

Church & State

# **An Irish History Magazine**

*And Cultural Review Of Ireland And The World*

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**Brexit:** *The Real England And  
The Anglophile Mirage*

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## Editorial

# Brexit: The Real England And The Anglophile Mirage

How little they know of England, who are only Anglophiles!

John Bruton was morally shocked by Brexit. He had observed, at close quarters, British handling of the EU—exerting relentless pressure in order to gain exceptions for itself because it was exceptional, and using each concession it achieved as leverage for gaining further concessions.

It remade the EU, which was developing strongly and coherently without it, into an EU that was adapted to its own requirements. Its basic requirement of the EU was that it should cease to be a distinct political and economic body.

It kept Europe free over the centuries by keeping it divided. See the Man Of The Millennium, Winston Churchill, about this. Europe divided is Europe free.

Churchill gave his condescending approval in 1945 to the idea of political unity of the Europe which he had just reduced to ruins, when there seemed little prospect that it would ever happen, or that it would be of much consequence if it did happen. But he made it clear that England would not be part of any united Europe. England had its own separate destiny, to which it would always be true.

The England in which Churchill cut his political teeth was the England of "*Greater Britain*". Greater Britain was the world colonised by England. It was the world of the English colonial offspring which, developing into states under English guidance, would collaborate with it in assuring English mastery of the world by "*teaching the nations how to live*", as Cromwell's Secretary of State, Milton the poet, put it. Greater Britain was the Dominions plus the colonial stratum that was shaping a new destiny for India, and, hopefully, plus a reunion with the rebel colony in America.

Greater Britain was the vision of The Lost Prime Minister, Sir Charles Dilke, who would have been Gladstone's successor if he had not the misfortune, like Parnell, of falling prey to the Nonconformist Conscience of the Liberal Party by being cited in a divorce action. Dilke revealed his vision in a book called *Greater Britain* in 1869 which was a runaway best seller, and was followed by more than a thousand books on the same theme during the next forty years.

Dilke described frankly how England became Greater Britain and established its primacy in the world:

"The Anglo-Saxon is the only extirpating race on earth. Up to the commencement of the now inevitable destruction of the Red Indians of Central North America, of the Maoris, and of the Australians by the English colonists, no numerous race had ever been blotted out by an invader. Hitherto it has been nature's rule that a race that peopled a country in the earliest historic days should people it to the end of time..." (*Greater Britain*, 1869).

Liberal England at the height of its glory was not the least bit upset by this description of it as the greatest genocidal force the world had ever seen. But, when the Redmondite Imperialist Stephen Gwynn wrote a biography of Dilke, he chose not to dwell on that little detail.

The gloss was knocked off Greater Britain by the effective stubbornness of the German resistance from August 1914 to November 1918, which traumatised the English middle class. The term fell out of use in the drabness of the 1920s. But in 1945, when England emerged on the winning side in the War it had declared in 1939 (but did not fight) against the Nazi Germany with which it had collaborated from 1933 to 1939, the sense of a glorious and singular destiny was restored by Churchill's prose.

The active British collaboration with Hitler, which enabled him to break the restrictions of the Versailles Treaty by building an Army and Navy, militarising the Rhineland, and merging with Austria, and then by expanding territorially to include a piece of Czechoslovakia—all of that was conjured away by being described as "*appeasement*". (Nobody asked what was there to appease in the unarmed Germany of 1933.)

Churchill's war had extended the power of Communist Russia into Central Europe, had littered France, Germany and Italy with wreckage, and had made Britain a financial dependency of the USA, which was intent on taking the British Empire into its world market. But England felt *good*. It took the carnage in its stride. The British had not become an Imperial people for nothing. And Churchill's oratory, and his oratorical prose, restored the sense of destiny.

So they let the remnants of Europe get on with their little affairs while England tended to its Empire with restored energy.

But there was a Joker in the European pack: Christian Democracy.

Germany did not set about tearing itself apart as it did under the guilt-ridden Social Democratic Republic of 1918-19. There were no false public confessions of guilt in the hope of appeasing the victors, and no whingeing about the requirement of false confessions. In 1919 Karl Kautsky, the upholder of classical Social Democratic Marxism against the reckless opportunism of Lenin, became a Government Minister and published *The War Guilt Of Wilhelm Hohenzollern*.

There was none of that kind of thing in 1945. There was no messy 'Armistice' through which England might influence internal developments in Germany. Hitler had seen to it that there would be a conclusive and indisputable defeat. And, on the secure ground of that defeat, the political force called Christian Democracy—which lay beyond English understanding—began the construction of a European politics from which British influence was excluded.

It was a prime object of Konrad Adenauer, with his close knowledge of English conduct post-1918, to negate English influence post-1945. This required establishing Christian Democratic ascendancy over the Anglophile Social Democracy. In this he was supported by the Christian Democracy of Italy (De Gasperi) and by influential Christian Democratic forces in the Benelux countries and within the Gaullist MR (Popular Republican Movement) in France, and he gained the support of the primary Occupation Force in the West, the USA.

Christian Democracy provided for a transition from Fascism, Nazism and Vichyism to the formal democracy of party conflict—a development rather than a rupture. And, being Catholic in substance, and therefore trans-national, it could foster a European political development which had foundations in every west-European state. No other element of European life could do that. Protestantism (like Fascism), is essentially nationalist in tendency, as was amply demonstrated by England in its dealings with Ireland, where its occasional 'international' gestures were never more than an

assertion of nationalist dominance. (Whether Communism might have functioned in European terms as Christian Democracy did was never put to the test because, due to the working out of Lenin's seizure of power, European Communist Parties were essentially defensive organisations of the Soviet state, within states committed to its destruction.)

The unexpected development of Europe brought about by Christian Democracy, and by Gaullist elements in France, was a matter of major concern to Britain by the 1960s. It decided to join it in order to subvert it. Its first application was refused—De Gaulle explaining that the English interest, being "insular and maritime" was incompatible with European development. (That was a kindly way of putting it.)

In 1972 the application of a genuinely Europhile Prime Minister, Edward Heath, was accepted.

In 1974 Heath was ousted by the Tory Leadership. The Labour Party came to power. There was strong Labour feeling against the EU as a capitalist obstacle to socialist development—along with a strong tinge of "England's destiny" feeling. (It was a Labour leader who lamented the possible end of England's glorious thousand years.) But the Wilson Government managed to get a majority in the Referendum for remaining.

Margaret Thatcher came to Office in 1979 and in the early 1980s she began the process of remaking the EU to English requirements which has now culminated in Brexit.

John Bruton has described the relentless pressure exerted by English Exceptionalism within the EU without understanding what he describes—or without being able to believe that what he describes can really be the case.

The England that Irish Anglophiles see is a mirage. And it is caused by self-deception rather than deception. England really makes very little attempt to conceal what it is.

In 1970 the middle-class of the Republic was comprehensively anti-Partitionist in sentiment. Conor Cruise O'Brien was no less anti-Partitionist than Fianna Fail Taoiseach Jack Lynch, or the guru of the Official IRA, Eoghan Harris. The view of the founders of this journal, that Partition had a social foundation in the national division in the North, and had been unavoidable, was generally rejected. But, when a War developed in the North, and it became nasty—as wars, big or small, always are—anti-Partition sentiment diminished, and sometimes gave way to its sentimental opposite in an extreme form, as with the aforesaid O'Brien and Harris.

The War was blamed on anti-Partitionism, and anti-Partitionism was Nationalism. The way to escape from Nationalism was to become Partitionist. And Partitionism was British.

And then Britain was admitted to the EU, carrying Ireland with it, so that one could become cosmopolitan by becoming European by way of Britain.

No account was taken in either phase of the way the North was governed under Partition. Partition itself was all that could be seen. There was a blind spot about the fact that an extreme form of undemocratic government was imposed on the Six Counties simultaneously with the enactment of Partition, and that this was an effective cause of the War.

There was no need to exclude the Six counties from the British political system when retaining them within the United

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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:*

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### Church & State

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Kingdom, and there was no sense in it. And there was no sense in setting up a subordinate Government, with no actual power of State except policing: a Government which could only function as communal suppression of the Catholic community by the Protestant.

It was the intense provocation of that senseless system—for which Whitehall had some other purpose than good government—that led to the defensive insurrection of 1969, and that sustained the War in 1970=98.

But the trained middle class minds in Dublin and Cork could not probe beyond the Border to discover what it was that brought about the War from which they recoiled. Partition was to them the only conceivable cause of the War, and if that was the case, then it was an insufficient cause.

The reasoning up to that point was fair enough. Partition was not a sufficient cause of the War that happened. But, instead of pressing on to find the sufficient cause, O'Brien etc. attributed the War to what they increasingly came to see as the irrationality of Nationalism which led people to act without cause.

That vision of irrationalism was of course itself irrational. And it worked its way back from the Border to the stimulus given to an effective independence movement by the 1916 Insurrection.

The moralistic position, free from the constraints of causative reasoning, came to be that Ireland should have lived by whatever Britain conceded to it, and that for its own good it should not have been conceded much by Britain.

England became their world. Living in exile from it, England became *the world* for them. And, as Anglophiles, they became cosmopolitan citizens of the world through the English presence in Europe.

And now England has thrown them back to the awful thing that they had fled to it from: nationalism!

According to the native picked up and cosmopolitanised by England's Irish paper, *The Irish Times*, Fintan O'Toole, England has just launched itself into a "*nationalist revolution*". And where does that leave post-nationalist Anglophile Ireland?

O'Toole looks for a strong man to

rise up in England and save his mirage. He looks for an English Michael Collins to appear and crush this English nationalism as the Irish Michael Collins took the Irish nationalist deviation of the 1916 Rising in hand and crushed in in 1922:

"But who, then, will be England's Michael Collins? The grand gesture of national self-assertion must be followed, eventually, by a painful reconciliation with reality... Guiding that descent is the greatest test of political skill, of moral courage, and of genuine patriotism. England's tragedy is that there is no sign of anyone in power with those qualities..." (IT, March 28).

But didn't our Mick have a powerful backer who gave him money, and an Army and stimulated his moral courage to make war on the nationalists by prodding him along, and undertaking to do the job for him if he didn't feel he was up to it?

When the English Collins comes along, aspiring to do to Britain what Mick did to the Republic, who will service him as Britain serviced Mick?

O'Toole's misunderstanding of England—that it has recently gone nationalist—is very strange. English nationalism is the pioneering nationalism of the world.

It began 500 years ago and it has never let up.

There is no reality for it to reconcile itself with because it has never been content to live in anybody else's world—as it has so often required others to live in its world.

It will only live in a world that it makes for itself. And, in making its own world to live in, there is no catastrophe that it will not happily bring on others if it sees advantage in it.

It founded itself in political and religious nationalism half a millennium ago. And it has fostered or suppressed nationalisms in others according as they served or obstructed its interests. And, when it was the greatest Empire the world has ever seen, it was nothing like the Roman Empire, which created world citizenship. It was only a nationalism with foreign possessions which it exploited.

English nationalism has been one of the fundamental entities in the make-up of the world.

The Chinese civilisation has survived British Opium Wars and invasions by Britain's ally, Japan, to be another.

The Orthodox development of Roman Christianity in the East—in other words, Russia—is a third.

It seems likely, whatever happens to ISIS in the next few months, that the force of Islam, deprived of a harnessing political structure by the British War on the Ottoman Empire and freed from the flimsy 'nation-states' set up by Britain in the Middle East by the destruction of those states by Britain itself and the USA, will persist until it makes some functional arrangement for itself.

What else is there?

The United States, England's rebel colony, is certainly the most powerful destructive force the world has ever seen. It is based on multiple genocide enacted over three centuries. Its dynamic is one of continuous expansion. Its new President may aspire to give it a more stable, self-sufficient mode of existence, but the dynamic of its origins is probably too deeply ingrained in it for that.

And what is Europe now? Britain, during its period of membership, effectively subverted the Christian Democracy that founded it and gave it orientation. Britain then became central to its existence, marginalising everything else. For thirty years it was organised by the problem of British Exceptionalism. Again and again it conceded to British exceptionalist demands at the expense of its own coherence, even though it was obvious that the purpose of Britain's demands was not to settle itself more comfortably into the EU, and that the only result of concessions would be more demands.

And now Britain has left to follow its own destiny—which in fact it never forgot for a moment.

