in connection with the Scopes "Monkey Trial" case in the

last months of his life. I'd like to look at that bizarre episode in a second and final instalment; and also to consider some of Bryan's other dearest causes: tariff reform, women's suffrage, and prohibition. I'll conclude by discussing whether Bryan would view the United States of today as a nation which was at last walking in the light of truth and freedom, or as some strange dystopia.

William Balch

Material For A Satire?

[It is reported that the scriptwriter Hugh Travers has been commissioned to write a satire based on what is called The Famine. Satire in such a situation can only be amusing and effective if it is directed towards the perpetrators and the cause of such a catastrophe. It would be perverse and not amusing if directed towards the victims. For his background reading Mr. Travers might consider a contemporary American, non-Irish, non-Catholic view of the situation here during the Famine/Holocaust. It is: "Ireland, as I Saw it: The Character, Condition, and Prospects of the People" (1850) by William Stevens Balch and we publish a short extract below. Balch (1806-1887) was an American Unitarian preacher who toured Ireland in 1848. **Jack Lane.**]

Millstreet

At Millstreet we stopped a few minutes, and most of the passengers took a lunch. A loaf of bread, the shell of half a cheese and a huge piece of cold baked beef were set upon the table in the dirty bar-room. Each went and cut for himself, filling mouth, hands and pockets as he chose. Those who took meat paid a shilling; for the bread and cheese, a sixpence. The Englishmen had their beer, the Irishmen their whiskey, the Americans cold water. Our party came out with hands full, but the host of wretches about the coach, who seemed to need it more than we, soon begged it all away from us, and then besought us, "Plase, sir, a ha'-penny, oond may God raward ye in heaven." A woman lifted up her sick child, in which was barely the breath of life, muttering, " Pray, yer honor, give me a mite for my poor childer, a single penny, oond may God save yer shoul." Several deformed creatures stationed themselves along the street, and shouted after us in the most pitiful tones. Others ran beside the coach for half a mile, yelling in the most doleful manner for a " ha'-penny", promising us eternal life if we would but give them one.

We observed that the Englishmen gave nothing, but looked at them and spoke in the most contemptuous manner. We could not give to all, but our hearts bled for them. We may become more callous by a longer acquaintance with these scenes of destitution and misery; but at present the beauty of the Green Isle is greatly maimed, and our journey, at every advance, made painful by the sight of such an amount of degradation and suffering.

At one place, we saw a company of twenty or thirty men, women and children, hovering about the mouth of an old lime-kiln, to shelter themselves from the cold wind and rain. The driver pointed them out as a sample of what was common in these parts a year ago. As we approached, ascending a hill at a slow pace, about half of them came from the kiln, which stood in a pasture some rods from the road. Such lean specimens of humanity I never before thought the world could present. They were mere skeletons, wrapped up in the coarsest rags. Not one of them had on a decent garment. The legs and arms of some were entirely naked. Others had tattered rags dangling down to their knees and elbows. And patches of all sorts and colors made up what garments they had about their bodies. They stretched out their lean hands, fastened upon arms of skin and bone, turned their wan, ghastly faces, and sunken, lifeless eyes imploringly up to us, with feeble words of entreaty, which went to our deepest heart. The Englishmen made some cold remarks about their indolence and worthlessness, and gave them nothing.

I never regretted more sincerely my own poverty than in that hour. Such objects of complete destitution and misery; such countenances of dejection and woe I had not believed could be found on earth. Not a gleam of hope springing from their crushed spirits; the pangs of poverty gnawing at the very

fountains of their life. All darkness, deep, settled gloom! Not a ray of light for them from any point of heaven or earth! Starvation, the most horrid of deaths, staring them full in the face, let them turn whither they will. The cold grave offering their only relief, and that, perhaps, to be denied them, till picked up from the way-side, many days after death, by some stranger passing that way, who will feel compassion enough to cover up their mouldering bones with a few shovels-full of earth!

And this a christian country! a part of the great empire of Great Britain, on whose domain the "sun never sets", boastful of its enlightenment, its liberty, its humanity, its compassion for the poor slaves of our land, its lively interest in whatever civilizes, refines, and elevates mankind! Yet here in this beautiful Island, formed by nature with such superior advantages, more than a score of human beings, shivering under the walls of a lime-kiln, and actually starving to death!

Oh, England! in thy rush for greatness, thou hast forgotten to be good! Bedazzled with the glittering glory of thy armies and navies, thou hast neglected the sources of thy real strength! Giddy in admiration of the tinsel trappings in which thou hast bedecked thy queen, and her royal bantlings and nobility, thou hast become blind to the misery which lies festering in thy bosom. Stunned and hoarse with the shoutings of thy own praise, thou art deaf to the voice of justice, humanity, and religion, and sufferest thy own kinsmen to be wronged, insulted, cheated of the very sources of subsistence, and denied even the hope of redemption! What hast thou done—what art thou doing—for thy millions of true and loyal Irish subjects, whom thou hast subdued to thy authority! which is worthy a great and christian nation? Talk not longer of thy humanity, of thy religion, of thy concern for poor slaves, thy keen sense of justice and right, whilst so many are wronged, and wretched at home! The world will not believe thee sincere nor honest, but cold and heartless in thy pretensions, supremely selfish in the arrangement of thy public and domestic affairs, and anxious only to obtain a great name, without the trouble of deserving it!

But these Englishmen tell us "*England has exhausted her ability and patience in attempts to improve the condition of Ireland; that she can do no more; Irishmen are a miserable race, destitute of enterprise, industry, and economy; lazy, suspicious, ungrateful; hopelessly lost in their blind adherence to their old ways, and the superstitions of their religion.*" Is it so? Can England conquer India, humble

China, rule the sea, and regulate the commerce of the world, and not be able to devise and apply the means to improve the condition of so small a portion of her dominions as Ireland; to keep its inhabitants from beggary and starvation? Then are her statesmen destitute of the higher qualities of real greatness—the knowledge and disposition to do good—"to deal justly, love mercy, and walk humbly before God".

I have not yet seen enough of this country to form a safe opinion of the causes of the misery and degradation we meet at every step, nor to suggest a remedy; but so much wretchedness is not without a cause, for "*the curse causeless shall not come*". It seems strange to me that the philosophers, and statesmen, and priests of religion, and political economists, and financiers, of which England boasts a full and honorable share should not have found out some method to apply its vast resources of practical knowledge, and active capital, and boasted philanthropy, to prevent the ignorance, and crime, and suffering, which prevail so extensively in this region.

They tell us

"the famine, a visitation from God, which fell so severely upon this part of the Island, last year, was the principal cause of the misery we still see; the failure of the potato crop, upon which many thousand depended for their subsistence, prevented those in possession of little properties from meeting their rents and taxes, and supporting themselves!"

Indeed! That begins to let us into the

secret. The rents and taxes must be paid to support landlords in ease and luxury, and the government in its ability to oppress this and other nations, even though wives and children perish of starvation! In default of payment the bailiff is directed to distrain and take from the poor tenant the last resource of life and comfort, and then evict him, and send him out penniless and ragged, to seek by beggary a chance to live, or a place to die. The country, it is said, is overstocked with laborers, and there is no chance left for this new reinforcement, and so they are compelled to wander about with the hosts of idlers, about whose indolence landlords and Englishmen prate so much. They can find nothing to do, and so they do nothing but beg or steal—the former failing to support life, we could hardly find it in our hearts to blame them for the latter. Their condition is indeed deplorable. I never understood the depth of their miseries before. I shall hereafter feel more compassion for the poor, ignorant, suspicious Irish, than I have ever felt for those who seek an asylum in our blessed land. Instead of blame and reproach, they deserve the sincerest pity for their untoward fate. They have been reduced to a state of dejection and helplessness from which it is impossible for them to deliver themselves.

But these are only our initiatory lessons, and I will forbear any further reflections, till better informed concerning the causes of their pitiable condition. (19th May 1848).

NB: The full Balch book can be found on the Internet.

John Minahane

The Spanish Polemic on Colonisation
Part 8:

Thoughts On Empire

Approaching the end of this long series, I want to make some observations on colonialism and to recommend a particular book.

Bartolomé de Las Casas is someone who ought to be known. His thinking should have a place of honour in the intellectual history of Europe. In particular, his debate with Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda is important for the light that it sheds on European Colonialism, the adventure that has largely shaped our present-day world. Without any doubt the best book on this topic, the book which does most to give this debate its due in the long-term context of Colonialism, is by Nestor Capdevila. Strictly speaking it's an introduction, but

at 200 pages it can count as a book: *Impérialisme, empire et destruction*, which is the introduction to: Bartolomé de Las Casas, *La controverse entre Las Casas et Sepúlveda* (Paris 2007). Unfortunately it has not yet appeared in English.

One reason why this debate has been marginalised, Capdevila points out, is that it was an argument between Christians who expressed themselves in Christian language. The presumption is that we modern Euro-Americans have evolved, developed and progressed far beyond that to a rational, secular and enlightened political culture, and so this ancient Christian controversy cannot be our concern.

"It appears to be an essentially Christian phenomenon which has only distant interest for those who have ceased to be Christians in a secularised world where reason has definitively triumphed over prejudice. But quite clearly this is a delusion. The controversy elucidates already why the same difficulties are going to reproduce themselves in the rationalist context. Las Casas and Sepúlveda conduct their debate largely on the plane of reason and natural law. But it is at the moment when it is most Christian, that is to say when it touches the very identity of Christianity, that it best unmasks the illusion of rationalism and humanism 'having moved on'."

The central issue is violence and how this violence relates to what the societies and states that inflicted it officially stood for, or still officially stand for today. It seems that the violence which European colonists practised is in sharp contradiction to the universal principles they professed. For Christianity we can find a starting point in something Las Casas said: "*Originally all men were born, and are, free*". As such all human beings were potentially Christians, and unless they presented a danger to those currently Christians they should not be killed, enslaved, deposed, dispossessed, plundered, starved, or otherwise ill-treated. The Christian Spanish in America did all of these things repeatedly on a wide scale, over a long period of time. But the record of the secular humanist United States is even worse. That very acute observer Alexis de Tocqueville, looking at how the Americans treated the Indians in the 1830s, said they were more destructive than the Spanish. The republic which held these truths to be self-evident, that all men were created equal and that all men have the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, deliberately and violently denied the Indians the possibility of living, being free and pursuing happiness according to their own understanding and traditions.

The Spanish Crown from very early on, in fact from the 1490s, was demanding correct procedures for governing overseas territories. But the clash between these procedures and reality could be laughable, so much so that even the lawyers who had devised the procedures might see the joke. One remarkable procedure was laid down in the Laws of Burgos in 1512. Before making war on the Indians, in order to ensure that the war was just, it would be necessary to read them a declaration (the Requirement) which began as follows:

"In the name of King Ferdinand and Queen Juana, his daughter, Queen of Castille and Leon, etc., subduer of barbarous nations, we, their servants, notify you and inform you to the best of our ability that God, Our Lord, One and Eternal, has created Heaven and Earth, and a man and a woman, of whom we ourselves, you and all the men of the world, in all past time, are the descendants, as all those who come after us will be also. But because of the innumerable quantity of those descendants in the five thousand years since the world was created, it has happened necessarily that one group of those men went one way and the rest another and they were distributed among numerous kingdoms and provinces, because it was not possible for them to live and sustain themselves in one alone.