What will Europe be when Brexit is completed? A miscellaneous grouping of provinces which wonder how they came to be tied together?

And what of Ireland? When it joined, its middle class was in flight from itself in the recoil from the War in the North. Can it now find within itself some remnant of the sense of purpose it had when, with so much effort, it separated itself from Britain, that will enable it to contribute something to a fresh European development?



## Tuam, history and sanity

When the measured, in-depth Senator Martin McAleese Report into State collusion with the Magdalene Homes was published a few years ago, the wilder critics of what those Homes had been about went silent. I provided a long review of it for this magazine at the time (*'Magdalen—An Inquiry and its Context', Church and State*, no. 112, June 2013). McAleese found that, contrary to widespread accusations, the vast majority of women in those laundries (which had been established as part of a system of institutional provision under British rule) spent less than a year there (the greatest number at most three months), and that only a very small percentage—something like 10%—were there through State action: most "*commitments*" were by the women's own families, aided and abetted by the medical profession and the clergy.

Most of the small minority of the women who were sent to the Magdalenes by the courts or Gardaí were committed for brief spells in cases mostly of prostitution, vagrancy or other petty crimes arising from the women's dire poverty and—very significantly—lack of a family home connection. The judges or Guards believed the women concerned would be better off and better treated by the nuns than if sent to prison. Ireland had only a tiny female prison population at the time, one of the proportionately smallest in the world.

McAleese was obviously annoyed at his terms of reference which confined the report to the treatment of women arising from State action only, and also to the start date of the inquiry being the foundation of the state. In some defiance of these terms of reference he nevertheless included a very lucid and detailed chapter on the pre-1922 history of these Magdalen Homes and how they arose as part of British State policy, and also provided some insight into the great majority of "referrals" to the homes in which the State played no part whatsoever. He noted too that destitution in late 19th century Ireland, still recovering from the "Famine", meant that the workhouse population was ten times greater per capita in Ireland than in

England. Why have the now 'outraged' popular historians not focused a bit more on what these facts tell us about the time?

The reports about Tuam are the first specifically about a Mother and Baby Home. As yet we have only the sketchiest of information about who the women and children were. But already it is apparent that the great majority were there, not through State action, but through the action of families "hiding their shame". Illegitimacy was not popular.

The belief that the *mores* in Britain concerning illegitimacy were greatly different at the time is highly erroneous.

### Varied Practice

So what communities, families and individuals did send their "*illegitimately*" pregnant daughters to Mother and Baby Homes and, perhaps more interestingly, what communities, families and individuals did not?

Looking into the history of my own local community for a book I published in 2016 on the Howth area of County Dublin through the revolutionary years (*Road to Independence. Howth, Sutton and Baldoyle Play their Part*), I came across quite a few cases of "*nieces*" and "*nephews*" who had been brought up by their extended families, who often lived 12 and more in simple two-bedroom cottages.

In many such cases it was revealed to me that some of these children were in fact the "illegitimate" offspring of one

of the daughters, or occasionally even of one of the sons, but ways were found for them to be integrated into the family/community as "*cousins*" and to live normal lives never near an institution of any kind.

Howth at the time was quite a rural place and I get the impression that this kind of practice was fairly widespread around the country, though maybe not so much in the large towns and cities. In other words, in well-knit local communities, people often looked after the results of their "wayward" sons and daughters, and didn't dump them in Mother and Baby or Magdalene Homes.

At Tuam it is the death figures at the Bon Secours Mother and Baby Home that has shocked "public opinion", and especially the use of a former and long disused sewage facility (underground chambers) as the burial place, though as part of the convent grounds this would have been blessed ground too.

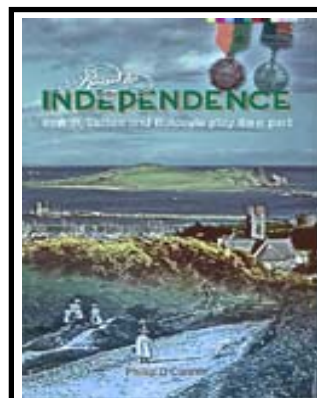
The reports of some of the children (a very small percentage) having died of malnutrition has further raised the bar of public outrage. Joe Duffy—ever a reliable barometer in these matters—referred to a "*mass grave in a sewer*" and there have been not a few ominous mentions of concentration camps, "*Ireland's Auschwitz*" etc. The image awakened is of 800 children being lined up and machine-gunned into a sewer pit.

### Death Rates

Catherine Corless, the fearless local historian who through painstaking research discovered nearly all of what we now know about Tuam, quotes from concerned Inspectors' reports from the 1940s which state that the death rate in certain years was over twice that of other institutions.

All of this must be clarified by any investigation established.

It should be noted that for most years



### Philip O'Connor: The Road to Independence:

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the death rate at Tuam does not appear exceptional. Indeed the Inspector's Reports Corless refers to are for very specific years. The total number of deaths was 796 over the 35 years the Home operated (from 1925-61), which gives an average annual figure of about 24 out of the hundreds who passed through its doors.

The figure in fact varies greatly over the years, and the average is misleading. Although some children were adopted early on others seem to have been kept there for up to ten years. However, it is noticeable that nearly three-quarters of deaths were among children considerably less than 1 year old. This fits the profile of the high general child mortality of the time.

When examined more closely, we find that in most years between 7 and 20 infants died, but in several specific periods there is a very high death rate. The first such year is 1926, when it reached 39, though all other years between 1925 (when the Home opened) and the late 1930s have far lower death rates, often in single figures.

Death rates climbed to an average of over 20 in the late 1930s (reaching over 30 in occasional years), and then rose dramatically to 48 in 1942 and 60 in 1943, 40 in 1944, 34 in 1945, 49 in 1946 and 46 in 1947, before falling markedly to 24 in both 1948 and 1949, to 18 in 1950 and then to mostly single figures thereafter.

From 1955 to 1960, a relatively small total of about 21 deaths for the full six years is recorded. (My figures are simply tot ups of the lists of names provided by Corless—they may err slightly).

Perhaps when we know the full facts these figures will become more understandable. Certainly the years of high death rates accord with those years when emigration (i.e. including also adoption) to the US was virtually closed (the late 1930s), and to the World War Two years, when emigration to the US was non-existent and to Britain was only of adults travelling as workers.

There might be some plausible explanation for the 1926 figure, which stands out as very dramatically above any another year of that decade. The high mortality figures for 1946-47, immediately after the War, coincide both with the harshest Winter experienced in over a hundred years and the TB epidemic of the time.

The dramatic fall in mortality from the late 1940s and its virtual disappear-

ance from the mid-1950s coincide with advances in medicine and public health, and also the expansion of the national health service.

### England

It would be interesting for comparison purposes to know the mortality rate of children in English Mother and Baby Homes. They had them too, of course, also often very strict and also often, though not only, run by religious orders. An impression is given in the current reporting that women could 'escape' to England where all would then be fine. But, outside the cosmopolitan or inner-city/criminal areas of London, illegitimacy was as socially unacceptable in Britain as it was in Ireland until the late 1960s.

Most women who attended Mother and Baby Homes in England also gave up their babies for adoption, and had similarly little choice in the matter. Several of the grim realist novels of Alan Sillitoe from the 1950s-early '60s revolve around desperate stories of women with "*unwanted pregnancies*" in working class communities in the North of Eng-

land. They seem to have dealt with their "*problem*" by back street methods, Mother and Baby Homes, or absconding to London . . . just as the Irish did.

### Inquiry

It will be interesting to see who the Government appoint to head the commission of inquiry into these Homes. The excellent McAleese Report on the Magdalenes set a very high standard of objectivity. While this didn't stop those talking about Ireland's "*concentration camps*", it holed their argument under the water line in several critical respects.

In addition, the work of Niall Meehan has revealed that conditions and death rates no different pertained equally in Protestant homes, which severely undermines the popular outcry against "*Catholic Ireland*".

A solid report will eventually lead to a more sensible and sober analysis. Let us hope the current Government comes up with someone as level-headed as McAleese to do the report, and does not confine its terms of reference to Catholic institutions or to a starting point of 1922.

*Eamon Dyas*

## Infant Bereavement: A Family Story

As someone who's rushing to catch up with this Orphanages story, I find the current coverage rather unsatisfactory. I assume the nuns at Tuam are not being accused of killing 800 babies so what is it that they are accused of? It seems, and I may be wrong, that they are accused of denying these babies a Catholic burial but how untypical was that at the time?

If this is a moral crime then there must be countless families in the country who are similarly guilty. I need look no further than my own family for evidence of this. After a couple of miscarriages my mother gave birth to a daughter on 23rd April 1945 at Holles Street Hospital, Dublin. The baby was christened Patricia and lived until 8th May that year when she died at my mother's parents' home, 25 Lismore Road, Kimmage.

My father was working in London at the time and never got to see their first full-term baby. There was no burial as such and certainly no Christian burial. My grandfather took the dead baby to the nearby Mount Jerome Cemetery in a small cardboard box where it was buried in a common grave without any headstone.

I also have a cousin who is an only child and whose mother died in childbirth having him. He has discovered that his mother had two full-term boys before him who died between one and two months and were similarly dispatched in Mount Jerome Cemetery.

And I have since found other examples of such infant "*burials*". None of these were given Christian burials, although they were registered on the civil registers. Having such examples in my own direct family, I'm rather perplexed as to what the fuss is about as it would appear that these Tuam deaths were duly registered on the civil registers. Or is there something more serious being charged against the nuns in all of this that I'm missing?

Further to my account of my mother's "lost" baby Patricia. The reason why the baby was not provided with a grave was because neither my mother nor her family could afford one at the time. Her father was unemployed, being partially sighted and her husband, my father, had just begun working in England and not



yet sending home decent money after he covered his own costs in London.

All of her life she lamented the fact that her baby was not provided with a proper burial and she wrote a poem many years ago which testifies to that fact (see illustration).

She was a devout Catholic but by no means what is called "priest-ridden" as she operated to her own moral code and when that differed with what she was told by the Church she went with her own instincts. Those instincts were fashioned by her mother's peasant background which included all kinds of Celtic pagan leftovers.

The location of the common grave in Mount Jerome cemetery that contained Patricia was discovered by a niece of mine about ten years ago. My mother never knew where it was and didn't know how to go about finding it. I have a plan of the cemetery with the location of the plot marked in green by the cemetery official. This plot covers an area much larger than a single grave.

A cousin of mine (his father was the older brother of my own father) had a similar experience. In his case, he had lost two siblings. The first was a baby boy who died in 1940 that he had known nothing about until I informed him of this after some family history research. The other was a girl that died the following year in 1941 that he was aware of, having been told about it by his own father before he died. He has discovered the location of the common grave in Mount Jerome that contains his elder sister and has purchased the plot from the cemetery in order to put a plaque up in memory of his sister and all the other un-named babies it contains. The last I heard he was still trying to find the location of the boy's grave.

Incidentally, Patricia's death certificate states that she died from Cardiac Failure and Bronchial Pneumonia.

Patricia  
It is often in the evening hour: I see the robin and the thrush. Flying home to their warm nests: It is half my concern as put to the test. I wonder where my baby is lying, once again I hear her crying. and again I would all forsake, if I could change a past mistake. How many times I see the day, to think for her I couldn't pay, the ransom on a piece of clay. Why didn't I my body take: and sell it like a piece of cake: and place her in a wavy tower! Where I could spend a peaceful hour. then my reason starts departing: Think of what you would have forsaken. With whom would you have spent the hours: with statues or perhaps some flowers. though her body lies in grave unknown, her soul would have long since flown, and now in heavens golden tower where endless time knows no hour, she has found eternal rest and smiles to know you passed the test.  
Yours D. J. O'Connell

## Manus O'Riordan

### Register of Burial Places

While the 794 deaths in Tuam are on the civil register of deaths, there is no register yet found as to the one or more places where they might have been

buried, and in what numbers in each place. In contrast, burial is registered at Mount Jerome.

I was born on 30th May 1949, but I was not my parents' first-born. My sister Mary was born in Holles St on 22nd April 1948, but died two days later, on April 24th. As this was the calendar anniversary of the 1916 Rising, my father

placed an Easter Lily with her in the box which he similarly brought up to the mass, but consecrated, Angels' Plot in Glasnevin, where there is now a collective memorial.