Among all of these people God Our Lord chose one, called Saint Peter, to entrust him with being lord of all men, the superior whom those others obeyed, and who would be head of all the human race, wherever men were living, in all law, religion and belief; and God gave him the world for his kingdom and jurisdiction."

A quarter of a century later Francisco de Vitoria, Spain's ablest lawyer, would say that the main statement in the last sentence—that the Pope was lord of all mankind—was nonsensical and false. However, the Indians weren't to know that: the Requirement's doctrine was what they had to accept there and then. The Requirement went on to tell them that the Pope had decided to give their islands to the above King and Queen (and if they wished they could see the Bulls where he did so formally). In other islands where this announcement was made the people had accepted Their Highnesses, listened to the monks whom Their Highnesses had sent to preach to them, and become Christians by their own free will, and they had been received graciously as subjects. The present listeners were called upon to do the same. If they did so, they would be received with love and charity and their wives and children would not be enslaved and their goods would not be confiscated. But, if they refused, war would be waged on them and they and their families would all be enslaved and dispossessed, and this would not be the fault of Their Highnesses or those making the present announcement: it would be the fault of the Indians themselves.

But how could the Indians understand a text read in Castilian, Capdevila asks? They had a right to interpreters, but how often was there someone at hand who understood the two languages

well? And was this theology translatable? And if yes, was it comprehensible? Las Casas said that the Spaniards used to read the Requirement "*among themselves and to the trees*" before launching attacks on the Indians. A man whom he detested, the historian Oviedo, was also of the view that the Indians couldn't possibly have understood what was being said. He once asked Palacios Rubios, the theologian who devised the Requirement, why he had done so and whether he thought it would satisfy the conscience of Christians. "*He told me yes, if things were done as he said. But it seemed to me that he laughed often when I told him what had happened on that expedition and others besides.*" Oviedo said that he himself often laughed when he thought of how the Indians were supposed to understand such a proclamation, with its unfamiliar concepts even of time. Las Casas said he didn't know whether to laugh or to cry.

Capdevila argues, however, that the spirit of this extravagant Requirement was still operative in the 19th century in the secularist United States, when the Indian nations were destroyed. He quotes the passage where de Tocqueville commits himself most completely on the American side, as a 19th century progressive and an exponent of John Locke's view that the Indians had no ownership of lands. They occupied lands but did not possess them, because it is agriculture that gives rights of possession and the Indians merely hunted. It followed of course that they were doomed, and their ruin had begun the first day Europeans set foot on their shores. Providence seemed to have made the Indians a kind of interim people (*en attendant*) in a continent that was still "*the empty cradle of a great nation*".

I can't agree that this resembles the thinking of Palacios Rubios. Yes, perhaps, in the sense that once again there is total dismissal of any idea of Indian sovereignty or a right of the Indians to their own way of life. But the American thinking that de Tocqueville expresses is actually more extreme and destructive. Palacios Rubios left open, and recommended, an option whereby the Indians would retain personal freedom and would not be deprived of what they had. (The Spanish did not keep this promise, but that's another matter.) It isn't really the 1830s Americans who resemble Palacios Rubios; it's those of a generation earlier, and especially Thomas Jefferson, who in one of his manifestations preached to the Indians that they could save

their communities only if they were prepared to become industrious small farmers. (The Cherokees tried it, but of course there was a catch.)

A further problem in getting the Las Casas/Sepúlveda debate into focus is that the parties use an old European political language, the language of Empire, which is confusing. Capdevila makes a valiant effort to sort out the confusion. European states as colonial powers became Empires of a certain kind, but modern political thinking is focused on the European state in relation to its neighbours and peers. There was, however, in the middle of Europe a purely European-based Empire, a 'Roman' Empire, and this state was supposed to have no peers, though that was never the reality. All through its existence there were arguments about it. There was no agreed understanding of its basis or character.

First there had been the pagan Roman Empire. This continued as a Christianised institution in the West for about a century and a half and in the East for a thousand years longer. In 800 AD the Pope re-established the Roman Empire in the West for Charlemagne and his successors, but the Easterners at Constantinople (who referred to themselves as Romans) did not accept that he had any right to do so. The Roman Empire, wherever or whatever it was, was supposed to be a world government. But ultimately who was lord of the world, the Pope or the Emperor? Or was either? Arguments on these matters went on for centuries. In the meantime, other European kings who claimed supremacy over a number of under-kings also began to refer to themselves as emperors: Capdevila mentions an 11th century King of Spain, but before him there was Brian Boru, who claimed to be Emperor of Ireland. The Kings of France and England began to do likewise. Right at the end of the 16th century, Francis Bacon produced his essay *On Empire*. At first his use of the term is puzzling, but soon one realises that he simply means kingship or the rule of a state.

The Spanish state of Ferdinand and Isabella was not an empire in any 'Roman' sense when it took over American territories. However, these and other lands to be discovered in the future were formally granted to Spain by Pope Alexander VI, who was acting to all appearances on the basis of a claim to be Lord of the world—though explicitly in his Bulls he seems only to make the modest claim to be Lord of America. (Palacios Rubios nonetheless is quite

clear that the Pope is lord of the world and on that basis he has donated America to the Spanish.) And then suddenly, a quarter of a century later (1519), it happened that the King of Spain was also elected head of the current Roman or more properly German Empire, becoming the Emperor Charles V.

When this happened, Erasmus saw immediately that there was huge potential for disturbance in Europe. He begged Charles V to concentrate all his efforts on European peace and to set about securing the currently-existing borders. Charles replied that no one who knew him could doubt his commitment to peace. And then within the next 15 years he imprisoned the King of France, his soldiers sacked Rome and the Pope became politically his creature, and he was blocking the King of England from divorcing his relative Catherine of Aragon.

How was one to view this unprecedented concentration of power? The Emperor's chief officials had Eurocentric political views and while they used the concept of empire all the time, they rarely mentioned America. However, the extent of Charles V's territories even in Europe gave that old idea of the Emperor as monarch of the world new credibility. Some people were saying it openly; Charles's secretary Gattinara was one of them. "*Some call me monarch of the world*", Charles himself said at one point, "*but my thoughts and acts show the contrary*". Was he sincere in this? Or was he secretly aiming at universal monarchy? The evidence, Capdevila says, is contradictory.

Against all of this background, Las Casas and Sepúlveda debated the exercise of empire over the Indians by the King of Spain. But the controversy cannot be seen as a dispute over the correct deductions from an agreed or accepted concept of empire. We must see it "*not as a casuistic application of the idea of empire, but a conflict to determine the empire's 'nature'...*".

Hernán Cortés was another who laughed at the difference between official rules (or just the ordinary accepted rules of honest behaviour) and the reality of conquest. Once he cheerfully admitted to Las Casas that he had no right at all to take Montezuama prisoner and seize his kingdom. He even quoted the Latin proverb which says: "*He that doesn't come in by the door is a thief and a robber*". And then he burst out laughing. Las Casas tells us he laughed along with him, while having the grim feeling that this person was lost.

But Cortés took the power of Spain very seriously indeed. He had ideas of a Spanish Empire which were not at all Eurocentric. One can point to him as the first who imagined something like the real state of affairs of the late 20th century and 21st century: where the Euro-American bond still holds, but now Europe is dependent, under American leadership.

The chronicler Gómara had said that the discovery of the Indies was "*the greatest event since the creation of the world, except for the incarnation and death of Christ*". But Cortés was far from satisfied with that great event; he wanted new great events to follow. Writing to Charles V, he said that the most important and most useful event after the discovery of the Indies would be control of the Pacific. He would personally undertake to discover all the Spice Islands from the Moluccas to China and to subjugate them, so that Charles would not merely trade with them like the King of Portugal but would actually rule their inhabitants. (His lieutenant Pedro de Alvarado was planning an expedition to take China and had assembled a fleet for the purpose when he died in 1541.)

New Spain, said Cortés, was destined to become the Emperor's greatest possession. It would give rise to a new Church where God would be honoured better than elsewhere. And almost inevitably he took up the idea of the Emperor as Lord of the World. Unlike others who used this concept, Cortés was seriously thinking of actual global rule. He declared (in a letter of 1524) that he expected to make Charles ruler of more kingdoms and lordships than Spain had ever yet known. After that, "*Your Excellency will have no more to do to become lord of the world*".

"The idea of universal monarchy is thus totally decoupled from European imperial history in order to depend for success on the imperialist enterprise aiming to unite Europe and Asia by land and sea routes controlled by a single sovereign."

Cortés was not suggesting, of course, that Charles should forget about Europe. But the wealth derived from America would convince the French and others "*that they should submit to your Majesty's imperial crown*". Afterwards, on occasions Cortés actually called him "*monarch of the world*", or the Emperor "*to whom the whole universe submits*".

"With Cortés", Capdevila says, "one sees precisely how the most fantastical

traditional formulations take on a new significance. For the first time, a European sees the European empire outside of Europe to make it an Americano-European rather than a Euro-American Empire, decentring and universalising it on the basis of a concrete perception of the rotundity of the Earth and of a growing mastery of space, thanks to the opening of new routes on land and sea."

But Capdevila fails to follow up this train of thought by noting that it was not Spain but another nation which ultimately embarked on this course. Charles V genuinely appreciated Cortés: he encouraged him, ennobled him and gave him various responsibilities and commissions. But in the time of Charles, and equally in the time of his son Philip II, it seems that Spain (for all that it had a very adventurous 16th century) could not let itself go with this decentring current. Maybe *Don Quijote* is the proof that such a thing could not be.

Instead it was England that "truly turned her collective existence seawards and centred it on the sea element", as Carl Schmitt puts it. Schmitt's *Land and Sea* gives the best description of how that happened. Writing in 1942, with an

obvious feeling of affection for the current enemy (an affection shared by so many Nazis, from Hitler down), he relates how "*England became the heiress, the universal heiress of that great change in the European nations*" caused by the trans-Atlantic discoveries.

The English, in fact, were relatively slow to get involved in colonial activity: the Dutch and the French were quicker off the mark. But, by the last years of Elizabeth's reign, the mutation which would turn England into the greatest ever sea power was underway. The nation of shepherds had become a nation of pirates.

Much later, near the high point of English success, Disraeli would say that England was more an Asiatic than a European Power, and he would recommend—though admittedly he only ventured to propose this in a novel, *Tancred*—that Queen Victoria and her Court should leave London and move permanently to Delhi.

One might say that the Cortés of the mid-1520s and after, who was straining for global conquests after toppling Montezuma, was quixotic and in too much of a hurry. This was work that would take the centuries which the

English were prepared to give it.

In the final article I will make some comments on John Locke, genocide, and Capdevila's review of the Valladolid debate.

NOTES

(Most quotations here are from the introduction to: Bartolomé de Las Casas, *La controversa entre Las Casas et Sepúlveda*. Précédé de: *Impérialisme, empire et destruction*, par Nestor Capdevila (Paris 2007). This is referred to below as NC.)

"It appears to be...": NC, 199-200.

"Originally all men...": *ibid.*, 56.

De Tocqueville... Americans more destructive: *ibid.*, 103.

"In the name of King...": *ibid.*, 111.

"Among themselves and...": *ibid.*, 113.

"He told me yes...": *ibid.*, 116.

"The empty cradle...": *ibid.*, 121.

Jefferson... Indians become farmers: Arneil, B. *John Locke and America. The Defense of English Colonialism* (Oxford 1996). "Thomas Jefferson" (Chapter 7).

"Some call me monarch...": NC, 34.

"Not as a casuistic...": *ibid.*, 33.

"He that doesn't come in...": *ibid.*, 117.

"The greatest event since...": *ibid.*, 46.

New Spain... new Church: *ibid.*, 50.

"Your Excellency will have...": *ibid.*, 51.

"The idea of universal monarchy...": *ibid.*

"That they should submit...": *ibid.*

"With Cortés one sees...": *ibid.*, 53.

"Truly turned her collective...": Schmitt, C., *Land und Meer* (Frankfurt 1981). This English version from *Land and Sea* tr. Simone Draghici, Chapter 9, at:

<http://www.counter-currents.com/2011/03/carl-schmitts-land-and-sea>

"England became the heiress..." *ibid.*

Pat Maloney

Some of them were dreamers and some of them were fools,
Some of them knew pleasure and some of them knew pain,
And for some of them it was only the moment that mattered,
And on the brave and crazy wings of youth
They went flyin' around in the rain,
And their feathers, once so fine, grew torn and tattered,
And in a moment they were swept before the deluge.

(Jackson Browne : *Before the Deluge*)

Vibes and Scribes of Same-Sex Marriage Referendum!

Psychologist's 'Nazi' remarks spark fury of 'No' campaign—A leading psychologist has sparked fury after claiming a 'No' vote risks sleep-walking the country into "*undoing the progress we've made as a Republic*".

Dr Maureen Gaffney, who is a regular commentator on television and radio, brought Nazi Germany into the debate on 14th May at a Yes Equality event in Dublin as she argued that it would be a backward step to oppose the referendum.

"In Nazi Germany, nationals with German blood were not allowed marry Jewish people. In southern States in America until 1967, interracial marriage

was banned. In apartheid South Africa, interracial marriage was banned.

"I'm not drawing direct comparisons, we're far from that here, but I ask you, what is the difference excluding a whole raft of ordinary people who are gay or lesbian?"

"It is just another form of the same oppression" (*Irish Indep.* 15.5.2015).

Tom McGurk:

"A referendum Yes campaign funded by €25 million from the U.S. and complex arguments reduced to marketing slogans says little for the integrity and dignity of our democracy" (*Sunday Business Post*, 24.5.2015).

Breda O'Brien:

"Oh, and the other part of Yes Equality, the Irish Council for Civil Liberties (ICCL)? From 2001 to 2010, it got \$7,727,700 and another \$3,829,693 in 2010 and 2013. Sure, ICCL didn't spend all that on redefining marriage. Just some of it. Do tell, ICCL, exactly how much.

"This is not Atlantic Philanthropies funding a hospital or school. This is foreign money being systematically invested to change public opinion, to deliver seamlessly a Yes in a referendum that has enormous consequences for family law for generations.

"All the while soothing us by spinning it as just 'seventeen little words'. Can American money buy an Irish referendum? Let's wait and see" (*Irish Times*, 9.5.2015).

Comparisons: "*Sinn Fein has raked in over \$390,000 in donations from US donors in just six months.*"—The party is building a massive financial war chest from wealthy donors, trade unions and major companies.

According to documents released by the US Department of Justice, Sinn Féin received dozens of individual donations ranging from \$10-\$20,000.

Gerry Adams's party is unrivalled in its capacity to generate huge sums of

cash in the U.S. (Irish Indep. 9.6.2015)

Unrivalled? A miserly \$390,000 compared to the €25 million received by the same-sex marriage brigade : of which not a mention in the *Irish Independent!* To quote an "*Independent*" slogan: Before you make up your mind, open it—Aye, Indeed!

Former President, **Mrs. Mary McAleese**—

"Martin's father Charlie came to live with us, and he at first would have been your regular, bog standard, Irish Catholic granda with attitude to gay people" (*Irish Times*, 20.5.2015)

"I probably knew from the time he asked Santa Claus for a vacuum cleaner when he was 7 to be honest" the former president joked. (*Irish Independent*, 19.5.2015).

"A qualified canon lawyer, Mrs. McAleese added: 'We've had nonsense talked about adoption and surrogacy. Thankfully we've that clarified. Adoption law will not change one whit. Surrogacy is not an issue' (*The Irish Sun*-20.5.2015)

"In a radio interview in January 2005, on the 60th anniversary of the liberation of the Nazi concentration camp Auschwitz, McAleese spoke of the intolerance that led to ethnic hatred. She compared the Nazis' hatred of Jews with how Catholics were viewed in Northern Ireland.

"They [the Nazis] gave to their children an irrational hatred of Jews in the same way that people in Northern Ireland transmitted to their children an irrational hatred, for example, of Catholics, in the same way that people give to their children an outrageous and irrational hatred of those who are different colour and all of those things." (Shane Coleman, *Foot in Mouth, Famous Irish Political Gaffes*, Mentor Books, 2006).

Ger Brennan

Dublin GAA footballer Ger Brennan has joined Fianna Fáil and hasn't ruled out a future career in politics.

The All Ireland medal winner has signed up to join his local Cumann on Dublin's north side, but insisted he is too busy to run in next year's General Election.

It was claimed Mr Brennan was being encouraged by party figures to put his name forward as a candidate in the Dublin Central constituency, the former stronghold of ex-Taoiseach Bertie Ahern.

The school teacher gained prominence during the Marriage Equality referendum, after he publicly called for a No vote.

Mr Brennan claimed that he was reluctant to publicly adopt such a stance

for fear of being targeted but that he did so because he was concerned a Yes vote would negatively impact on children. (*Irish Independent*, 16.6.2015)

ICTU

The Irish Congress of Trade Unions is supporting a Yes vote in the Civil Marriage Equality referendum.

At a meeting of the Executive Council of Congress today (May 20, '15) President John Douglas called on all members and their families to exercise their right to vote and "to help make Ireland a true Republic of equals", when voting in Friday's referendum.

Mr Douglas said the strong support of the trade union movement for the Yes Equality campaign was a reflection of the deep commitment of Irish workers to the concept of solidarity.

He added: "*Trade union members and their families have been to the fore in this campaign in towns and villages throughout Ireland. Individual unions have supported the nationwide Marriage Equality campaign and undertaken a variety of initiatives, from hosting meetings to phone banks, advertising and fund raising events.*"

Congress General Secretary Patricia King paid tribute to the Congress Centres Network for their active involvement in the campaign.

"The welcome accorded to the Yes Equality bus by the Centres has been widely commented upon. This referendum is about extending civil marriage equality to all citizens and it's entirely fitting that the trade union members should embrace equality. The trade union family has never recognised barriers and has always opposed exclusion and the support of the Congress Executive for civil marriage equality is consistent with our traditions and core values" (*I.C.T.U.*-20.5.2015).

Judge

Ireland's first openly-gay High Court judge was appointed last July, *Independent.ie* has learned. (*Irish Ind.* 21.1.2015)

Justice Aileen Donnelly became Ireland's first openly gay serving member of the High Court on her appointment.

A Courts Service spokesperson confirmed to *Independent.ie* this morning that Justice Donnelly is gay. "*Justice Donnelly is in a very happy relationship with her partner Susan*", they said. Susan attended Justice Donnelly's appointment with her last summer. It is understood that Justice Donnelly has been openly gay for many years. She was educated at UCD and the King's Inn before being called to the

Bar in 1988.

Justice Donnelly was also a board member and Co-Chair of the Irish Council for Civil Liberties between 1996 and 2002.

Slogan

"The most annoying slogan in marriage debate? 'Equality for everybody' wins that hands down!" (John Dolan on Saturday, Evening Echo, Cork, 9.5.2015)

"If you want to take the 'equality' in marriage idea to its extreme, everybody should be free to marry, of any age, gender or any other dividing line you wish to draw—those under 16, brothers and sisters . . . or what about three in a marriage?"

John Lloyd

"The pope goes to the U.S. in September for another World Meeting of Families in Philadelphia. Francis has called the faithful Catholic family "the salt of the earth and the light of the world... the leaven of society". But the issue is salty in a different sense, and bitterly so. The Irish answer to the issue of same-sex marriage underscores his isolation from the Western world and its people" (John Lloyd, Institute for the Study of Journalism at Oxford University, *Irish Examiner*, 11.6.2015).

Exploitation

"The spontaneous development of children in biological families must be over-ridden from the earliest age. Life must be problematised for them from the start. And it must be conceded that the LGBT—the Bolshevik zealots of our era—are prepared to undertake that revolution. Meanwhile life will go on in the old-fashioned way in the greater part of the world—a world which suffers from finance capitalism, instead of benefitting from it. And the exploitative relationship with the Third World into which we entered a generation ago will be extended from old-fashioned economics to a new reproduction industry required by the institution of homosexual marriage—and will be justified morally by the refusal of the Third World to keep pace with us in sexual fashion. To quote Niamh Horan: *We're fucking it up!*" (*Irish Political Review*, May, 2015)

Martin Mansergh

The same-sex marriage referendum is "*a dry run*" for a similar vote aimed at taking the abortion provision out of the Constitution, a leading Fianna Fáil politician has warned (*Irish Independent*, 2.2.2015)

"No one should be under any illusions, however. The referendum is

a dry run for a sequel, the repeal of the eighth (pro-life) amendment, if politicians need no longer fear religious factors weighing on voters", Dr Mansergh concluded.

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 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, 27.1.15).

Conscience

"Freedom of expression is part of the swathe of individual rights that are backed by the modern state. But there is one right which is suffering as a result of the onward march of individual rights—the right to freedom of conscience—and it is no coincidence that with every advance of the rights of individuals comes an commensurate undermining of communities. For it is not the spurious freedom of expression that holds communities together it is freedom of conscience. Unlike freedom of expression, freedom of conscience is something that is real and emanates from what is essentially a social impulse. Our consciences are rooted in our relationship with our fellow man and although the social context that moulds the values around which the conscience is constructed may vary it remains something essentially social. For that reason it is increasingly diminished and eroded by the encroachment of the rights of individuals backed by the state with the freedom of expression regularly used as an effective battering ram" (Eamon Dyas, May, 2015)

Real Marriage

Marriage must have four elements to be a real marriage. A man, a woman, the possibility of the mutual procreation of children, and the mutual love and care of each other.

By definition, therefore, same-sex union cannot be described as a 'marriage', and certainly cannot be described as an 'equality' issue. Equality with what? (Patrick Conneely, Dublin 11-May, 2015)

Uniformity?

Senior counsel Patrick Treacy said the yes side were "strongly arguing for uniformity". He recalled a Kings Inns debate on Articles 2 and 3 of the Constitution 25 years ago when Senator Norris argued for the importance of recognising difference. "Now he is arguing for uniformity", he said.