Not only is Mary's burial in that plot on the Glasnevin Register, but also the coordinates of the precise spot in that plot under which lie her remains.

✱

# Malachi Lawless

Some Reminiscences

## Family Break-Up

My mother had an "*illegitimate*" child after having my four elder sisters and me . It was at the end of the Second World War (the Emergency). My father was working in the munitions factories in Birmingham at the time. My mother was looking after her four daughters and me down on her parents' farm in Fingal. I was under two.

When my father came home my mother told him the truth. He went to his sister, a nun who ran the workshop in the Gloucester St Magdalene Laundry ( a thriving business), who had powerful connections in Dublin, having also been one of Michael Collins' many secretarial assistants in 1917-8. She organised for my four sisters to be put in St Joseph's orphanage in Dunlaoire and, because I was under two at the time, I escaped that fate and was 'farmed out' to a very loving aunt back down on the Griffin farm (mother's maiden name) where I had an idyllic time (centre of attention as the white-headed boy amongst a gaggle of oooing / aahing women on the farm, except of course that I was separated from my mother who had to be seen to be punished as a bad mother (which she wasn't) and she was basically chucked out of her parents house to make way for her brothers wife (but it was also punishment for her "stupidity") and sent into service to a doctor in Sutton.

My father went into 'digs' on Gardiner Street in Dublin. I never saw him, except once, until, after four years, we got the house on Garryowen Road, Ballyfermot . This broken family situation lasted for four years until we all came together as a family in Ballyfermot in 1949.

The point of me telling the bare bones of all that malarkey is that I have never looked on the involvement of my aunt, the nun , Sr. Eithne (Aunty Evelyne to us) as anything but positive and trying to help a difficult and not untypical rural Irish domestic situation in 1930/40,as best she could in her situation at that time.

The difficulty she was trying to sort out, according to her power wielding Catholic 'best practice', lay, not in her

Catholic institutional solutions, harsh enough though they were, but in the even harsher and worse stark domestic reality back on the family farm in Fingal, where my grandmother ruled the roost with ultra petty respectability.

My parents had five children and no home (house) of their own. The perception at the time (1930/40,s—from both their families—was that he (my father ) was "*feckless*" to have fathered five children and not be able to provide for them himself out of self-generated resources.

The bottom line was: jobs were scarce and money was tight and so were some families with each other. At the end of the day, this was a totally false, mean and cruel perception coming from those of his well-heeled and ultra-respectable brothers, who were pillars of society, if not the Free State itself.

That deadly mean, cruel grasping family greed (respectability) is what needs to be ousted. It fed into the Catholic Church institutions which is where all that domestic toxicity was conveniently committed to, in hindsight out of sight, out of mind.

That is not to turn a blind eye to the harshness of the conditions for the inmates (female) of such as the Gloucester Street Convent Laundry. As a child in Ballyfermot I probably visited my "famous" Aunty Evelyne once a fortnight (to collect USA 2nd-hand clothes and food parcels). When you turned off O'Connell St. into Sean Mc Dermott St., on into Gloucester St. and passed the tenements all down along, it was another world of slum land stench and roaming gangs of streetwise kids . I was kind of one myself . . . streetwise. That is because it was either fight or flight and with me it was flight being a little skinny runt.

This was the area of Dublin called "*The Monto*", centre of fallen women notoriety, surrounded by an Awesome necklace of prestigious Catholic Churches / Schools and Institutions, all colluding with the State to keep Monto-type "*Langaroo*" carry-on out of respectable suburbs like Rathmines,

Ranelagh, Rathgar, and for God's sake, even Dun Laoire and Dalkey.

The surviving spawn of the Monto was swept up out of respectable Dublin into countryside Catholic /Protestant Institutions, so they weren't really "*unwanted*". They were illegitimate and only fit for Reformatories like Letterfrack/Daingain .

Frank Duff (civil servant), of Legion of Mary fame, eventually (1950/60) cleaned up the Monto. Dublin City Council (the Corpo) has since wiped any physical signs of the infamous Monto area off the map. I don't see many hot Heritage walks (*a la* 1916 and the ubiquitous Dublin Touristy national revolution walks) on the "*Monto*" site and its history . . . not even an owl OPW high tech Interpretative Centre to do a Walt Disney job on it . Don't worry , if there's money in it it won't be long coming along ... sex still sells !

But why in this country do we continue to do the automatic reflex of Irish Times *shoneenism* and slavishly follow British secularist films / journalese narrative on our own stories, so that we still haven't got beyond the current crude, ignorant media-led lashing out at the easy target of the Catholic Church? (Which lamentably doesn't itself fight back to put the record straight but runs away, with the exception of that good Ballyfermot-reared cleric, Diarmuid Martin, Archbishop of Dublin.) Again , I suspect it's that old devil, fear of shoneen "respectability " and a damned shallow hindsight blind of any real historical social context.

I knew some sad stories from that Gloucester St. convent but the only real "horror" I know is the story of how my famous Aunty Evelyne (Sr. Eithne , the nun), has herself ended in an unmarked mass grave in Glasnevin, along with the remains of her contemporaries, who were literally shovelled up by a digger and lorried up to Glasnevin and dumped *en masse* from the traditional nuns' mass burial plot in the Order's Mother House grounds in Drumcondra, to make way for a sale and development of some of that Drumcondra ground .

I have searched (some years ago now) in the Glasnevin graveyard several times with my sisters, to no avail, in an effort to find my Aunty Evelyne's grave. We wanted to mark it with her original family name. We still wish to do so. We all hold my Aunty Evelyne in the



highest regard and attach no blame to her or her Order for the circumstances my sisters were placed in back in the 1940's. She did her best by us according to her circumstances in the convent at the time.

The Convent was the centre of a very wide family and social network, all through, and long before my childhood. The Laundry was a separate thriving business, even taking in Laundry off the Liverpool ferry, to my knowledge .

buy the white coffins. But there was no money to be had so it was probably a pauper's grave.

Next The Dip struck and after that scarlet fever. Antibiotics had not been developed and most kids died. It was a street with a quarter of the houses vacant and many houses looking vacant because the occupants had sold the furniture. There was one car in the street belonging to a RUC man. I knew it was 1936 because that was the year I was taken to the Belfast Hospital for Sick Children to have my tonsils removed. (I still have the admission card, see illustration)

There was occasional screaming by women in the ward. I later learnt their children had died. Back home I had my throat painted inside with iodine on a regular basis in the hope of combating the three fatal illnesses. There just wasn't the pharmaceutical drugs around then. How the Catholic and Protestant refuges coped with sick babies and toddlers I can't even guess. An outbreak of The Dip could spread very quickly. In the homes in Kilburn Street you never heard a mention of doctors.

Mothers took their sick children to bed and hoped the heat of their bodies would cure them. To go to a doctor cost the equivalent of a week's rent, and who could afford rent back then. Hospitals demanded to be paid something. I can still clearly hear the hospital almoner asking my mother if she could pay for my treatment.

When *no* was the answer, she was asked to put something in the poor box.

She put in sixpence. Sixpence bought six eggs or six Ardglass herrings.

In the end you upped stakes and fled the debt collectors by going to what was then the remote rural area of Carryduff, a destination for a number of the Kilburn Street residents. You lived in WW1 former British Army huts, arranged on either side of a rocky street called Fairview Gardens or FU Gardens, as known by the economic refugees. But, before that, in Kilburn Street children were running about without shoes in the middle of winter. One young child would rap on our door for a slice of bread. Her name was Rosie and she wore nothing but a thin cotton dress and no shoes in rain hail and snow. My mother would soak a slice of bread in milk and sprinkle a thin coat of sugar on it. Butter was out of the question and so was margarine. There was just enough margarine for one meal in the house.

## Wilson John Haire

### Hardships Of Working Class Life In The 30s And 40s

I am inclined to think that hammering Catholic and Protestant refuges for single mothers in Ireland, North or South, is an appalling use of dead babies and the dead under-fives for journalistic point-scoring or used, as has been recently, to sink news about the recent Northern elections which might be unfavourable to certain political circles.

The fact is these refuges declined and by the 1960s a single mother had nowhere to go. A member of my own extended family in Belfast had two children outside wedlock during the 1960s. She was a shorthand-typist and wages then weren't enough in Belfast for a single mother to keep a child, which would involve paying a child-minder. There was the National Assistance Board: but payments could be pretty paltry compared to today's social security, so this girl had to give her babies away. Another factor was the moral climate in NI which was, and still is, very family-oriented. She was also a member of a very strict Protestant sect. Some of their male members would clear off to England to avoid disgrace and having to help the mother financially. (Catholic impregnators also took the boat to England.)

Don't forget the terms used then for babies born out of wedlock like *bastard*, *illegitimate* and *get*. A *get* was the daughter or son born from an unmarried mother, the daughter of whom also has a child out of wedlock. *Get* is Belfast and probably known as *git* in England, though in England the meaning has been lost.

It was fifty years before I learnt about this family member and her lost babies .

One day I got an email from Australia: '*Any hidden-away babies in your family.*'

I knew of one from my Protestant father's family in 1905 and replied. But, no, the Australian enquiry wanted

something more up to date. I was given a few details about my father's family and where they had lived in Belfast. That clicked so I put her in touch with her mother.

Her mother had married and had had children within wedlock. Her husband was to die at the age of 80 not knowing his wife had had two children out of wedlock. If he didn't know, then her three children wouldn't know. The daughter born out of wedlock had got out of Belfast in 1981 with two daughters after a divorce and had gone to Australia, as she said: 'To avoid the bombs and bullets'. Though she would miss her Shankill Road.

The son born out of wedlock has disappeared into thin air and no amount of research on my part has been able to find him. Why did these journalists involved in defaming the religious personnel looking after these poor abandoned and desperate girls not do some research first? They might have then understood the moral code that reigned, and the inability to earn enough money, plus the deadly child diseases without the knowledge to treat them. They might have had an insight into the past. But then so much journalism today goes for misinformation goals.

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Life outside the Catholic and Protestant refuges for single mothers during the 1930s-1950s/early 60s was no bowl of cherries. In the 1930s, as a boy, I can remember vividly the dread of children catching diphtheria (known as *The Dip*) plus the other two fatal illnesses that children could get like pneumonia and scarlet fever. We as a family were living in Kilburn Street, off Donegall Road, Belfast, a Protestant street. Two young children living in houses on either side of our house had died from pneumonia and the parents were going up and down the street asking for money that would

Some would take a pillow slip, go to the local bakery, and buy stale bread at a knockdown price. It was bread and tea for many as the only meal of the day.

A-walk-around-the-table meant there was no food. A visit to the local branch of the chain grocers *Stewarts* had you almost fainting from the beautiful smell of pastry, biscuits, ham, roasting coffee beans and newly baked still-warm bread.

Many had no coal to burn for heating and cooking, so it was rubbish like old rubber shoes, potato peelings, old orange boxes and twisted pieces of newspaper and cardboard. The stench from the down-draught of the chimneys was sickening. With all this happening, mingling with the death of babies and toddlers, a group of men would come round near the 12th of July and stick small Union Jacks into the holders over each door in the street. Those holders had been included when the houses were being built about 1929/1930. That must have cost the Unionist Government and the Orange Lodges plenty for all the Protestant streets of Belfast were ablaze with miniature union jacks.

Back in Carryduff with no electric, one outside water pump for thirty huts, and dry toilets, babies and toddlers, and some five year old were dying from pneumonia, diphtheria and scarlet fever. The local school, Clontonacally PES, had kids from the infant class disappearing forever. The news would be announced by the infant teacher:

"Children , put down your slate and chalk and pay attention: Poor wee Mari Gold died last night from scarlet fever."

The class would then burst into tears. It was generally expected children would die and this was now 1938. Later 'Skin' Carson was dead from The Dip. He was the eight year old son of a farmer. His older brother announced it to the class one morning:

"But he ate a pound of ribs before he died."

Today my own daughter has two sons purposely born out of wedlock. She isn't keen on marriage as it might have interfered with her career, and she does like her own space and freedom to come and go as she pleases.

Pneumonia, The Dip and Scarlett Fever aren't feared anymore and she has been able to bring her sons up herself while working. The social services

helped her in the initial stages and all those ugly words like *illegitimate*, *bastard* and *get or git* are not used any longer to lambast the poor lone single mother of yesteryear.

9 March 2017.

## After-Thought

My mother had two still-births during WW2. They were formed well enough to be recognisable as a boy and a girl. They were delivered at home by a district midwife about two in the morning. Being a Protestant rural area it was a Protestant midwife who travelled by car from the town of Comber to Carryduff—about 4 miles away by car—it was during a German air-raid and they had dropped

flares on Comber in order, presumably, to see if they were over Belfast.

This is maybe beside the point of what I want to say but this midwife was brave woman getting into her Austin 7 and the whole town lit up (she said the flares looked like flaming onions) in order to travel a pitch-black road to Carryduff which wasn't much wider than a lane. She expected bombs to drop or have the car strafed by the planes.

Anyway, the point is that on both occasions she took away the still-births, in a large shoebox I believe. What happened to the still births I don't know, nor did my mother. Though my mother was a devout Catholic, she just wanted to forget it all and not spread the news of it around, having felt a failure.

## Editorial

### Trump's Missile Strike

A recently-published American history of US foreign policy has the title *From Colony To Superpower*. It was, however, the colony of the rapidly-developing Superpower of the 17th century. The fundamentalist (Biblicalist) elements of the top-down English Reformation chafed at the restraints of civilisation which the Monarchy tried to impose on them. They migrated, with the blessing of the Monarchy, to the territories of the burgeoning Empire in the "*New World*" and set about establishing a new order of things there, building it from the bottom up on fundamentalist foundations.

Biblicism triumphed briefly at home in the Cromwell era, but was unable to shape its military and ideological dominance in a complex society into a viable system of state, but it continued to flourish in the New World after it collapsed at home.

It cleared the ground for itself by a campaign of genocide sustained over many generations, and it implemented the injunctions of the Books of Deuteronomy and Joshua more diligently than the Jews seemed to have done when they crossed the Jordan into Palestine from the East, or that they have felt free to do in recent times when they approach the Jordan from the West.

The actual history of the United States, however censored or overlaid

with an alien ideology of Human Rights, continues to make it impossible for it to see how there could be anything out of order in the conquests, ethnic cleansings, and colonisations of Zionism in modern Palestine. It does not support Zionism out of a cynical calculation of advantage. It supports it in order to be true to itself, and then looks to make it advantageous.

Biblicism means Old Testamentism in practice. It would not have made much impression on the world if it had been New Testamentism.

The force of all the Fundamentalist energy that has gone into the making of the United States into a Superpower on a scale without precedent could not be switched off by a businessman who unexpectedly won a Presidential election because of the hubris of his opponent. The United States must do what the United States does. It must exert itself as a Power whenever it encounters an obstacle, relying on its seemingly infinite capacity to generate raw physical force to carry it through.

It was held in check by the Soviet Union for close on half a century, but it outlasted the Soviet system and reduced Russia to powerlessness as its economic subordinate. But it did not govern its defeated enemy, as Britain did with a range of Imperial devices.

Russia pulled itself together out of its

submissive anarchy. Trump, the businessman, appeared to understand that a society in disorder will do that if it can, that it is the natural thing for a society to want to do, and he urged that Russia should be allowed space to consolidate itself as a state. He also suggested that the USA had done dreadful things in the course of becoming what it is.

These were essentially un-American views. They have withered quickly in the White House. Presidential briefings immediately following the military strike on Syria described the Syrian State as a Russian "proxy". The settlement of the Syrian civil war by bringing elements of the Opposition, which may not be Islamic fundamentalist, within the political system of the state, which seemed to be the policy before the missile-strike, is off the agenda. Trump has been *Clintonised*—Americanised.

Sky News (April 7) broadcast a long, and quite critical, interview with General Jack Keane of the Trump inner circle, who spoke authoritatively for Trump Mark Two on 4th April. The dispute over how an inferior form of gas got into the atmosphere will continue for as long as is expedient. But Assad was winning the war, so what reason had he for using gas, which would give him no military or political advantage and would be of service only to the enemy?

General Keane agreed that Assad had been winning the war, and was free to carry on winning it by means of any weapons he chose, except gas. So why did he use gas? "*Because he is a killer*", the General said.

He's a psychopath who has a hankering to see people being killed by gas instead of being blown apart by explosives. And he's Putin's proxy in its war with . . . ??

The British Foreign Secretary appeared to say that Assad and ISIS were essentially the same thing, and that ISIS is an instrument of Assad's politics. The only grounds for this assertion that we can think of is the very convoluted schemes of elliptical reasoning that flourish in many varieties of student Marxist politics. Can Trump, the businessman who liked to deal with less complicated facts, make the transition to this kind of truth?



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**British Army Recruiting**

"Big surge in recruits here as British army targets Ireland", roars the headline from the *Irish Independent*-4.1.2017. Do the editors of this rag ever get it correct? The British Army has been targeting Ireland for centuries. They were on target in Derry in 1972; and Dublin/Monaghan 1974 but that was the fault of the Northern crowd.

But leave it to the Sergeant William Bailey types at *Independent News & Media*, when the recruitment from the 26 Counties to the Imperial Army dwindles, they always step in. **It is illegal for the British Army to recruit in Ireland, so the *Independent* gives them a 'free' plug:**

"Britain is now signing up a new recruit in the Republic on average every four-and-a-half days with evidence indicating a significant hike in recruitment over the past two years.

"Recruitment has also been boosted by the fact that several Irish soldiers have been honoured for their bravery while serving with British forces - one received the prestigious Military Cross from Queen Elizabeth.

"Other Irish recruits were accepted for training or deployment at the prestigious military academy, Sandhurst.

"The latest recruitment figures for the British army, royal air force and royal navy showed dissident Republican threats have failed to stem the numbers seeking a military career across the Irish Sea." (*Irish Independent*-4.1.2017)

Well, holy god, it is left to the dissidents to uphold the honour and glory of our sovereign, independent state.

Figures showed more than 230 Irish citizens joined British defence units between 2013 and 2015.

That represents a stabilisation of recruitment, which had suffered a blip in 2012 after almost a decade of continued increase.

Anecdotal evidence has indicated a further increase in 2016—with a noticeable increase in recruits over the first six months of the year.

In 2012, 70 Irish citizens joined the British Army, which contrasted with 123 opting to join in 2011.

A 44% decline occurred between 2011-2012. However, recruitment levels have rebounded from 2013.

British army recruitment in the Republic has increased, year on year, since 2007 with the exception of a single year.

Irish-born soldiers boast one of the highest rates of NCO promotions within British forces.

"In 2011, Irish and Commonwealth nationals formed 5% of Britain's entire overall recruitment drive in their forces" (*Irish Independent* 4.1.2017).

However, there is a serious security problem here! How many of these recruits were themselves 'dissidents', hoping to learn from one of the oldest and bloodiest war machines in existence or, how many are Muslim lads with an Irish passport—even Popeye the Sailor Man would have no bother getting one of those!

Now that is an issue that the "*Irish Independent*" could rightly investigate—don't hold your breath! To quote an *Irish Independent* advert. slogan—Before you make up your mind, open it. Aye, Indeed!  
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**Lincoln**

*There is a physical difference between the White and Black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality.*—Abraham Lincoln, 1858  
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**Revolutionist?**

"One of the most sympathetic of my critics tried to account for certain characteristics of my work by the fact of my being, in his own words, 'the son of a Revolutionist'. No epithet could be more inapplicable to a man with such a strong sense of responsibility in the region of ideas and action and so indifferent to the promptings of personal ambition as my father. Why the description 'revolutionary' should have applied all through Europe to the Polish

risings of 1831 and 1863 I really cannot understand. These risings were purely revolts against foreign domination. The Russians themselves called them 'rebellions', which, from their point of view, was the exact truth. Amongst the men concerned in the preliminaries of the 1863 movement my father was no more revolutionary than the others, in the sense of working for the subversion of any social or political scheme of existence. He was simply a patriot in the sense of a man who believing in the spirituality of a national existence could not bear to see that spirit enslaved" (Joseph Conrad-*A Personal Record*-J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd. 1919 p.xiv).

Joseph Conrad (1857-1924) was born in the Ukraine, and was 38 years when he wrote his first book: "*Almayer's Folly*". Baptised a Catholic but stopped practising his faith before he began to write. He is buried in Canterbury City Cemetery, Kent, England. The present writer is unaware if he was buried according to Catholic rites, i.e. did Conrad die a Catholic?

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**Keynes!**

"*The avoidance of taxes is the only intellectual pursuit that still carries any reward*"—John Maynard Keynes.

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**The Rosary**

"(To a comrade, College of Surgeons, Easter Week, 1916)

The great hall fades away into the gloom  
As tremulous night falls slowly from above  
Merging each in each in tender love  
One shadow marching onwards towards  
one doom.

On our rough altar white flowers shine  
and bloom

Intensifying dusky waves that move  
Around the tall black cross,—one hope,  
one prayer

Filled all our hearts, one perfect holy Faith  
Lifted our souls. As we knelt humbly there,  
Your silvery voice, soft as dying breath,  
Was answered by a hundred, strong and  
clear,

Craving a grace from her whom all hold  
dear -

Mary be with us at the hour of death."

**Countess Markievicz** 1868-1927

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**Knock!**

"I have appeared in Knock more often than the Virgin Mary" (Sean Doherty, ex-Minister for Justice and former Fianna Fail TD).

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**Scandal**

"To prevent the scandal of the weak, we are sometimes obliged to sacrifice some temporal good of less import-

ance." (*The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, 1911 edition)

Bishop Eamonn Casey (1927-2017) did his best to avoid giving scandal to the weak by his various sins. Scandal arises from publicity and he paid out good money in an attempt to keep his sins private.

"According to St. Thomas... , scandal is a word or action, evil in itself, which occasions another's spiritual ruin" *ibid*.

"Bishop Casey's evil actions, and the evil words which he undoubtedly whispered in the course of contriving his evil action would not have occasioned anyone's spiritual ruin if nobody knew of them. The hush-money he paid out in his efforts to conceal his sins should be seen as money devoted to the salvation of souls if one takes the doctrines of the Catholic Church in earnest. And yet nobody has pointed this out during the hullabaloo about his fatherhood. (Some Reflections on Bishop Casey, Scandal and Celibacy, *Church & State*, No. 41, Summer, 1992).

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**Labels!**

"A Socialist is a Protestant variety of Communist" (Conor Cruise O'Brien). Ted Hill, the former Chairman of Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) used claim that you are either one or the other—a Communist or a Catholic!

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**That Wall!**

"The Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Mexico said 26.3.2017, that Mexican companies expressing interest in working on a border wall in the United States are betraying their country.

"The archdiocese said in an editorial that Mexican companies have expressed willingness to supply materials or work on the wall proposed by U.S. President Donald Trump. Mexico opposes the wall" (*Evening Echo*, Cork 27.3.2017).

The editorial was titled "*Treason against the Homeland*" and said that "*what is most surprising is the timidity of the Mexican government's economic authorities, who have not moved firmly against these companies*".

"Any company that intends to invest in the fanatic Trump wall would be immoral, but above all, their owners and shareholders will be considered traitors to the homeland," the editorial said.

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**Fianna Fail!**

"It's like being a member of Fianna Fail" :Charlie McCreedy in December, 1988 when asked what Catholicism meant to him.

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**Income-less!**

Dubliners enjoy the highest incomes in the country, while Donegal dwellers earn the least—Dublin residents have the highest incomes in Ireland, on average, followed by the people of Limerick, Kildare and Cork.

The Central Statistics Office(CSO) released the most up-to-date income figures for the nation yesterday, covering the year 2014.

The average disposable income for people in Ireland was €19,178 in 2014.

The CSO definition of disposable income is a person's total income minus income tax and other taxes and social insurance contributions, or PRSI payments.

Dublin residents topped the income league with an average of €21,963, after tax and PRSI.

Limerick residents came second with €20,395, Kildare was in third place with €19,385, followed by Cork with €19,234.

The lowest incomes in Ireland were in Donegal with an average of €15,061. Second last was Roscommon on €16,281. Third lowest was Monaghan on €16,395, followed by Offaly on €16,460.

The CSO made no mention of it but Dublin alone has 47% of the GDP of the state, in the UK. London's share is 30%.

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**Saddam's Story**

John Nixon was the CIA agent appointed to debrief President Saddam Hussein, following the Iraqi leader's capture.

Nixon gives a blow-by-blow account of his interview technique. Saddam cited Charles de Gaulle, Vladimir Lenin, Mao Zedong and George Washington as outstanding leaders. He claimed that like himself they had all invented new ways to run a country.