Treacy argued that all were born male

and female and that it was "a fact of life that no human being can exist unless there is a union of male and female", he said, "that's what marriage is based on". He warned against "the secularist frame" which was "all about equality" and called on voters to "honour gender-based truth" (*Irish Times*, 21.2.2015).

Surrogacy

A woman whose child was born as a result of a surrogacy arrangement has lost her High Court action alleging the State's refusal to pay her maternity benefit amounts to unlawful discrimination, in breach of the Equal Status Act.

Ms Justice Iseult O'Malley found the Equal Status Act cannot be used to "fill the gap" caused by the continuing absence of legislation to deal with surrogate births.

However, the judge added, she was "not persuaded" by the Department of Social Protection's insistence it could not set up a non-statutory scheme to make provision for women in the position of this applicant. (*Ir. Times*, 7.7.2015)

End Of Marriage?

"Dr. Davis said that the need to tie the rights of couples to marriage is a concept that needs to be eradicated. He advocates a yes vote in the upcoming referendum, though said he does so in the hope that eventually, marriage will play no role in the legal rights of family units.

"He said: "The fight for marriage equality, which I support, should not be an end but the start of a fight where rights are not tied to marriage" (Dr. Laurence Davis, Lecturer in Government, UCC, *Eve. Echo*, Cork, 14.4.2015)

Coughlan

"If Irish voters transform the nature of marriage in the Constitution by voting Yes, they will be endowing gay and lesbian couples with exactly the same constitutional rights to 'procreate' to 'found' family and to have children as opposite-sex couples have.

'How can two men 'found' a family?'" (Anthony Coughlan, Trinity College Professor, *Daily Star*, 21.5.2015)

Consensus?

"Margaret Thatcher wasn't one for consensus. She once called 'the process of abandoning all beliefs, principles, values and policies in search of something in which no one believes, but to which no one objects'.

"Are we abandoning marriage in order to create an institution to which nobody objects? And if so, is that a fair trade?" (John Dolan on Saturday-*Evening Echo*, Cork-25.4.2015)

Phoenix:

"The faintly ridiculous Eamon Gilmore quote about marriage equality being 'the civil rights issue of this generation' masks the most disingenuous and diversionary initiative made by Labour and the coalition government" (*The Phoenix*, 22.5.2015)

"A few months after Gilmore came out with that statement... the 'right wing' Kenny professed himself a little bemused at Gilmore's 'generational' quote, saying effectively that the right to a job was a more fundamental right than gay marriage" (*ibid.*).

Trans-Gender

"Boys of all ages who clearly identify themselves as being of a different gender than their actual sex should be allowed to enrol in girls' schools, and vice versa, under changes to a new law being sought by children's rights' groups.

"Campaigners including Independent Senator Jillian van Turnhout will ask a cross-party Dáil committee tasked with examining amendments to the Gender Recognition Bill to make the changes today, to ensure children in such situations are fully accepted by the State.

"Under the proposed legislation, due to be passed into law by the end of July, people over 16 who identify as being of a different gender to their actual sex will be officially recognised by their new sex.

"In addition, people who have already undergone transgender operation changes will also be able to identify as their new sex in official documentation" (*Irish Examiner*, 17.6.2015).

Tourism

"No Bord Failte budget could have matched the value of the international TV coverage of the marriage equality referendum. Businesses in the travel, leisure and hospitality sectors now have an opportunity to capitalise on the transformed perception of Ireland overseas." (Michael Murray, *Sunday Business Post*, 7.6.2015)

Church & State

"Under English direction, which was exchanged for United States direction in 1945, it progressively became the case that the only real value in practical terms was market value.

"The family was hollowed out. Its functions were taken over by the market. Then technological developments within the market enabled sexual activity to be disconnected from the reproduction of the species in the sense that it can be engaged in without risk of reproduction, not that reproduction can go on without it" (Editorial, *Church & State*, No. 121)

Legal Challenge

A High Court judge has rejected an application for permission to bring a new legal challenge against the result of the same-sex marriage referendum.

The latest challenge was brought by Gerry Walshe, an electrician, of Lisdeen, Co Clare.

He sought leave to apply for a judicial review to quash the decision of the referendum returning officer to issue and sign the final referendum certificate confirming the results of the marriage referendum.

He said she signed the certificate while he was still within time to appeal his earlier challenge to the Supreme Court.

That challenge was dismissed by the Supreme Court last week, along with an

appeal from Maurice Lyons, from Callan, Co Kilkenny. (*Irish Times*, 24.9.2015)

"However, more recently, Whelan [Maire Whelan, Labour Party Attorney General] was in trouble with the most senior law officer in the land, Chief Justice Susan Denham, and two other Supreme Court judges. These found that the "*organs of state*" had nearly caused "*very serious constitutional consequences*" by rushing to ratify the marriage equality referendum even though a legal challenge was pending. That case was taken against the referendum returning officer, the referendum commission, the Government and Whelan" (*The Phoenix*, 25.9.2015).

broadly the 'White' or at least anti-Soviet migration of the 1920s, and those who had escaped in the chaos of the Second World War—were clear in their minds that what they were leaving, what distressed them, was the Soviet Union. The first emigration in particular had done what they could to maintain the cultural and intellectual ferment that had been taking place in Russia in the period leading up to 1917. An intense intellectual life—Vladimir Lossky, George Florovsky, Sergei Bulgakov, Nicolas Berdiaev are perhaps the best known names—was concentrated in Paris. Among the wider Russian Orthodox diaspora there was a feeling that the catastrophe that had befallen them was a call from God to spread Orthodoxy, not the most missionary-minded of Christian tendencies, through the world.

Solzhenitsyn, once he was settled in the relatively secure isolation of Vermont, launched two ambitious projects. One was a publishing house to make available both academic studies and memoirs of aspects of recent history ignored by Soviet historiography. The other was to put together an archive of documentary material relating to the first and second emigrations. These projects were in addition to his '*Russian Social Fund*', established almost immediately on his arrival in Europe, using the royalties of *The Gulag Archipelago* to help survivors of the camps. According to D.M.Thomas (*Alexander Solzhenitsyn—A century in his life*, London, Abacus, 1999, p.459) 'between April 1974 at the Fund's inception and February 1977, when its administrator in Moscow, Alexander Ginzburg, was arrested for alleged currency speculation, Solzhenitsyn had provided the rouble equivalent of \$300,000, and this sum had helped 1500 political prisoners.'

Solzhenitsyn says of the different emigrations:

"Much as I respected the first emigration—not all of them, certainly, but very precisely the *White*, that which didn't run away, didn't try to save its skin, but fought so that Russia would know a better destiny, and had retreated fighting;—much as I felt at ease with the second, which was my own generation, sisters and brothers of my companions in prison, those unfortunate suffering Soviet citizens who had by chance managed to escape long before the death of the regime, after only a quarter of a century of slavery, and were afterwards dragged along the arid paths offered to fugitives;—by so much did I feel indifference for the great mass of

Peter Brooke

Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Alexander Dugin And The Russian Question
Part One

Solzhenitsyn in the USA

When Solzhenitsyn arrived in Europe in February 1974 he was received almost universally as a hero, both as "*the greatest Russian writer of the twentieth century*" and as the model champion of freedom against tyranny. Twenty years later, when he returned to Russia, his reputation was in tatters partly because, instead of flattering those who had been so anxious to flatter him, he had withdrawn from the world to concentrate on what he regarded—rightly in my view—as his major work, *The Red Wheel*, his huge account of the revolution of February/March 1917.

But there were also real political issues at stake, the most obvious being 'Russia' and the relation between 'Russia' and 'the Soviet Union'. The point at issue was whether the Soviet Union could be seen as a specifically Russian development—an extension of the old Russian Empire, with Lenin, Stalin and their successors as the new Tsars—or, as Solzhenitsyn maintained, it was a new non- or multi- national entity with Russians to be numbered among the peoples it was oppressing.

Solzhenitsyn has written an account of his time in exile in the West in two large (excessively large, they include quite a lot of rather dull accounts of his travels) volumes under the title *The Seed fallen between millstones*. The first volume was published in French in 1998 as *Le grain tombé entre les meules*, the

second in 2005. Neither is yet available in an English translation. The extracts I shall be giving are my own translations from the French.

The first millstone is of course the Soviet Union. Yuri Andropov, Chairman of the KGB from 1967 until 1982 when he became General Secretary of the Communist Party and therefore leader of the Soviet Union, took a particular personal interest in his case and much effort was put into discrediting him, in particular using his first wife, Natalya Reshetovskaya and some of his early friends, notably Nikolai Vitkevich, his co-accused at the time of his arrest.

But what was the other millstone?

It was partly a matter of what he saw as his mistreatment at the hands of people he thought were his collaborators—translators, publishers, lawyers. Partly also the unexpected pressures of celebrity in the West—harassment by the press and by institutions wanting to confer honours on him. But the most interesting problem was his gradual realisation that so much of what he had construed as opposition to the Soviet Union, both among his fellow dissidents of what he called "*the third emigration*" and among policy makers in the United States, was in fact opposition to Russia as a geopolitical entity.

The Three Emigrations

The first two Russian emigrations—

the third emigration who were absolutely not escaping death or a prison sentence but had gone in search of a better organised, and pleasanter life ... Certainly they had made use of the right every man has to leave a place where he doesn't want to live but the problem was that not all Soviets—far from it—had this longed-for possibility. All right, I admit. All one could really reproach them for was using, in order to leave, the name of the state of Israel, and then to have gone to a completely different place ... Among them were certainly people who had done time in the camp or the psychiatric asylum, but these were isolated cases, easy to count. A relatively large number by contrast belonged to an elite which had actively served in the machinery of the lie (a lie that was omnipresent, embracing popular songs as well as the film industry) who had been on friendly terms with this machinery ... And the worst was that as soon as they appeared in the West, free to do as they wished, they looked back to judge and deliver lectures to the unfortunate, useless country they had just abandoned, to dictate, themselves being over here, what the life of Russia ought to be ..." (pp.409-10)

He is referring to the mainly Jewish emigration of the late 1960s and 1970s, a very remarkable phenomenon when the Soviet authorities, while vehemently attacking the Israeli aggression of the 1967 Six Day War and the annexation of the West Bank, allowed a large-scale Jewish emigration, notionally to Israel as the 'Jewish homeland' though, as Solzhenitsyn (sympathetic to Israel) complains, many chose to go elsewhere. The Jewish emigrants tended to be acutely aware of anti-Semitism as a specifically Russian problem and to see the Soviet Union as an extension of the Russian Empire. They shared this anti-Russian bias with the Ukrainian diaspora.

Before settling in Vermont, Solzhenitsyn explored the possibility of settling in Canada and while travelling there, he—

"decided to go to Winnipeg, the centre of the Ukrainians in Canada, which I wanted to see. They have a sort of pan-Ukrainian parliament abroad—the World Congress of Free Ukrainians¹ where different dispersed branches of the Ukrainians meet, with a general concelebration by the two different Ukrainian churches: Catholic and, in a manner of speaking, Orthodox (autonomous, with a non-canonical appointment of their bishops since 1918²). By contrast, the Russians who belong to different churches³ not only never meet but even make war against each other.