By the end of their interviews, Nixon was convinced that leaving Saddam in power would have been the lesser of two evils. At one point, Saddam made a chilling prediction that turned out to be all too accurate:

"You are going to fail. You are going to find that it is not so easy to govern Iraq. Because you do not know the language, the history and the Arab mind."

When Nixon viewed the footage of the 2006 hanging, he felt that Saddam "*looked like the most dignified person in the room*". Two years later, he briefed George W. Bush about his experiences and was sickened by the US President's juvenile sense of humour (*Debriefing the President: The Interrogation of Saddam Hussein*, John Nixon, Bantam Press, €19.55 ).

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## The Long View

We left off in our survey of Anglo-German relations from 1866 (as viewed through the marvellous varifocal lenses provided for us by James Hawes in his *Englanders and Huns* (published by Simon and Schuster, 2014) just at the point when it seemed that a new Concert of Europe, if not a new world order, was emerging in the wake of the Congress of Berlin, 1878. The British would patrol the seas in an undisputed sort of fashion, joining no combination against Germany, while Imperial Germany would ensure stability across the continent.

Trying to work out why it didn't work out might be a waste of effort if one were querying whether both parties conceived that they had an interest in it working out. This is territory that has been usefully explored, not least in the pages of *Church & State*, by people who have researched it rather more painstakingly than me. But, leaving that question hanging for the time being, I would comment that there's not much enlightenment to be found in A.J.P. Taylor's *Bismarck: The Man and the Statesman* (Hamish Hamilton, 1955), a book which is dense, gnomic, and strangely parochial.

The same sort of German parochialism pervades C.V. Wedgwood's *Thirty Years' War*. To a great extent German history is European history; and for about five centuries, up to the middle of the seventeenth century, arguably well beyond, the German states were acted upon rather than actors. It took quite a few shocks—the Reformation, the destruction of 1618-48, and the Napoleonic conquests—before something called Germany woke fully from her long sleep. By the post-1870 era there was no alternative for Germany but to have a robust foreign policy, this time on the active side. Unlike Britain, she was a state surrounded by elephant traps. She had to do a lot of growing up in a short space of time, and, certainly, mistakes, she made a few.

### Wider Perspectives

This is where one appreciates Hawes, with his Macaulayesque spaciousness. Taylor does at least refer to the Midlothian Campaign in the Winter and Spring of 1879-80, Gladstone's mad oratorical tour de force by which he wrested back a substantial parliamentary majority, not

dependent on Irish votes. This is how Taylor deals with it:

"At the very moment when Bismarck was concluding an alliance with Austria-Hungary, Gladstone—greatest of Liberals—left his old line of moral detachment and preached in his Midlothian speeches a creative foreign policy, based on the Concert of Europe. Bismarck and Gladstone reached no doubt very different conclusions, but they both started from the same point—the loss of faith in *laissez-faire*."

Here we have it again, the Concert of Europe. But what a confusing mish-mash this is, equating concepts that are quite disparate. What exactly was Gladstone's "*old line of moral detachment*"? Was his reaction to the Bulgarian massacres one of moral detachment? The foreign policy ideas that Gladstone was propounding in those three-hour-long campaigning speeches were the reverse of Metternichian: he had noted the emergence of a potential Concert of Europe and he didn't like it. As for the "*loss of faith in laissez-faire*" (Taylor later suggests that Bismarck and Taylor lost faith in it at the same time), it begs the questions as to what each understood by *laissez-faire*, what the expression means in foreign policy terms, and whether Bismarck ever had any faith in it to begin with. How Taylor, so sharp and prickly in his analysis, can present us with such sloppy writing is a mystery.

### The Concert Of Europe

Of course Gladstone did *talk* about the Concert of Europe. This is what he said in November 1879 in a speech at West Calder:

"My third principle is this. Even, gentlemen, when you do a good thing, you may do it in so bad a way that you may entirely spoil the beneficial effect; and if we were to make ourselves the apostles of peace in the sense of conveying to the minds of other nations that we thought ourselves more entitled to an opinion on that subject than they are, or to deny their rights—well, very likely we should destroy the whole of our doctrines. In my opinion the third sound principle is this—to strive to cultivate and maintain, ay, to the very uttermost, what is called the concert of Europe; to keep the powers of Europe

in union together. And why? Because, by keeping all in union together you neutralise and fetter and bind up the selfish aims of each. I am not here to flatter either England or any of them. They have selfish aims, as, unfortunately, we in late years have too sadly shown that we too have had selfish aims; but then common action is fatal to selfish aims... and the only object for which you can unite together the Powers of Europe are objects connected with the common good of them all."

There is a fourth principle—the avoidance of "*needless and entangling engagements*"; and a fifth—"*to acknowledge the equal rights of all nations*". If we can just indulge him a little longer on this fifth principle:

"But in point of right all are equal, and you have no right to set up a system under which one of them is to be placed under moral suspicion or espionage, or to be made the constant subject of invective. If you do that, but especially if you claim for yourself a superiority, a pharisaical superiority over the whole of them [the British default position perhaps!] then I say you may talk about your patriotism if you please, but you are a misjudging friend of your country...."

The sixth and final principle is love of freedom, mediated through those institutions of which England was the exemplar: the small detail that the speech was delivered in Scotland not appearing to weigh very heavily with the speaker.

Whatever all this is supposed to have meant, it apparently did not mean that England should sully her hands with grubby pacts involving one or other of the Continental Powers, no matter how practical or limited or achievable the object. On the contrary, she stood on the touchline as a wise and benevolent spectator, becoming engaged only in so far as she could give a timely shove in the cause of universal concord.

There is a whiff here of Woodrow Wilson in 1919. One difference perhaps is that Wilson's high-mindedness was applied, however ineffectively, towards a concrete object, a peace without vengeance. In that context it made sense. Another difference is that America at that time was geopolitically and psychologically detached from the European power game, so that a "*l'Europe des patries*" looked like a desirable consummation. This was never the case with Great Britain. To be sure, an unstable continent, or a continent dominated by one great power, would not pose an existential threat to Britain or her Empire, so in that sense Britain had no



selfish or strategic interest to be pursued. But the psychological need was there, to meddle. If you are going to meddle, you need a free hand. Whether or not this imperative was at the forefront of Gladstone's mind, it was he, rather than Disraeli, who let the compass needle veer back to true North.

Bismarck was stunned, and outraged. As Hawes comments:

"Now he found himself faced with a liberal Britain which would most certainly not go to war against Russia, which would be instinctively pro-French, and which would look with favour on the emergence of independent Slav nations fatal to the Austro-Hungarian Empire".

This is the first shadowy advance warning to Germany of the fatal combinations of 1914. In 1880 Bismarck had time to reboot his foreign policy and restore the Dreikaiserbund, but the episode instilled in him and his successors a lasting suspicion of British motives. The problem was that, in whatever way Germany tried to align herself, it was indeed a problem. And Germany's starting point always had to be solidarity with Austria-Hungary. Any alliance, even understanding, with any other Power that had Balkan interests was bound to antagonise the British. To put it bluntly, Germany couldn't do right for doing wrong.

### The Party Crashers

At this crux in German affairs the old question began to emerge again: what exactly was Germany for? The National Liberals, Bismarck's *bêtes noires*, thought they knew the answer. Like the people of Israel in the First Book of Samuel—"give us a king like the other nations round about us"—they wanted an overseas empire. As for the Prussian Junker class, this was the last thing on their minds. Hawes reproduces a lovely cartoon in which a rueful-looking Germania stands at the back of the queue, while the other nations are seen making off with their bags of booty. The god Zeus looks sternly upon Germania and asks: "Where were you when the world was divided up?"

Even though he hated them, Bismarck had no option but to throw some red meat to the National Liberals. If he didn't take steps to appease them he was in danger of going under, with the rise in the Reichstag of the German Free Thinking Party under Richter and Stauffenberg. He was a bit like a Henry Kissinger facing a hostile Congress. As long as Kissinger has the support of the President he's safe. Bismarck was always going to be protected by Kaiser Wilhelm I, but Wilhelm was now an old

man, and Crown Prince Friedrich was a different proposition entirely, with his domineering English wife.

These colonial stirrings were making themselves manifest at the worst possible time. Gladstone's Liberals of 1880 soon found themselves struggling with Imperial misadventures, and Irish troubles too. Afghanistan, Egypt, Southern Africa, Sudan: the various setbacks and disasters meant that the German Imperial adventurers were not likely to be looked upon benignly.

One of my daughters in a particular context was overheard to remark: "*The English: they're so . . . obvious.*" But, compared with the would-be German colonisers, the English were subtlety itself. Hadn't they acquired their Empire "*in a fit of absence of mind*", and didn't they govern it with languid ease? Despite the fact that Germany could never possibly develop an overseas empire even a tenth of the size of the British Empire, the London press was livid at the bumptious, single-minded German drive for territories that were capable of being possessed only because many of these regions had been opened up by English, Scottish and, to a lesser extent, French, explorers, especially in sub-Saharan Africa.

Great offence was caused when in 1883 German tobacco merchants planted their flag on the remote coast of South West Africa (Namibia), later lowering the Union Jack, which wasn't legitimately flying there anyway, this not being a British possession. But that minor detail was lost in the outcry. When does a trading post end and a colony begin? The British had long thrived on this ambiguity, and expected that they alone should be allowed to play that game.

Cameroon was another *cause celebre*. For some reason, despite King Bell of Bell Town writing repeatedly to Queen Victoria, Gladstone and anyone else he could think of, beseeching the British to incorporate his kingdom into their Empire, the British Government had neglected to respond to the overtures. Nor did London respond to the anxious English traders in the area of Angra Pequena. The German navy appeared in the bay, and a strong German delegation presented German credentials to the King. Feeling the pressure, King Bell gave the British an ultimatum, but the British forces arrived too late and, on 12th July 1884, Cameroon was formally annexed. It was certainly a troublesome annexation for the Germans, conducted with a combination of deceit and cruelty, and, according to *The Times*, it all partook of a deep-laid conspiracy:

"Prince Bismarck understood from the first what he wanted, and the means by

which he was to attain it. He was aware of the inherent weaknesses of his antagonists. Probably he anticipated at some point or other the occurrence of a blunder which would give him a short cut to his destination. Good luck contributed to the absoluteness of his triumph, inasmuch as errors in his opponents, on which, in their actual shape and degree, he could hardly have calculated, conducted them into a diplomatic Sedan".

This is pretty much tosh of course, but it does speak to the growing sense of something devilish about German mental processes. Maybe Dorking (see my previous article) and Woking (see *War of the Worlds*) weren't so very far apart.

Meanwhile the Samoans, fearful of German annexation, tried UDI: a unilateral declaration of (British) Imperialism. If the British refused to have them, they would enter the Empire forcibly. The not very subtle German designs on Samoa alarmed Britain naturally, but, unforeseen by Bismarck, they caused disquiet in the United States. American and British interests in the Pacific began to coalesce as they formed a common anti-German front. Bismarck called a halt before things got out of hand.

### The Band Played Waltzing Matilda

But I was most intrigued by Hawes's comment in German ambitions in New Guinea:

"It's one of the great founding myths of modern Australia that she entered the Great War out of a blind and foolish loyalty to the undeserving mother country. The truth is that the Australians and the New Zealanders joined in so keenly in 1914—they didn't even wait to be asked—because they had a thirty-year-old itch to kick the Germans out of what they saw as their own private backyard. As indeed they swiftly did, when at last given the green light by Britain."

This sheds an unexpected light on things. Some may be familiar with the powerful Eric Bogle song: *And the Band Played Waltzing Matilda*. Anybody who's not should tune in to Youtube and find it. Maybe the hero, a happy-go-lucky rambler, wasn't so representative of his nation after all, and maybe there was something altogether more intentional in the motivations of the Australian volunteers who ended up at Suvla Bay. It has often been pointed out that in Neville Shute's *A Town Like Alice*, set around the 1940s and the post-war period, the heroine somewhere confesses

to never having been home, "*home*" being England. This seems extraordinary. I wonder if the second and third generation of Irish emigrants to America called Ireland "*home*".