"But what about the Ukrainians? Their cohesion it seems is much greater but, so to speak, inert: they undertake nothing against the Soviet power, they say nothing that carries even a little weight; their whole ambition is to live, to live as one lives in the West, where one doesn't live at all badly and one waits to be liberated by the operations of the Holy Spirit, as much from the Russians as from the Communists. As for putting some effort into fighting, they're only ready to do it against the "Moscsals" ...

"The Ukrainian question is one of the most dangerous for our future, it risks delivering us a bloody blow even at the very moment of our liberation and our minds, on both sides, are badly prepared for it ... I think that a good number of my comrades from the camp are still to be found in Ukraine and they will help in the future dialogue. It won't be any easier to reach an understanding with the Russians. Just as it is useless trying to show the Ukrainians that both spiritually and by heredity we are all descended from Kiev, so the Russians refuse the idea that on the banks of the Dnieper another people is living ... There is in any case one thing I know and I will proclaim it when the time comes; if, God forbid, a Russo-Ukrainian war has to break out, I myself won't have any part in it and I won't let my sons join it" (pp.265-6).

The US—Ally In Freedom Struggle?

FreedomBut there was also the problem of attitudes among the American political Establishment, especially among those leaders who might have seemed closest to himself, the Cold War hawks.

When Solzhenitsyn first arrived in Washington to address Congress in 1975—

"the police stopped the traffic at the roundabout and two senators who had taken a particular interest in me—the republican {Jesse} Helms (the one who had proposed me for honorary citizenship of the United States⁴ and the democrat {Henry "Scoop"} Jackson (known as a fierce enemy of the USSR) took hold of me as soon as I got out of my car."

On Jackson he continues: "*Jackson gave the impression that he was experiencing the greatest joy of his life, but his eyes were empty, they even frightened me. What a terrible thing politics is!*" (p.278).

He seems to have had a higher regard for Helms—later, in 1995, co-sponsor of the Helms-Burton Act which allows the US to punish foreign companies which have dealings with Cuba.

Nonetheless there is a hint of other feelings when he says that after he had given his speech to Congress "*we passed into Jackson's office (while at the same time feeling the elastic contact of Helms's elbow) ...*" I have had some difficulty understanding the French but I assume he mean that Helms is claiming him as his own property.

Writing about his speeches of 1975 in which he generally spoke very highly of the US as leader of the free world, he says:

"Given the great change that has occurred in me I wouldn't make such speeches *today*. I no longer feel in America a close, faithful, powerful ally of our liberation as I felt it then. Not at all.

"And if I'd only known! If someone at that time had shown me the shameful law 86-90 (of 1959) of the American Congress in which the Russians weren't named among the nations oppressed by Communism, in which it was Russia, not Communism, that was designated as universal oppressor (of China after the manner of Tibet, of 'Cossackia' and 'Idel-Ural'); and it's on the basis of this law that every year, in July, is celebrated 'Captive Nations Day' (and we, in the depths of the Soviet Union, how we sympathised with this week! How we rejoiced because we weren't forgotten, we, the oppressed peoples). This would really have been the best moment to denounce the hypocrisy of that law! Alas I knew nothing about it and went on knowing nothing about it for the next few years." ⁵ (p.272)

As he says later in the book:

"Here in the West what are even those places where I have a solid position and where people seem to be listening to me? All that is without any real usefulness and my heart isn't in it. More and more I see that the West of the States⁶, and that of the papers and also, certainly, of business, isn't an ally for us. Or rather that to have it as an ally is all too dangerous for the necessary transformation of Russia.

"In any case my new orientation has already filtered through and it has been noticed in the West. Looking back one can see with astonishment that the unanimous support that carried me so well in my struggle against the Dragon—that of the Western press and that of society, both in the West and in the USSR—the incredible and quite unjustified backing from which I benefited at the time—was based on a mutual misunderstanding. In reality I was as awkward for the high intellectual-political spheres of the West as I was for the leaders and the educated classes of the Soviet Union.

"And then there's another thing: what a dubious, ambiguous position one finds oneself in when one attacks the Soviet regime not from inside but from outside! Who am I looking to as an ally? To those who are at the same time the enemies of a strong Russia, and especially of a national renaissance in our country. And against *whom* am I protesting? Uniquely the Soviet Government, I think—but if that Government is wrapped like an octopus round the neck and body of the country, how can one make the distinction? In slashing at the octopus I mustn't slash into my mother's body. For example in my American speeches in 1975 I called on my listeners not to supply the USSR with electronic material or sophisticated technology, but I said nothing of the sort about deliveries of wheat. But whether it was because someone extrapolated from what I said or because it was mixed up with what others had said, Oleg Yefremov, the leading film director of the Moscow Art Theatre, a man I respect, came to New York with the playwright Mikhail Roshchin and they said to Veronica Stein: 'Why has Isayevich called for war and condemned the delivery of wheat? He wants people to go hungry?' My God, but precisely I did *not* call for war, the American press misreported what I said—and in *what* a form did it reach my fellow citizens. As for *wheat*, I never said a word about it, but how now can I hope to make myself heard over there? ...

"Everything, really everything led to the same conclusion: much better that I withdraw into silence, that I cease for a long time to express myself in public..." (p.370).

Richard Pipes And 'Old Russia'

Perhaps the personification of the view of Russia as intrinsically and by definition the villain of the piece was the American historian Richard Pipes. Pipes could be said to be for Russia what Bernard Lewis was for Islam—deeply hostile to a subject about which, however, he knew a great deal. Also like Lewis, he was associated with the Neo-Conservative tendency, and Jewish. His son, Daniel, played a leading role in 'Campus Watch', formed to keep an eye on college lecturers with Palestinian sympathies, and he himself was to play an important role in the mid-eighties when Solzhenitsyn was being accused of anti-Semitism.

In the 1970s, when Solzhenitsyn was in despair over the American defeat in Vietnam (did he have any idea of the means by which America was waging war in Vietnam?) and urging the US to stand firm against Communism, Pipes

was running 'Team B', set up by the then head of the CIA, George Bush (Sr), to second guess the conclusions that were being drawn by the American Intelligence community that the Soviet Union was in economic difficulties which were having an unfavourable effect on its military capacity. It therefore posed less of a military threat, a conclusion that was naturally unwelcome to the US military establishment and the armaments industry. Team B was set up by the then Secretary of Defence, Donald Rumsfeld, and included among its members a younger Paul Wolfowitz. It was the model for the later 'Office of Special Plans', set up by Wolfowitz in 2002, also under Rumsfeld as Secretary of Defence, to undermine the CIA's assessment that the Iraqi Government had little or nothing in the way of chemical, biological or nuclear weapons.

In the 1970s, then, Pipes and Solzhenitsyn could be described as (to use an old Marxist Leninist term) 'objective' allies in opposition to the then Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's policy of *détente* with the Soviet Union. The analysis in Pipes' book on *The Russian Revolution, 1899-1919*, also seems to me to resemble that of Solzhenitsyn in *The Red Wheel*, especially the recognition that the real revolution was in February and that October was just a *coup d'état*. This seems obvious now but it was less obvious when Soviet historiography was still a force to be reckoned with.

But Pipes' *Russian Revolution* was only published in 1990. In the 1970s Solzhenitsyn knew him mainly as the author of *Russia under the old régime*, first published in 1974. In *The Seed* he describes how, when he was working on the archives in the Hoover Institution (in 1976, specifically on the assassination of Stolypin), he was asked to speak:

"Good, I introduced into the talk what was my preoccupation of the moment: why Western researchers did not quite understand ⁷ Russia, what was the basis of their systematic error, why their judgments on her go astray (I cited in passing Richard Pipes' book on old Russia—thus making for myself over many years a passionate and influential enemy)" (p.335).

In an essay published in the US journal *Foreign Affairs*, ('Misconceptions about Russia are a threat to America', *Foreign Affairs* Vol 58, No.4, Spring 1980, pp.797-834), Solzhenitsyn said:

"Richard Pipes' book *Russia Under the Old Regime* may stand as typical of

a long series of such pronouncements that distort the image of Russia. Pipes shows a complete disregard for the spiritual life of the Russian people and its view of the world—Christianity. He examines entire centuries of Russian history without reference to Russian Orthodoxy and its leading proponents (suffice to say that St. Sergius of Radonezh, whose influence upon centuries of Russian spiritual and public life was incomparably great, is not once mentioned in the book, while Nil Sorsky is presented in an anecdotal role). Thus, instead of being shown the living being of a nation, we witness the dissection of a corpse. Pipes does devote one chapter to the Church itself, which he sees only as a civil institution and treats in the spirit of Soviet atheistic propaganda. This people and this country are presented as spiritually under developed and motivated, from peasant to tsar, exclusively by crude material interests. Even within the sections devoted to individual topics there is no convincing, logical portrayal of history, but only a chaotic jumble of epochs and events from various centuries, often without so much as a date. The author willfully ignores those events, persons or aspects of Russian life which would not prove conducive to his thesis, which is that the entire history of Russia has had but a single purpose—the creation of a police state. He selects only that which contributes to his derisive and openly hostile description of Russian history and the Russian people. The book allows only one possible conclusion to be drawn: that the Russian nation is anti-human in its essence, that it has been good for nothing throughout its thousand years of history, and that as far as any future is concerned it is obviously a hopeless case. Pipes even bestows upon Emperor Nicholas I the distinction of having invented totalitarianism. Leaving aside the fact that it was not until Lenin that totalitarianism was ever actually implemented, Mr. Pipes, with all his erudition, should have been able to indicate that the idea of the totalitarian state was first proposed by Hobbes in his *Leviathan* (the head of the state is there said to have dominion not only over the citizens' lives and property, but also over their conscience). Rousseau, too, had leanings in this direction when he declared the democratic state to be "unlimited sovereign" not only over the possessions of its citizens, but over their person as well.

As a writer who has spent his whole life immersed in the Russian language and Russian folklore, I am particularly pained by one of Pipes' "scholarly" techniques. From among some 40,000 Russian proverbs, which in their unity

and their inner contradictions make up a dazzling literary and philosophical edifice, Pipes wrests those half dozen (in Maxim Gorky's tendentious selection) which suit his needs, and uses them to "prove" the cruel and cynical nature of the Russian peasantry. This method affects me in much the same way as I imagine Rostropovich would feel if he had to listen to a wolf playing the cello.

There are two names which are repeated from book to book and article to article with a mindless persistence by all the scholars and essayists of this tendency: Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great, to whom—implicitly or explicitly—they reduce the whole sense of Russian history. But one could just as easily find two or three kings no whit less cruel in the histories of England, France or Spain, or indeed of any country, and yet no one thinks of reducing the complexity of historical meaning to such figures alone. And in any case, no two monarchs can determine the history of a thousand-year-old nation. But the refrain continues. Some scholars use this technique to show that communism is possible only in countries with a "morally defective" history, others in order to remove the stigma from communism itself, laying the blame for its incorrect implementation upon Russian national characteristics."