### Made In Germany

With the temporary departure of Gladstone in 1885 the position should have become less incalculable for Bismarck, but in fact the European scene was in general flux, with a new Balkan crisis over Bulgaria and a consequent cooling of relations with Russia, and more aggressive noises coming from France. The spectre of encirclement must have begun to present itself ever more visibly to Bismarck. He couldn't afford to persist with the policy of alternately isolating and antagonizing Britain. As would be demonstrated at such cost thirty years later, it wasn't possible for Germany to weather the coming storms with only the Austrian alliance to protect her.

But at this time it was becoming evident that Imperial Germany was beginning to discover that it was good at making things that people wanted to buy. Britain's reputation as the workshop of the world was not yet in danger, but British anxiety was such as to bring about the *Merchandise Marks Act* (1887). The *Made in Germany* mark turned out to be less of a deterrent than had been hoped, and indeed the mark of opprobrium soon was transmuted into the mark of quality.

Sidney Whitman in his *Imperial Germany* (1888) comments robustly:

"It is not that the Germans are alone in producing rubbish—every commercial nation does the same; but the Germans have a special facility for copying the rubbish of other nations, beside producing their own".

I remember from my youth the contempt with which the words "*Made in Hong Kong*" were viewed. I'm not sure if they produce anything in Hong Kong now, apart from 'financial instruments', but the sweatshop led eventually to the *Wirtschaftswunder*, there as elsewhere. I have heard the Japanese genius described as essentially imitative, which is partially true. But imitation is perhaps closely allied to genius in consisting of an infinite capacity for taking pains. The British are better at inventing things than in developing their inventions.

The world of mobile phone technology isn't one I can pontificate about with any authority, but, since that hasn't stopped me ever before, I would venture to repeat an observation I read somewhere. The primitive mobiles had a sort

of illuminated panel on which you could see something, presumably the number you were dialling. It was the Japanese who, as it were, re-invented this basic idea so that it became the screen we're so familiar with today, containing your life in microcosm, and maybe your soul as well.

The problem afflicting British manufacturing, probably for the whole of the last century, has been lack of attention to detail, driven, if that's the correct word, by complacency. This isn't the case at the luxury or status symbol end of the market, whether we're talking about cars, shotguns, shoes, or Harris Tweed jackets. And British workers are indeed capable of making products that are competitive in terms of price and quality, but, seemingly, only if the production is managed by Germans or Japanese. But for that, we'd still be driving around in Austin Maxis with Castrol GTX pouring out of them.

Back in the 1880s, the challenge was to figure out how the Germans were doing it. On the level playing field of the free market their supposedly inferior products should have sunk without trace. The 1887 Act was intended to eliminate fraudulent marking. An alternative explanation was that the Germans were working for impossibly low wages, and having to endure a pitiless existence in a social and economic dystopia. According to the Hawes, the "*Anglo-Saxon*" observers "*took a sort of dubious comfort from the idea that this rival form of social organization could not last for very long without generating uncontrollable social unrest*". They were perhaps not reckoning on the success of Bismarck in pioneering the Welfare State. Yet another theory was that the Germans were engaged in a Statist-Corporatist sort of joint venture to promote German exports, not just to Britain, but, equally alarmingly, to overseas markets, which presented further grounds for suspicion of Germany's colonial aspirations.

E.E. Williams in his *Made in Germany* (1896) was determined that his readers should be under no illusions but that, in the course of time, Germany would overtake Britain as the world's premier manufacturing and trading nation. The Germans planned for the long-term, they invested in plant and machinery, and in "skills", they placed a premium on education, and altogether they were characterised by "*alert progressiveness, contrasting brilliantly with the conservative stupor of ourselves*". Barring a miracle, the economic future was German.

Lord Rosebery, quoted by Williams from a speech in Colchester, had been alarmingly frank on the same theme:

"Germany has long been... ahead of us in technical education. I am afraid of Germany. Why am I afraid of the Germans? Because I admire and esteem them so much. They are an industrious nation; they are, above all, a systematic nation; they are a scientific nation, and whatever they take up, whether it be in the arts of peace or the arts of war, they push them forward to the utmost possible perfection with that industry, that system, that science which is part of their character"

We are beginning to see here the familiar tropes of the German of the popular imagination, so like us but with an obsessive perfectionist streak, machine-like in its intensity, that we can't possibly compete with.

### The New Broom

The years 1887 to 1890 were traumatic for Germany, especially for the ruling Hohenzollerns, and for Bismarck, who suffered the mortification of being dismissed by the young man who had been his pupil, Kaiser Wilhelm II. Not perhaps a very attentive pupil as it turned out. The hopes of the Anglophiles had died with Crown Prince Friedrich, whose imperial reign had lasted just short of one hundred days. By contrast, young Wilhelm was hardly on the throne before the *Manchester Guardian* (16 June, 1888) was accusing him of Anglophobia. He was:

"a spiteful, obstinate and really pig-headed young German with the worst national characteristics of his race, and but few of its better qualities... [who] detests the English people, English customs and English ways with an intensity of feeling that is all but ferocious".

The ferocity was blazing away on both sides of the German Ocean (subsequently renamed the North Sea). The German press was full of dark rumours about the demise of Friedrich, surrounded as he was by scheming English doctors.

Hawes remarks on what I had never thought of before: that not only was this the first generation in both countries in which there was near universal literacy, but that both were "*young countries*" in a way that neither is now, despite Tony Blair's propaganda of twenty years ago. Thanks to Disraeli's 1867 Parliamentary Reform Act and its 1884 successor, by the end of that decade about two out of three men over the age of twenty-one had the vote:

"There are two vital things about these new electorates which are easy to forget, but which would loom vast in the number-crunching of any modern campaign guru. The voters were exclusively male, and a very large proportion of them were young. In 1911, over half of all British voters were men under forty: the figure today, even with our lower voting age, is not even one in five."

This may give some statistical backing to the feminist argument that it's testosterone-fuelled men who cause wars. In previous generations the hot-blooded young males could be ignored, but not so easy when they were able to read articles by incendiary journalists, and could vote you out of Office.

But, quite unexpectedly, Wilhelm II turned out to be an Anglophile after all, won over during his State Visit in 1889. The British Establishment put on its best shows and its best manners for him and it turned his head completely. Bismarck's fall the next year was less worrying that it might otherwise have been, and indeed it was shortly afterwards that the two countries signed treaties over Zanzibar (where Germany gave up very speculative claims) and Heligoland (which was ceded to Germany, no doubt forming some of the background for *The Riddle of the Sands*).

### Disrespecting Our Friends

Hawes argues that there was a strange, almost self-contradictory, but explicable psychology going on with Wilhelm, one which found an echo in the German psyche. It went something like this: **England is great, England is to be admired, we want to be England's friend, but we also want England to respect us. She will respect us only if we have comparable worldwide reach as a Great Power. So we need a navy, we need a battle fleet.** This sounds absolutely crazy. It's a mindset that may be understandable in the context of personal relationships, whether between the sexes or golfing friendships or gangs at school. There is something of the immature and the inferiority complex about it. It doesn't sit easily with grand diplomacy. But then the German state was a new country as well as a young country, obsessed with her identity.

Of course it was just posturing. But as we arrive in the mid-1890s we find that Russia is lost to a French alliance, directed against Germany; and the British political Establishment, press, and public are beginning to unite as well. Public opinion in Britain was particularly

skittish because it was becoming evident that the South African Republics were standing in the way of British commercial and colonial expansion, and in that context the Kaiser's congratulatory telegram to Kruger on the foiling of the Jameson Raid in 1896 looked like a demonic form of gloating.

The Kaiser was posturing. Germany was not a serious rival in geopolitical terms: he knew it, and the British knew it too, but still, they weren't comforted. Even as they looked forward to Victoria's Diamond Jubilee the worm of insecurity was gnawing at them, the fear that in the longer term, and maybe not the very longer term, all their Imperial glory would, as Kipling put it, be "*one with Nineveh and Tyre*". Militarily the Germans seemed invincible, as compared with the chequered history of British arms since 1815; educationally they were outperforming the British; German manufacturing was beginning to make an impact on Britain's export markets; successful German colonies had been established; and now, to cap it all, the Germans were intent on building a war fleet.

### Battleships

So, in the Summer of 1897 Admiral Tirpitz came on the scene as Secretary of the *Marinamt*, with *The Times* thinking that he might apply a brake to some of the "*extreme projects*" being canvassed in German naval circles. But *The Times* had misread the situation. Tirpitz wasn't associated with the Prussian Junker Establishment, who regarded him with a suspicion little short of loathing. Instead his power base was among the National Liberals, the "*progressive*" wing of North German Protestant society. Their idea was that a strong navy would guarantee Germany's viability in the twentieth century, as a manufacturing, mercantile power, as opposed to a stratified, reactionary, agrarian Junker state.

To win over the Reichstag, Tirpitz insisted that his March 1898 Navy Law, bringing the strength of the German fleet nearly up to, not beyond, that of the French or Russian, represented the height of his ambitions. In that same year a German squadron commanded by Admiral Diederichs caused consternation off the Philippines, cruising around menacingly in full view of the US naval forces and a Royal Navy squadron. Was the American takeover of the islands about to be challenged? A hasty understanding was reached between the British and American forces, which left the German voters feeling they had been stitched up.

If only the German navy was more heavyweight still, the Germans wouldn't be disrespected on the high seas.

In the following year an Anglo-American compact was even more obvious, in Samoa, when the Germans threw their weight behind one of the contenders in a struggle for succession to the throne, and conflict was narrowly avoided. It seemed to be that, whatever colonial tensions Britain got into with France or America (and America was a colonial power too, despite its sanctimonious repudiation of the charge), it would be a case of handbags at dawn; whereas the rivalry with Germany was a matter of life and death.

By 1899 and the start of the Boer War, the tide of mutual animosity between the two great Teutonic nations had become too intense to be diverted into more peaceful channels. Von Bulow, the German Chancellor, probably realised that, unless the German naval programme went into reverse, disaster lay ahead. Of course, if one takes the view that the British State was implacably bent on war, then a substantial war fleet was an absolute necessity, not a luxury. This is chicken and egg country. In the absence of the German shipbuilding agenda it would have been much more difficult to whip up anti-German hysteria among the British electorate. But maybe some other pretext would have been found.

The irony is that fifteen years later the chief target of British war propaganda was inhuman "*Prussianism*", whereas the Prussian ruling military caste was completely blameless in regard to the various provocations, actual and fabricated, by which the British were incensed.

### Simply Germans

I think it's best to close my lengthy and parasitic review at 1899. I can't add to the massive contributions of Pat Walsh and Brendan Clifford to the years that follow. I've also tried to avoid getting too bogged down in discussions of European alliances generally, and the Balkans in particular. But, to follow on from the paragraph above, I'd like to end with a remarkable extract from Hawes's book. I'm not sure if I'm in total agreement, but it's certainly a contention to be borne in mind in this Luther quin-centenary year, and may be a fitting prelude to what I would like to say, if permitted, about the Luther phenomenon, later this year.

*"German socialists, German Catholics, German vons and German Jews all had their own mighty fortresses [!]*

of tradition and self-belief. They were all Germans, but they were something else as well: they knew exactly who they were. The many, many, Germans who were none of these things, the Protestant Germans who had believed national unity to be the millennium, and who had come to worship Bismarck above all men, seem, after his fall, to have known only what they were not: not socialists, not Catholics, not aristocrats, not Jews. They were... just Germans.

"Since their only distinct quality was Being German, they elevated that into

something approaching a religion: a notion of Germandom (*Deutschtum*) developed which was, in varying degrees, anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic, colonial, naval and above all, defined itself as the opposite of Englishness. Germany was a massive power, yet many of its people felt as though they were a small nation, permanently threatened with cultural extinction at the hands of a hegemonic neighbour; like some gigantic version of a Welsh or Scots rugby crowd, the louder they shouted against England, the more truly German they felt".

## Brendan Clifford

The Reformation, Part Two

### Carlstadt And Luther, Bishop Berkeley And The Irish

The Reformation introduced a particular freedom into the world and equated it with freedom in general. The particular freedom it introduced was freedom of the individual to read the Bible for himself without instruction by an authoritative intermediary and take from it whatever meaning it suggested to him.