In Defence Of Richard Pipes

Not sharing Solzhenitsyn's strength of feeling on the subject I have to admit that I found Pipes' book interesting. His central argument as I read it is that throughout the whole period between Russia's subjection to the Tatars and its subjection to the Communists, no section of the general society was able to combine to challenge the State on the basis of its own material interest:

"The sum total of the preceding analysis of relations between state and society in pre-1900 Russia is that none of the economic or social groups of the old regime was able or willing to stand up to the crown and challenge its monopoly of political power. They were not able to do so because, by enforcing the patrimonial principle, i.e. by effectively asserting its claim to all the territory of the realm as property and all its inhabitants as servants, the crown prevented the formation of pockets of independent wealth or power. And they were not willing because, in so far as under this system the crown was the ultimate source of all material benefits, each group was strongly inclined to fawn on it. *Dvoriane* {landowners—PB} looked to the aristocracy to keep their serfs in place, to conquer new lands for distribution to them as *pomestia* {fief or

service land}, and to preserve their various exclusive rights; the merchants depended on the crown to grant them licences and monopolies and through high tariffs to protect their inefficient industries; the clergy had only the crown to safeguard their landed properties and, after these were gone {taken by the crown in the eighteenth century—PB} to pay them subsidies and keep their flock from defecting {to the Old Ritualists and other schismatic groups}. Under the adverse economic conditions prevailing in Russia, groups aspiring to rise above the subsistence level had but one option open to them, and that was to collaborate with the state—in other words, to give up political ambition ...

The underprivileged, the mass of *muzhiki*, also preferred absolutism to any other form of government except anarchy. That which they desired the most, namely free access to all the land not already under peasant control, they expected to obtain from the same tsar who had given personal liberty to their masters in 1762 and to them ninety nine years later. For the impoverished *dvoriane*, the mass of petty traders and the overwhelming majority of the peasants, constitution and parliament were a swindle which the rich and influential tried to foist on the country to enable them to seize hold of the apparatus of political power for their personal benefit. Thus, everything made for conservative rigidity ...

Such being the case, political opposition, if it was to emerge at all, had to come from quarters other than those customarily labelled "interest groups". No social or economic group had an interest in liberalisation; to the elites it spelled the loss of privilege, to the rural masses shattered hopes of a nationwide "black repartition". Throughout Russian history, "interest groups" have fought other "interest groups" never the state. The drive for change had to be inspired by motives other than self-interest, as the word is conventionally used—motives more enlightened, farsighted and generous, such as sense of patriotism, social justice and personal self-respect. Indeed, just because the pursuit of material rewards was so closely identified with the constitution of the old regime and subservience to the state, any aspiring opposition was bound to renounce self-serving; it had to be, or at any rate appear to be, utterly disinterested. Thus it happened that in Russia the struggle for political liberty was waged from the beginning exactly in the manner that Burke felt it ought never to be waged: in the name of abstract ideals" (pp. 249-251).

The book has a number of chapters substantiating these points with regard

to the different classes. The chapter on the peasantry includes the following:

"Until more scholarly studies on the subject become available, all we can go by are impressions. These do not bear out the picture, derived largely from literary sources, of widespread misery and oppression. The obvious injustice of serfdom must not be allowed to colour one's perception of its realities. Several Englishmen who wrote accounts of their experiences in Russia found that the Russian peasant's condition compared favourably with what they knew at home, especially in Ireland ... The following two excerpts come from such accounts. The first is by an English sea-captain who in 1820 undertook a four-year journey on foot across Russia and Siberia which gave him unique opportunities to observe rural life at first-hand:

"I have no hesitation ... in saying, that the condition of the peasantry here is far superior to that class in Ireland. In Russia, provisions are plentiful, good and cheap; while in Ireland they are scanty, poor and dear, the best part being exported from the latter country, whilst the local impediments in the other {Russia—PB} render them not worth the expense {merits of the famous Russian inefficiency!—PB}. Good comfortable log-houses are here found in every village, immense droves of cattle are scattered over an unlimited pasture, and whole forests of fuel may be obtained for a trifle. With ordinary industry and economy, the Russian peasant may become rich, especially those of the villages situated between the capitals."

"The second is by a British traveller who had gone to Russia for the express purpose of finding material which would cast it in a less favourable light than that found in the literature of the time {Robert Bremner: *Excursions in the interior of Russia*, 1839}:

"On the whole ... so far at least as mere (!) {Pipes' exclamation mark} food and lodging are concerned, the Russian peasant is not so badly off as the poor man among ourselves. He may be rude and uneducated—liable to be ill-treated by his superiors—intemperate in his habits and filthy in his person; but he never knows the misery to which the Irish peasant is exposed. His food may be coarse; but he has abundance of it. His hut may be homely; but it is dry and warm. We are apt to fancy that if our peasantry be badly off, we can at least flatter ourselves with the assurance that

they are much more comfortable than those of foreign countries. But this is a gross delusion. Not in Ireland only, but in parts of Great Britain usually considered to be exempt from the miseries of Ireland, we have witnessed wretchedness compared with which the condition of the Russian boor is luxury, whether he live amid the crowded population of large towns, or in the meanest hamlets of the interior. There are parts of Scotland, where the people are lodged in houses which the Russian peasant would not think fit for his cattle.”

{Pipes continues:}

"It is particularly important to be disabused concerning alleged landlord brutality toward serfs. Foreign travellers to Russia—unlike visitors to the slave plantations of the Americas—hardly ever mention corporal punishment. The violence endemic to the twentieth century and the attendant “liberation” of sexual fantasy encourage modern man to indulge his sadistic impulses by projecting them on to the past: but the fact that he longs to maltreat others has no bearing on what actually happened when that had been possible. Serfdom was an economic institution not a closed world created for the gratification of sexual pleasures ... Where statistics happen to be available they indicate moderation in the use of disciplinary prerogatives. Every landlord, for example, had the power to turn unruly peasants over to the authorities for exile to Siberia. Between 1822 and 1833, 1,283 serfs were punished in this fashion; an annual average of 107 out of over twenty million proprietary serfs is hardly a staggering figure" (pp.151-2).

The major grievance felt by the peasantry, Pipes argues, was simply their conviction that they themselves, the people who worked the land, were its rightful owners. They failed to understand that there is something called 'law' which gives property rights to people who appeared to be contributing nothing useful to the community—hence the belief in a 'black repartition' which, in his *Russian Revolution*, Pipes argued played an important role in 1917. And his picture of violent and anarchic peasant seizure of the land is also found in Solzhenitsyn, describing events well before October.

The last chapter in Pipes' book is called *'Towards the police state'* which does indeed imply a continuity between late Tsarism and Communism, especially as he quotes the Code of 1845 together with the 1927 Code (the famous Article 58 under which Solzhenitsyn was

arrested) and of 1960 and comments:

"This type of legislation {an 'omnibus' legislation covering any form of disrespect shown towards established authority—PB}, and the police institutions created to enforce it, spread after the Revolution of 1917 by way of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany to other authoritarian state in Europe and overseas. One is justified in saying, therefore, that Chapters Three and Four of the Russian Criminal Code of 1845 are to totalitarianism what the Magna Carta is to liberty." (p.295)

Hence Solzhenitsyn's complaint that *"Pipes even bestows upon Emperor Nicholas I the distinction of having invented totalitarianism"*. But the basis of Pipes' charge of totalitarianism isn't the authority the monarch claims over the conscience of the subject—that could be said to have been well established throughout Christendom since the days of Theodosius the Great at the end of the fourth century. It is embodied in the conversion of Kievan Rus under St Vladimir, Equal to the Apostles, and in the principle of *'cuius regio, eius religio'*, established after the Reformation. Pipes, however, is referring to legislation in which any expression of opinion deemed to be subversive of the state, or any indication of any possibility of any subversive action can be punishable—severely punishable—by law. We have an example of this in recent British legislation against militant Islam—since Pipes maintains that terrorist threat in the Russian Empire was exaggerated the analogy seems quite pertinent. But Pipes also makes it perfectly clear that the difference between the application of the 1845 Code and the Soviet code was immense:

"Under Nicholas I the draconian laws against political dissent were much less strictly enforced than one might be inclined to imagine. The machinery of repression was still too primitive for the police authorities to function in a systematic fashion: for this to happen, railways, telegraphs and telephones were needed. For the time being, the rules were applied in a rough sort of way. Usually, people suspected from informers' reports were detained and, after being questioned, either released with a warning or sent into the provinces for some specified period of time ... With the accession of Alexander II the government made an earnest effort to put an end to the arbitrary rule of the bureaucracy and police, and transform Russia into what the Germans called a *Rechtsstaat*, a state grounded in law ... It was not long, however, before this effort

was sabotaged—this time, for once, not by bureaucrats but by the radical intelligentsia and its sympathisers among the well-meaning, enlightened and liberal public" (pp. 295-6. The last sentence could have been written by Solzhenitsyn!).

And again:

"Just as the tactics of massive breakthrough by mechanised armour, inaugurated but not exploited by the British at Cambrai were perfected by their enemies the Germans in the Second World War, so the techniques of police rule, introduced piecemeal by the Russian imperial regime, were first utilised to their fullest potential by their one-time victims, the revolutionaries" (p.317).

Solzhenitsyn & Orthodox Church

There is a certain irony that one of the chapters Solzhenitsyn would have liked least—the one on the Church—ends with a quotation from Solzhenitsyn himself:

"One can fully sympathise with the words of Alexander Solzhenitsyn that Russian history would have been “incomparably more humane and harmonious in the last few centuries if the church had not surrendered its independence and had continued to make its voice heard among the people, as it did, for example, in Poland”..." (p.245).

The quotation comes from a *"Lenten Letter"* addressed by Solzhenitsyn while still in Russia to the then Patriarch of Moscow, Pimen, in March 1972.⁸ I discussed Solzhenitsyn's somewhat ambiguous attitude to historic Orthodoxy in an article published in 2010 in the online *Dublin Review of Books*, and I feel I can't do better than to repeat what I wrote then:

"The major theme of the Templeton Address, which Solzhenitsyn gave in 1984, is that the horrors that surround us derive from our loss of a sense of responsibility to something higher than ourselves—to God: “If I were asked today to formulate as concisely as possible the main cause of the ruinous Revolution that swallowed up some sixty millions of our people, I could not put it more accurately than to repeat: Men have forgotten God; that's why all this has happened.”

And yet, and yet ... if ever there was a political figure who had a sense of his responsibility to God it was Nicholas II. And Solzhenitsyn stresses this in his account of Nicholas in the “previous knots” section of *August 1914*. All Nicholas's decisions were accompanied by intense prayer. And one of the high

points—perhaps the high point—of his life was the canonisation of Saint Seraphim of Sarov. Yet Nicholas's decisions are generally represented as catastrophic and they include leading Russia into the Russo-Japanese war and of course, however accidentally, the 1914 war—partly motivated by the specifically religious ambition of recovering Constantinople for Orthodoxy.

One of the very few people Solzhenitsyn admires without reserve is Nicholas's minister, Peter Stolypin. But Stolypin is not represented as a particularly religious man—even if he makes the sign of the cross at the moment of his death—and his problems and achievements are presented in entirely secular political terms. As Solzhenitsyn comments in *November 1916*, giving an account of Kotya's {one of his fictional characters} thoughts on the Battle of Skrobotovo: “there's no use trying to put things right if your faults are the air you breathe, if your faults are you. Germans rely on heavy artillery, Russians on God ...”