Assuming that the Bible is the word of God, assuming that something called God set the world in motion, assuming that the story of the world is the story told in the Bible, and assuming that belief by the individual in accordance with the implications of that story is the only means by which he can escape eternal torment, then access to the Bible is far more important to the individual than anything else could possibly be—it is infinitely important. But it is hard to see what it has to do with freedom in any other sense than a free ticket to Heaven. And yet we are still told by intellectuals of a culture that has long since discarded the Bible as foolishness that the Reformation brought freedom to the world by establishing a cult of Bible reading.

The *Belfast News Letter*, which is by far the oldest newspaper published in Ireland, carried an article on the Bible-reading reformation by the Rev. Peter McIntyre, a Free Presbyterian clergyman in the Clogher Valley, Co. Fermanagh:

"Why was Pope Leo 10th unwilling to leave the German monk alone?"

Because the theology of Luther represented freedom. Freedom to read and study the Bible, to have the Bible in the common language, to find peace in God through Christ the Great and only High Priest... Luther took an axe

and struck the office of the Roman priesthood by defining Christ as the only mediator, as the only one who forgives our sins... Popes, priests and saints and even Mary were of no value in the great scheme of salvation. Faith in Christ alone! This liberating truth lay at the core of the reformation. The Papacy recognised the danger of Luther's beliefs because its power over the souls of men was now declared to be a fraud... Prior to the Reformation, Europe was in political bondage. Far from the German peoples being a united nation in the 16th century, they were distinct provinces within Charles 5th's Holy Roman Empire. This institution was so named because it was a tool in the hands of the Papacy to control a large swathe of Europe's population. Luther's stand for freedom taught the German peoples that tyranny both ecclesiastical and political can be opposed by the little man. So the German peoples fought for their freedom. It was a life and death struggle. The church sought the extermination of Protestants... But what the historian cannot do is blame the man who ignited the torch of freedom for the deaths of those who fought for freedom. The blame lies with the aggressor, the tyrant, the Papacy itself. This was borne out in the history of these islands"

—by the 1641 rebellion of the natives against the Protestant colonists.

Protestant Ulster is a place apart. It retains the world-view that it brought with it about four centuries ago as a British colonising force. It has been left behind superficially by the world that created it and placed it where it is. Much has been made of its backwardness, but

it is only superficial. The British world that has left it behind retains that mid-17th century world-view, but in rough outline. Protestant Ulster is distinctive only because it retains the detailed belief on which that world-view was founded. The Whig scheme of history maintains essentially the same world-view on a sceptical basis of power politics.

British Protestantism is not a development from the German Reformations—either of them, Lutheran or Zwinglian. England did not reject the Papacy on Biblicalist grounds. The King made himself head of the Roman Church in England for a political purpose without having any intention of altering its belief system, or its rituals, or its organisation. Biblicalist elements were phased in gradually. When Biblicalism asserted itself as a sovereign political force it failed. The Stuart monarch was brought back from exile and made the State functional again in alliance with a sceptical aristocratic order. After 1688 the aristocracy evolved into an independent ruling class, free of the State, which used the Monarch and the State Church as instruments of its rule. The Biblicalist (Nonconformist) element was accorded freedom of private religious practice and economic freedom in the developing *laissez-faire* system of which a prominent feature was slave-trading. The clergy of the Protestant Church as a State Establishment were instruments of government appointed by the State and not allowed to meet in Assembly lest they become religious. Jonathan Swift, an Anglican Clergyman, wrote a satire entitled

The point of it was that Christianity as it existed in England had many secular uses and did not get in the way of the pursuit of pleasure or profit, so why make an issue of it—as anti-Christian fanatics like John Toland were doing.

Slave-trading was the most profitable commercial activity. It was the only sensible place to put your money. The production of sugar in the great Slave-labour Camps in the Caribbean pioneered industrial capitalism. Only Jacobite reactionaries like Dr. Johnson saw anything wrong with it, and he was seriously reprimanded for his outbursts by Boswell.

For the more adventurous there were fortunes to be made by plundering India.

And all of this was made possible—and was justified—by Bible-reading which gave you free passage to Heaven without the intervention of a priest and allowed you to do whatever you pleased

in this world while waiting to go there.

I don't think that is a caricature of Britain in the century and a half following the Glorious Revolution which reinforced England as a Protestant state—and made it necessary to suppress the Irish because they stuck by their Papish idols and didn't care for the Bible.

Justification by faith alone makes all things possible!

I don't know whether that is a correct reading of the Bible. And I don't see how, under individual interpretation, free from authority, there can be such a thing as a correct interpretation. But it seems to me that that was how the thing worked during the century and a half when England was making itself the dominant World Power. If the Bible had anything to do with it, it could only be in that way.

What is the Bible? A book written in Latin—the international language of Roman Catholic Europe. I understand that is what it was for the purpose of the Reformation. But the Latin Bible was itself a translation from other languages, and perhaps even a translation of a translation.

Then, in the 1520s, this Latin book was to be made available to everybody—but not in the form in which it had existed for a thousand years and was taken to be the word of God—not in the language of the civilisation in which it was produced—but in translation into the barbaric languages that had grown up within the Roman civilisation—and in the first instance into the language of the barbarians who had held out against Roman civilisation, and had never accepted linguistic Latinisation. German was a language that had grown out of itself, and Saxony was a country that had been christianised superficially by the terror campaigns of the Holy Roman Empire in its original French form. The Saxons submitted, and relapsed, and submitted again under renewed terror, and relapsed again, etc.

As the Rev. McIntyre says, Germany was not a state in Luther's time—or for more than four centuries after. But I do not know that it felt oppressed because it was not a state. There was a German culture that spread across a great many autonomous political entities under the loose rule of an Emperor.

A couple of years after nailing his *Theses* on Indulgences to the Church door at Wittenberg, Luther was 'kidnapped' by a local prince and whisked off to the security of the Wartburg Castle at Eisenach to translate the Bible into German—and, according to Nietzsche, found the mod-

ern German language. (During his period in the Wartburg Luther was disguised as what in England was called a Squire, and there is a painting of him by Cranach as "*Junker George*".) Did nothing of the mystique of that famous Saxon Castle go into the translation?

An attempt was made about a hundred years ago to conceive of language as an exact system of signs for particular things, and to reduce English to such a system—English being the language closest to a system of accountancy, and therefore the most suitable for such treatment. Nothing came of it.

There might be perfect translation between languages made up of signs for particular things, but actual languages are loaded with overtones and possible ambiguities to such an extent that it is a wonder that communication is possible in them. And I imagine that, in the translation of a book like the Bible, not only would something be lost but something would be added.

I recall Enoch Powell dealing with that problem by saying that the King James version should be taken as inspired and should be fixed as the English Bible, rather than go chasing after nuances of meaning which it might have missed or got wrong. That was an attempt to make English Protestantism a secure and unchangeable fixed point in the midst of political flux—as a religion should be. But it went against the nature of English Protestantism, which originated as a made-up religion in the service of the State and remained so. And the impossibility of authentic translation from one language and culture to another enables it to be bent every which way and to be whatever one fancies it to be in accordance with the fashion of the moment.

Anyhow, while Luther was locked up safely in the Wartburg for two years making his German Bible, his associate at Wittenberg, Andreas Bodenstein from Carlstadt, drew a meaning from the Bible that he could not approve of when he returned.

The issue was whether existing religious structures should be left in place or should be altered. Did the Bible require the destruction of images or not? And should practices not authorised by the Bible be tolerated or suppressed, either in the church or in civil society?

Luther was for letting things be to a considerable extent, even within Bible religion, and for being cautious about applying in civil affairs what seemed to be called for by the Bible in religious

practice. And, rather than rebelling against the Holy Roman Empire as a Papist tyranny, his purpose seemed to be to find a place within it. And the Emperor seemed to be eager to make an accommodation—and abdicated when he failed.

(In the Holy Roman Empire the Emperor was not a tool of the Papacy, or the Pope a tool of the Empire. Each had its sphere of authority, and there was tension between them. The English breach with Rome happened because, when Henry wanted his marriage annulled, the Emperor was in possession of Rome and the Pope did not see his way to invalidating the marriage of the Emperor's aunt to Henry.)

A accommodation between the Lutheran Church and the Roman Church was reached a little over a century after Luther's Reformation, by the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, just as Protestant England was seriously getting down to the task of exterminating Catholicism in Ireland under the Penal Laws.

Luther appealed to the German Princes and Dukes to assert their authority against the authority of the Church in religious matters, but then he made it a principle that his Church should not support popular challenges to political authority, regardless of circumstances. The issue arose very quickly after his return to Wittenberg and his breach with Carlstadt, in an event which one historian wrote about as *The German Revolution Of 1625*.

Carlstadt took it that the message of the Bible had application to the life of this world and that it was not just a first-class ticket to the next. He tried to ban idolatry in Wittenberg but was overruled by Luther and exiled. He then became a free preacher and publisher. One of his early pamphlets (1520) is *A Tract On The Supreme Virtue Of Gelassenheit*.

*Gelassenheit* means something like "laid-backness"—in the sense of lay back and let it happen and enjoy it. A note in the 1995 American translation in *The Essential Carlstadt* explains:

"A notion of *Gelassenheit* was widely used by other contemporaries... It was particularly popular among Anabaptists who expressed their 'existentialist' commitment to the immediacy of the divine will to which they were prepared to submit themselves in total abandonment and to the exclusion of external intermediaries..."

Considerations of the ego must give



way to the impulse prompted by God whispering in your ear:

"I must deny all works, my suffering and death, yes, even myself, and must alienate myself from myself, neither mother nor friend, pope or the pope's mother, must dare make me put him or them before my eyes and cause me to depart from God's word... I must develop a tough, serious and rigorous hatred and envy against myself which I hear the voice of the Lord and note how my soul draws me away and blocks me. No, dear soul and dear body, though you want me not to follow the word of God, I shall nonetheless follow Christ cheerfully unto death" (p38).

What came to mind as I read this was the orgy in Euripides *Bacchae* when the constraints of the tyranny of Athenian civilisation became intolerable and were shrugged off. (And that is not the only thing in *The Bacchae* that seemed to re-surface in Christianity 500 years later.)

This spirit of *Gelassenheit* appears to have been a major influence in the Peasants' Revolt a few years later. Luther condemned the revolt out of hand and decreed that political authority is not to be challenged on Biblical principles, but Carlstadt had great difficulty with it. He was a respectable citizen with a wife and family and could not let himself go, but neither could he argue persuasively that his ideas had nothing to do with what was happening. He rebuffed the peasants who looked to him for guidance. They saw him as deserting them after having led them on and he had to go into hiding from them. He appealed to Luther to support him against the political authorities and confirm that he had always condemned the actual rebellion.

He wrote an account of how he had suffered in the rebellion, alleging that Luther was responsible for defaming him as having been a party to it. He sent this account to Luther, who allowed it to be published in Wittemberg. Luther even wrote a Preface to it confirming that Carlstadt had condemned actual rebellion, but saying that the rupture between them in the matter of religion was final. He also said that responsibility for the rebellion did not lie entirely with the rebels:

"If I were to speak the truth and look at this matter in the light, I must say that this misery and rebellion cannot be blamed on the peasants alone. Raving princes and foolish bishops must take some of the blame. For when the common people had good preachers, and gladly heard the pure gospel through which they were learning faith

and obedience, our squires would not tolerate them. They expelled the righteous preachers and placed uncouth donkeys' heads over the people who knew nothing and frivolously incited the people against themselves. God then allowed rebellious preachers to rise among the people. These started the misery by which dissatisfaction has taken hold of common people. There will naturally be no end to this until the tyrants too end up in the dirt. For there can be no permanence when a people does not love its master, but merely fears him. The saying becomes true which states, 'The one whom many fear must fear a lot'. So I plead with both lords and every man to let Dr. Carlstadt have his say..."

I take this to be a pretty clear admission that wild Bible-reading, in which the creature is inspired by the words of his Creator, is not a good thing after all. Safe Bible-reading is Bible-reading instructed by authority. But doesn't that concede the essential point to Rome? And, once the point about instructed reading by the individual is conceded, then the weight of argument about the detail of instruction must come down heavily in favour of Rome, which claims that its authority in the matter has been continuous from the Apostles themselves.

Luther admitted that he did not know what he was starting when he started it. He began by disputing the authority of the Pope to grant indulgences in exchange for a modest contribution to the building of St. Peter's in Rome, basing his challenge on the Bible. He got political support and, within a couple of years, found himself making a German Bible as a weapon of mass destruction against the whole Papal system. Implicit in the making of a vernacular Bible was the conviction that mass Bible-reading without intermediaries was a good thing. But, within a couple of years of the Bible being translated, much of Germany was in rebellion in the name of the Bible. And Luther came down strongly in favour of established political authority.