Indeed, given the importance Solzhenitsyn attaches to religion, there is something a little odd about his attitude to the Orthodox Church ... Although he often refers to the martyrdom of the priests, monks and nuns of the Orthodox Church under Bolshevism, there are very few priests mentioned in *The Gulag Archipelago ... The Red Wheel* seems to be an attempt to show the February revolution from all important points of view, yet very little is said about the huge trauma that was undergone by the church.

When he does mention the Orthodox Church he is often critical of it. One of his recurring themes is the sin which the Church committed in its persecution of the Old Believers—Orthodox Christians who refused to accept certain reforms of liturgical practice that were introduced in the seventeenth century. Without ever going into it very deeply Solzhenitsyn several times refers to the Old Believers as representing the genuine spirit of Old Russia. He sees the reforms of Peter the Great (when the supposedly independent patriarchate of Moscow was suppressed and the Church reduced to being a department of state after the manner of the Church of England) as an extension of the crime committed against the Old Believers.

In the Templeton address he does evoke “a time when the social ideal was not fame or riches, or material success, but a pious way of life. Russia was then steeped in Orthodox Christianity which remained true to the Church of the first centuries”. But he continues: “The Orthodoxy of that time knew how to safeguard its people under the yoke of a foreign occupation that lasted more

than two centuries while at the same time fending off iniquitous blows from the swords of Western crusaders.” In referring to “the period when Russia was under the domination that lasted more than two centuries ...” he is referring to the period when Russia was under the Muslim domination of the Tatars, the period of Alexander Nevsky (1218-63), who paid tribute to the Khans but fought against the incursions of the Teutonic Knights.

No sooner is Russia freed from its shackles than we have Ivan the Terrible at the end of the sixteenth century, the “Time of Troubles” (Polish support for a supposed son of Ivan as legitimate heir to the throne), the schism with the Old Believers and “Peter's forcibly imposed transformation, which favoured the economy, the state and the military at the expense of the religious and national life.” Solzhenitsyn is often criticised as a “Russian nationalist”—but he is an unusual sort of nationalist, not one who finds a great deal in the history of his country that is worthy of admiration.

{I may add here in parenthesis that in stating or at least hinting that the best period of the Russian Orthodox Church was the period of the Tatars, Solzhenitsyn is in agreement with Pipes—“The Golden Age of the Orthodox Church in Russia coincided with Mongol domination”—p.226}

The names he evokes when talking about the development of religious thought tend to be the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century intellectuals following in the line of the philosopher, Vladimir Soloviev ... One priest who is briefly discussed in *The Gulag Archipelago* is Father Paul Florensky but he, a very interesting mathematician and philosopher, falls into the category of intellectuals following in the line of Soloviev. Although stressing the admirable continuity of Orthodoxy among the people Solzhenitsyn rarely evokes more mainstream figures such as Paissius Velichkovsky in the eighteenth century or Metropolitan Philaret and the startsi of Optina in the nineteenth. Saint Seraphim of Sarov is only evoked because of his importance to Nicholas II. {Again I might add in parenthesis the resemblance to Pipes and his failure, in Solzhenitsyn's eyes, to mention St Sergius of Radonezh}.

Perhaps the most well-developed Christian personality in all Solzhenitsyn's writings is Dmitri Sologdin in *In The First Circle*. The original and complete version of *In the First Circle* has only recently (2009) been published (under that title) in an English translation. *The First Circle*, published as far back as 1968, is actually an abridged version Solzhenitsyn had, in his own

view, mangled in the hopes of getting it published in the USSR. One of the great revelations of *The Gulag Archipelago*, losing him much of his left-wing support, was that Solzhenitsyn saw the Stalinist repression, not as a deviation in the course of Communist history, but as a logical continuation of the process initiated by Lenin. Until then, Solzhenitsyn was still keeping up a pretence of being willing to accept the Leninist foundation of the state. But that pretence is already dramatically exploded in the pages of the original *In The First Circle*.

The 1968 version—“Circle 87”—so called because of its 87 chapters, as opposed to the original “Circle 96”—maintains a sort of balance between Solzhenitsyn's two particular friends, Lev Kopelev (“Lev Rubin” in the novel), an atheist who still believes in the essentially progressive nature of the Soviet regime despite the abuses which he sees and denounces courageously, and the Christian, Dmitri Panin (Sologdin). In “Circle 96”, however, the balance falls on the side of Panin/Sologdin—the more so if I am right in speculating that another figure, who plays a larger part in Circle 96 than in Circle 87, Ilarion Gerasimovich, may also have been based on Panin.

But Sologdin/Panin's version of Christianity is not entirely Orthodox.

In the course of the ongoing quarrel between him {Panin/Sologdin} and the Bolshevik Lev Rubin, Rubin appeals to Nerzhin {the character based on Solzhenitsyn himself}:

“Tell him what a poseur he is! I'm fed up with his posturing! He's forever pretending to be Alexander Nevsky!”

Sologdin surprises them by responding:

“Now that I don't find a bit flattering!”

“What do you mean?”

“Alexander Nevsky is no sort of hero as far as I am concerned. And no saint. So I don't take what you said as a compliment.”

Rubin was silenced. He and Nerzhin exchanged a baffled look.

“So what has Alexander Nevsky done to upset you?” Nerzhin asked.

“Kept chivalry out of Asia and Catholicism out of Russia. He was against Europe,” said Sologdin, still breathless with indignation.

Rubin returned to the attack, hoping to land a blow.

“Now this is something new! something quite new! ...”

“Why would catholicism have been good for Russia?” Nerzhin inquired, looking judicial.

“I'll tell you why!” the answer came like a flash of lightning. “Because all the people who had the misfortune to

be Orthodox Christians paid for it with centuries of slavery! Because the Orthodox Church never could stand up to the state! A godless people was defenseless! The result was this cock-eyed country of ours! A country of slaves!”

Dmitri Panin, the model for Sologdin, left Russia in 1973 for France. According to {D.M.} Thomas: “Panin and his new Catholic-Jewish wife Issa had a cordial farewell with Sanya {Solzhenitsyn} before leaving for Paris: part of the limited Jewish exodus permitted as a contribution to détente with the West in the early 1970s.” In France, Panin published a number of books, including his own account his time in prison, *Notebooks of Sologdin* (Solzhenitsyn apparently took offense at the title). But he also published a number of more theoretical works including *The World is a Pendulum*, published in French in 1974, *Builders and Destroyers* (1883) and *Theory of Densities*. As it happens, *Theory of Densities* was published in French in 1990 by a friend of mine, the late Henri Viaud, who ran a small publishing house, Editions Presence.

{...}

Panin's *Theory of Densities* outlines a science-based philosophy which he claims is truly “materialist” and truly rational in opposition to the non-materialist and irrational “dialectical materialism” of Marxism—details of the argument find their way into the quarrel between Rubin and Sologdin. He then expounds the principle dogmas of the Church in terms of this overall theoretical framework and with the aid of an abundance of mathematical demonstrations. But of most immediate interest to us is a chapter on “the Church” which argues that only on the basis of the papacy can the church become a force capable of confronting the state and the forces of antichrist, of godlessness, in the world. And he suggests that a large part of the teachings of Christianity (notably “God is Love” and “resist not evil”###) is not suited to mass consumption and should be reserved to the élite.

The whole is strangely reminiscent of Dostoevsky and most obviously the famous Legend of the Grand Inquisitor in *The Brothers Karamazov*. The author of the Legend, Ivan Karamazov, was widely thought at the time to be modelled on Soloviev, who was a friend of Dostoevsky's and who eventually became a “Uniate”—a Roman Catholic who continued to use the offices of the Eastern Orthodox churches. Ivan uses the story (in the long conversation with his brother Alyosha that is among the most profound discussions in the whole history of Christian literature) to argue

through the lips of the Inquisitor that the doctrine of Jesus is cruel because it allows a freedom of the soul that very few people are able to assume and that consequently can only open the way to Evil—terrible, absolute Evil. Only iron control by an élite, represented by the Inquisitor, can save the people from the consequences of its own anarchic passions. For Dostoevsky, standing on the opposite side of the fence to Panin, it is an allegory of the essential difference between the rational Roman Catholic Church and irrational—but Christian—Orthodoxy. Panin is quite clearly and, we must assume, knowingly, taking the side of Ivan Karamazov.

The Red Wheel argues that Russia was already lost by the time of the February Revolution—that the country was so totally demoralised by liberal and socialist ideas that it could only deliver itself tamely into the hands of the Bolsheviks. In *The Seed fallen between millstones*, Franco's Spain is held up as a model of a proper Christian response to the evil of Bolshevism. Thus Solzhenitsyn seems to approach the position argued by Panin. Evil must be confronted by force, and the centralised spiritually independent Roman Catholic Church is better placed to do it than Orthodoxy with its otherworldliness and tradition of subservience to the state.”

Solzhenitsyn's thinking is in general wider and more interesting in his novels (including *The Red Wheel*, if that can be called a novel) than in his discourses. He never seems to have been able quite to focus his mind on 'the West' and, being myself a Socialist, I naturally regret his determination to persuade the West that Communism was an Absolute Evil that had to be rooted out in all its manifestations. On this reading 'the West' is wearing the White Hat, only vitiated by the desire for an easy life and by the temptations of Socialism—in Solzhenitsyn's eyes only the antechamber to full fledged Communism. Solzhenitsyn as we have seen insisted that he wasn't calling for war against the Soviet Union nor for sanctions that would hurt the people of the Soviet Union but he did support the war in Vietnam and, so far as I can see, supported sanctions on Cuba. He was a keen supporter of Ronald Reagan but at the moment when the evil of Reagan's reign became evident to me (the invasion of Panama) Solzhenitsyn's mind was somewhat diverted from US politics by the beginnings of *glasnost* in the Soviet Union.

The greatness of Solzhenitsyn lies in his ability, in the novels, to enter into a wide variety of differing minds, includ-

ing Socialist ones. And speaking to Russians about about how the transition from Communism should be handled his thinking became much better focused. I hope to look at this in a further article and to draw comparisons and contrasts with the current *bête noir* of the Western anti-Russian Establishment, Alexander Dugin.

NOTES

¹ This was founded in New York in 1967. It is now called the Ukrainian World Congress and organised internationally..

² The Ukrainian autocephalous churches in the USA and in Canada—unlike the two rival autocephalous churches in the Ukraine itself—are now, since 1996, attached to the Patriarch of Constantinople and are therefore recognised by the mainstream Orthodox Churches as 'canonical'. The 'Catholic' tendency he mentions are the 'Uniates' who continue to use more or less the same rite as the Orthodox but are in communion with the papacy.

³ He is referring to the Russian Orthodox believers attached to the Moscow Patriarchate, the independent *emigré* Russian Church Abroad—now, as it happens also attached to the Moscow Patriarchate though violently hostile to it during the Soviet era—and the Paris-based 'exarchate' attached to Constantinople.

⁴ Helms made several attempts to have Solzhenitsyn given honorary citizenship, an honour previously conferred only on Lafayette and Churchill. Although he secured the support of the Senate his efforts were blocked either by the House of Representatives or by Kissinger's State Department.

⁵ According to the chronology in Lioudmila Saraskina: *Alexandre Soljénitsyne*, Fayard 2010, Solzhenitsyn wrote this book in 1978. A note referring to some attempts on the part of Russians living in the US to have the law changed is dated 1986.

⁶ 'L'Occident des Etats'. I'm not sure if this refers to the United States or if he means the different national governments in the West.

⁷ This is my reading of the French but I think it should be 'did not at all understand'.

⁸ The full text can be found on the Website of *The Tablet* at <http://archive.thetablet.co.uk/article/15th-april-1972/20/challenge-to-the-russian-church>

Eoghan Rua

Two of Eoghan Rua's Songs, with translations, have been placed on the Church & State Internet site. A file of commentaries on the two poems by Séamas Ó Domhnaill is also available. These appeared in the series, *The Life & Work Of Eoghan Ruadh*. Both are free to download.

Go to : <http://>

www.atholbooks.org

Click on 'editorials and articles from current magazines' then click on 'magazine search' and choose 'church and state'.

**V
O
X**

**Property
Presbyterians And SSM
Conversions
The Gilmore Certificates;**

**P
A
T**

Property

"It's cheaper to buy than rent in 80pc of the country" (*Irish Independent*, 21.9.2015); "Homeless family numbers soars 76% in 2015" (*Irish Examiner*, 21.9.2015); 'Rent-trap' tenants pay out €2,400 more than homebuyers" (*Irish Independent*, 21.9.2015).

On the 24th September last, the Property pages of the *Irish Times* amounted to 28 pages, almost equal to the number of news pages, the day following the *Irish Independent* Property pages came to 34, the News section was 36 pages. It's an ill wind? Almost a replica of the halcyon days prior to the 2008 Crash.

Many years ago in Australia, you measured the wealth of the economy on the pages of Vacant jobs in the Age newspaper but in dear old Ireland, it seems to be measured by the vibrancy of the Property market.

Presbyterians And SSM

"The only Presbyterian Minister in Ireland who publicly welcomed the result of last May's same sex referendum in the Republic in favour of same sex marriage has recanted.

Following the referendum Rev Christina Bradley, who ministers in Portadown Co Armagh, described the 62% majority as "inclusive and compassionate."

She told the *Portadown Times*:

"The referendum wasn't a debate on the institution of marriage as the basis of human society as we know it, but about ending discrimination.

"Who is the state and who is the church in a democratic society? It is the people. The people (of the Republic) have voted by an overwhelming 62.1% majority to be inclusive and compassionate."

Her comments prompted the Church to set up a special commission to investigate her same sex views. Its conclusion was read out in her Church on Armagh Road, Portadown last Sunday while she looked on:

"Mrs Bradley confirmed to Presbytery that she fully accepts the teaching of the Westminster Confession of Faith, that 'marriage is to be between one man and one woman'. Mrs Bradley also confirms that same-sex marriage is contrary to the will of God revealed in the Bible and accepts that homosexual practice is sinful in God's sight."

"Mrs Bradley also accepted that her welcoming of the same-sex referendum vote was 'open to misinterpretation', and said that she 'had no intention of bringing the Church into disrepute'..." (*Irish Times*-23.9.2015)

Conversions

"Mohammed Ali Zonoobi bends his head as the priest pours holy water over his black hair. "Will you break away from Satan and his evil deeds?" pastor Gottfried Martens asks the Iranian refugee. "Will you break away from Islam?"

"Yes," Zonoobi fervently replies. Spreading his hands in blessing, Martens then baptises the man "in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost."

Mohammed is now Martin—no longer Muslim, but Christian.

"Meanwhile, as other churches across Germany struggle with dwindling numbers of believers, Martens has seen his congregation swell from 150 just two years to more than 600 parishioners now—with a seemingly unending flow of new refugees finding the way to his congregation. Some come from cities as far away as Rostock on the Baltic Sea, having found out by word-of-mouth that Martens not only baptises Muslims after a three-month 'crash course' in Christianity, but also helps them with asylum pleas" (*Irish Examiner*, 5.9.2015).

Was it Henry IV of Navarre who is claimed to have uttered that "*Paris was worth a mass*"? However, in 1610, poor Henry was assassinated in Paris by the Catholic zealot François Ravaillac.

The Gilmore Certificates

A much-heralded scheme where people could buy a so-called certificate of Irishness celebrating their ancestry has been axed by the Government. The Department of Foreign Affairs, which ran the scheme, said it was being discontinued due to a lack of interest.

Descendants of previous generations of Irish citizens at home and abroad could previously apply for and buy the certificates online. Many well-known celebrities and political figures were among 298 people presented with the certificates in order to highlight their Irishness. However, despite the big names honoured under the scheme, only 2,925 of the certificates were sold.

US President Barack Obama was presented with one in recognition of his roots in Moneygall, Co Offaly. Former president Bill Clinton, author Dennis Lehane and former athlete Seb Coe also received certificates.

Unframed certificates cost €45 while framed versions cost €120.

A spokesperson for the Department of Foreign Affairs said the certificates would no longer be available after August 24th. (*Irish Independent*, 18.8.2015)

An old mate of mine was lucky to get a framed version before August 24. He sent it to Russian President Vladimir Putin and believe it or not, he got a reply thanking him and a promise that if the Russian Presidential jet ever stops at Cork airport, he will invite him on.

Publications!!!

Was 1916 A Crime? A Discussion from *Village Magazine*, July 2005—July 2006. Intro: Jack Lane. **€9, £6**

Roger Casement: *The Crime Against Europe*. With *The Crime Against Ireland* Intro. by B. Clifford. 184pp. **€18, £15**

The Great Fraud Of 1914-18 by **Pat Walsh**, 52pp (A4). **€12, £9**

The Heidegger Review, Issue 2 **84pp (A4)**. **€12, £9** also available electronically: €6, £8

Order from:

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

Or from the Editor

(see page 3)

V
O
X

Gallipoli
Frangleterre
Property
Profiteering!
Niall Khan?

P
A
T

Gallipoli

"An Australian sports commentator has been sacked for calling the Gallipoli campaign an "imperialist invasion" and describing people who commemorated the centenary of the landings "poorly read, largely white, nationalist drinkers and gamblers".

"SBS, a public broadcaster, sacked Scott McIntyre for his "inappropriate and disrespectful" comments on Twitter, saying it apologised for any offence and insisting the the broadcaster "supports our Anzacs" (*Daily Telegraph*, 28.4.2015).

April 25th marked the 100th anniversary of the Gallipoli campaign of World War I, a doomed attempt by British forces to invade the Gallipoli Peninsula and capture the capital of the Ottoman Empire, Constantinople. The day has a special place in the history of Australia and New Zealand : about 10,000 fighters from the two countries died in the fighting, a disproportionately large number.

April 25 is now celebrated as Anzac Day in both countries, a day of remembrance named after the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC), which fought at Gallipoli. The tragic campaign is seen as a landmark moment in the formation of Australia's and New Zealand's national identities.

Yet, even 100 years after Gallipoli, questioning its legacy can prove extremely controversial. One Australian journalist discovered that this weekend, when a few tweets sparked his dismissal—and a wider debate about history.

Included among McIntyre's tweets were the following:

"The cultivation of an imperialist invasion of a foreign nation that Australia had no quarrel with is against all ideals of modern society.

"Remembering the summary execution, widespread rape and theft committed by these 'brave' Anzacs in Egypt, Palestine and Japan.

"Not forgetting that the largest single-day terrorist attacks in history were committed by this nation & their allies in Hiroshima & Nagasaki

"Innocent children, on the way to school, murdered. Their shadows seared into the concrete of Hiroshima."

Within just a few hours of the tweets being sent, McIntyre had been fired.

Even before McIntyre's tweets, the message of Anzac Day had become a subject of debate in Australia. A solemn event when it first began, it has evolved into a celebration that some criticize as jingoistic. Historians have long questioned the popular narrative of the Gallipoli campaign, and well-known figures such as former Labour Prime Minister Paul Keating have called Australia's popular embrace of Anzac Day misguided.

Frangleterre?

Vive la Frangleterre! In September, 1956, the French Prime Minister, Guy Mollet, proposed to the British Prime Minister, Anthony Eden, that France should become part of the United Kingdom. The French economy was then in dire straits, and Mollet regarded that of the UK as a role model. The suggestion of union was rebuffed. Two weeks later, Mollet requested that France should become a member of the Commonwealth, with Queen Elizabeth II as the French head of state. This met with no warmer a welcome, and the following year France signed the Treaty of Rome, becoming a founder-member of the Common Market—from which the UK was excluded for another 16 years.

It was not the first proposal for an Anglo-French union. In the darker days of 1940, as the Germans swept over the French defences, Winston Churchill had suggested that the two countries unite. Marshal Petain responded, *"To make a union with Great Britain would be fusion with a corpse..."* (*History Without the Boring Bits*; Ian Crofton, Quercus, 2007)

Ian Crofton fails to mention that on 5th November 1956, Britain and France landed paratroopers along the Suez Canal. It became clear that the Israeli

invasion and the subsequent Anglo-French attack had been planned beforehand by the three countries.

However, heavy pressure from the United States and the USSR forced them to withdraw. US President Dwight D. Eisenhower had strongly warned Britain not to invade; he now threatened serious damage to the British financial system. Some historians conclude the crisis signified the end of Great Britain's role as one of the world's major powers.

Harold Wilson, the Labour leader used chide Eden with the barb: *"You were first in and first out of the Suez."*

Profiteering!

A hedge fund manager in America has sparked fury among health experts and patients by buying the rights to a drug used to treat conditions related to Aids and cancer, and increasing its price by 5,000 per cent overnight.

Martin Shkreli, a bullish 32-year-old New York businessman, who revels in a lavish lifestyle, purchased Daraprim in August. The drug is used to treat toxoplasmosis, a parasite infection that can cause life-threatening problems for those with weakened immune systems, such as unborn babies, Aids sufferers and some cancer patients.

The pills were being sold for \$13.50 (≈12) each, but Mr Shkreli's company, Turing Pharmaceuticals, increased the price immediately to \$750. Treatment requires a course of 100 pills.

"This isn't the greedy drug company trying to gouge patients, it is us trying to stay in business," said Mr Shkreli said, claiming that many patients use the drug for less than a year and that the price was now more in line with those of other drugs for rare diseases. The drug was first developed in the 1940s, and is not commonly prescribed, but still vital. In 2014 it was prescribed 8,821 times" (*Irish Indep.* 23.9.2015).

Niall Khan?

The Death in circa 405 of Niall of the Niall Hostages (Ui Neill family) High King of Ireland. DNA research published in 2006 suggested that Niall was the ancestor of some three million men now alive, including one in 12 of the present Irish male population of Ireland.

Research published in 2003 based on analysis of Y-chromosomes suggests that eight per cent of men across a large area of Asia (about 0.5 per cent of the global male population) are descended from Genghis Khan (1162-1227).

Could Niall and Genghis have been related?