Luther, pen in hand, was at one moment so strongly tempted by the Devil that he flung the ink-pot at him. What temptation could have been so strong that the only way he could resist it was to throw away his writing materials? The Bible, I presume. The great Biblicalist had to take drastic action to save himself from the Bible.

There is a recent biography of him which has "*Visionary*" in the title. But he remarked in his *Table Talk* that no great theological vision had descended

on him—or had arisen within him—as had apparently been the case with others who had been influenced by him. He had had to put a kind of world-view together in laborious manner, piece by piece.

He was a careful man. He jeered at the "*Celestial Prophets*" who saw things in the round and knew what the Bible required them to do—the enthusiasts from Zwiickau who came to Wittemberg and tried to exhilarate it and got themselves thrown out.

But the Bible is not a sober book. Its progress is towards the drunken phantasmagoria of *Revelation*. It is not imaginable that Luther, its pioneering translator into a guide to life for the populace, did not feel the temptations to which Carlstadt succumbed intellectually and which inspired Muntzer to become a man of action. He did not "*yield*" to its influence as Carlstadt urged. He was wilful rather than submissive. He let the Bible loose on others, but in his own life he opposed his bourgeois ego to it. And he made from it an ordered religion that was functional in the Empire, the Republic, and the Third Reich.

I know only a little about the Peasants' Revolt—in which artisans seem to have played a prominent part—but I have a superficial acquaintance with the Black Forest, Freiburg and Alsace, where it was strong, and I assume that what they are today came about under its influence.

They committed themselves to a wild Biblicalist ideal. They were repressed brutally by political authority. What they attempted was probably unrealisable. The Bible is not a political manual—quite the contrary. But a wholehearted attempt to achieve the impossible is not necessarily futile just because it fails at the political level—fails to make itself into a viable State. Social character might be durably altered and it might find a niche position for itself in a state which lets it be on the condition that it lets the State be.

Revisionist historians have for almost half a century been searching for Millenarian episodes in the history of nationalist Ireland in order to discredit it.. They claim to have found one in the 1820s, connected with an English book of Prophecies, and expressed in a handful of Irish poems. But the Roman Church discourages Millenarianism—or keeps it barely simmering on a low-level back-burner.

Christianity without Millenarianism would be flat. The Roman Church seems to have come from a capturing of the volatile spirit of the initial impulse by

the heavier structures of the Greek philosophy, and a blending of that mix into the ordered civilisation of the Roman Empire.

The Roman Church made Christianity functional in the world as a stable body without detaching it from the expectation, in which the spirit had its origin, that this world was close to the end of its tether and was about to crumble from its sordidness and give way to the thousand years of perfection leading to the end, after which there would only be Heaven. And it made provision, in the form of its Orders, for the great variety of impulses likely to be generated by life in this culture.

In the 1960s I went in search of these Orders in order to list them. I found about sixty as far as I recall. At one end of the spectrum there were Orders concerned almost entirely in the affairs of this world and at the other end life was lived almost entirely in the world to come.

As an irreligious teenage labourer in Slieve Luacra I worked in a Creamery, lifting the twenty gallon tanks of milk from horse-cars and donkey-cars onto a platform and emptying them into a vat, and a couple of times a year, as I laboured, there would be a man in a brown robe beside me, barefoot in sandals regardless of the season, begging politely and being content with whatever he was given. He belonged to the Friars who lived without property—and who stood as the symbol of either Catholic degeneracy or chicanery—for the the Protestant mind in the North.

A girl in a neighbouring townland joined an Order of nuns that was closed, and, I believe, silent. She decided to have done with the world. People were amazed by her decision. The world wasn't such a bad place really. But the culture left no grounds for saying she was doing a bad thing. And people were impressed by her strength of will.

A first cousin of mine, the daughter of an aunt who married out of Slieve Luacra into better land east of Millstreet, was forbidden by her parents to become a nun. She insisted. Both sides could have quoted the Bible for support, but I doubt that either side did. She threatened to run away if parental authority was forcefully used to stop her. I had run away for something like the opposite reason.

Many years later I found myself in Belfast—in its Protestant dimension, the polar opposite of Slieve Luacra, but remarkably similar on the Catholic side.

(And I had followed Tadg Sullivan of Boherbue there, though I did not know it, because I went by way of London.)

There were no beggars in Central Belfast then—while O'Connell Bridge in Dublin was thick with them. Carlstadt ruled that the Bible did not allow begging. Luther didn't quite support him in banning it, but begging did become anti-Protestant, so I suppose Zwingli agreed with Carlstadt.

It was in Belfast that I discovered Millenarianism. Belfast was effectively Millenarian in its enlightened, United Irish, phase in the 1790s.. It read the future in the *Book of Revelation* and it saw the French Revolution as a preliminary to the Millennium—it broke up the Roman Church in France, humiliated the Pope and abolished the pagan Roman Calender in which the days and months were named after heathen gods and goddesses.

The fall of Robespierre was traumatic for it.

About two generations later the residue of that false Millennium was brushed away in a kind of millennial development in private life, the Great Revival of 1859, which had its source in mid-Antrim—an astonishing event that bewildered the Anglican hierarchy of the South which was an instrument of government, and had a lasting effect on the Protestant North.

I got my first glimpse of Belfast a couple of years before 1969, and immediately after I had got my first glimpse of Dublin, and my first impression was that the two belonged to different worlds. And the more I saw of them, the more the utter difference in the way life was lived in them struck me. And it struck me most in the case of shopkeeping. Belfast shopkeepers conducted their business in the sight of God. The English biographer of Jesus (John Robert Seeley in *Ecce Homo*) insisted that Christianity was a strict theocracy, and that the theocrat was present everywhere all the time, so you had better behave! So I took that to be the explanation of the extreme scrupulousness of Belfast shopkeeping. God was judging every transaction. (Seeley's Theocrat was later rationalised into Freud's Super-Ego, losing force in the transition.)

I spent about six months in the Shankill Road, where the Newspaper Reference Library then was, and saw a degree of thrifty and industrious adaptation to poverty that I would not have thought possible had I not been there. I had my lunch every day in a restaurant

whose entire menu was tea, bread and butter, and a dish of mushy peas. And it was a carefully-conducted business.

Many years later I saw Alsace and was struck by what seemed to me to be its considerable similarity with North Belfast, despite the great difference in wealth. And, noticing on the map a town that I recalled as being at the heart of the wild Peasants' Revolt, we went to see it and found it a perfect Toy Town.

It began to appear that the fierce Peasants' Revolt was a movement of self-reliant tradesmen, intended to preserve their conditions of existence. I gathered from Graham Ruthven, an Australian I knew forty years ago, who was fascinated by the European transition from Feudalism to Capitalism, that there was a distinct phase of "*simple commodity production*", in which multitudes of individual producers, not ruled by Lords, produced commodities for a market that was not capitalist. The Peasants' Revolt seems to have occurred in that phase, with the object of preserving it. To call it *petty-bourgeois* would be anachronistic since *bourgeois* Europe had not yet come about.

And that seems to have been the social ground on which aspects of Lutheranism took root as Millenarianism and was denounced by Luther as the work of the Devil he had frightened off with his ink-pot.

Protestant Ulster had a kind of staggered Millenarian development, first under the formal Enlightened ideology of the United Irish, which welcomed the destruction of the Papist Church by the French Revolution as confirming the truth of Revelation, and then by the Great Revival, which was more single-mindedly Biblicalist, but confined to private life.

Through collecting the writings of Thomas Russell—Wolfe Tone's Dublin colleague who became part of Belfast life, I came across a common element between Antrim and Alsace—the Moravian movement: a pre-Luther movement that was an ingredient in the Peasants' Revolt. It survived as a sect and came to Ulster, and founded a Utopian colony in what is now a suburb of Ballymena±, which is still identifiable, or was thirty years ago.

It seems to me that Biblicalist Christianity is necessarily Millenarian in tendency—and that it is only in varieties of Protestantism that have Millenarianism in their background that belief in the Christian God is actual. God can

only have an attenuated presence in forms of Christianity based on the suppression of Millenarianism. In Anglicanism God was effectively reduced to a figure of speech about 300 years ago, in the era of Walpole and Bishop Hoadly.

I have no idea how Zurich and Basel—participants in the Peasants' Revolt, and the associated Anabaptist movement, with its strict prohibition of usury—became what they are. But it does seem that the Millenarianist phase of Zurich, with its social system based on the Guilds, did have some influence in enabling it to become what appears to be the comprehensive negation of Anabaptism. But I know that cosmopolitan Basel still retains a very local structure in its sovereignty system based on small Communes, and that behaviour in accordance with a sense of communal responsibility is strictly enforced by custom.

The Millenarian development in those regions was a passing phase. As far as I know, it did not establish a rival system of State and engage in battle in defence of it. It was in England that that was done. The State Protestantism of Henry, Elizabeth and Charles was challenged by populist Protestantism. Government Protestantism broke up the Roman Church but failed to devise a substitute for it that satisfied the populace. This provoked a Biblicalist development, which took advantage of the Scottish War of 1640 to organise itself politically and to seize power in the Election of 1641. Eight years of war between the Parliament and the Government (the King) followed. The King was executed in 1649 and the Millenarian Parliament became supreme. There was no power of State that was not under its control. It failed within a few years. Its life was prolonged by dictatorship. When the dictator died, political chaos followed. A Parliamentary General, Monk, commander of the Coldstream Guards, took the situation in hand. He brought the son of the executed King back to restore the Monarchy, with power to punish the Regicides, with only a few exceptions. There was no popular resistance to the Restoration.

Biblicalist Christianity failed, under the most favourable conditions, to establish itself as a viable political system in England. It was then excluded from political Office for the better part of two centuries—along with the Catholics. It was readmitted to political Office only after an irresistible Catholic movement in Ireland broke the Anglican political

monopoly. But during those centuries of political exclusion in Britain, Biblicalism was given its head in Ireland by the British Government. Bible Societies flourished.

The function of Biblicalism in the British state was to break up Catholicism.

In the face of a stubbornly Catholic social body in Ireland, there was an alliance between Government Protestantism and free-ranging Biblicalism.

It would be problematical for historians of the Glorious Revolution to argue that freedom was brought to Ireland by the Penal Laws as such. But, along with the destructive Penal Laws—which prohibited the bulk of the Irish population from owning land, entering the professions, being educated, and practising what they thought was religion—there came the Bible. And the Bible was freedom. Freedom to read the Bible was freedom. Or, at least, freedom to read the Bible was freedom to read the Bible, and one freedom leads to another!

That is how the reasoning used to go long ago. I thought it had been discarded but there have been signs of its revival at the highest level in recent years.

Macaulay—the great Liberal ideologue and politician of the mid-19th century, and the precursor of Imperialist Democracy—observed that the Roman Church carried the idea of the State along with it as its necessary complement, and he knew very well that Biblicalism did not. He was therefore open to the idea that Protestantism would prove to be a passing phase in European history and that Rome would still be there after it.

British Government Protestantism did, of course, have a political dimension, but only in the sense that it was an instrument of the State. But did it have any actual life as a religion, apart from the life of the State? The Roman Church outlasted the State that forged it and then carried the ideal of the State and something of the organisation of a State with it as a religion.

One of the reasons given in England in the early 17th century as to why it was necessary to suppress Catholicism was that it asserted a right of revolution. As a free religion which carried a dimension of advanced political understanding with it, it could not fail to see that the State, though divinely ordained, was a conditional arrangement of affairs in the secular world and not an absolute in any particular form.

The religion which was an instrument of a State, both in its spiritual origin and

in current affairs, could not see things quite like that.

Anglicanism never became a free-standing religion, comprehending the world from an independent viewpoint. Its doctrines were Government doctrines, and its appointments were Government appointments.

George Berkeley, an English gentleman in Ireland, was appointed Bishop of Cloyne by Robert Walpole (the "*first Prime Minister*" of the new ruling class) in 1734. It is said that Walpole made the appointment under the influence of Queen Caroline, wife of the nondescript George the Second.

Arthur Balfour, in the Introduction to the 1908 edition of the *Works Of Berkeley*, remarks that "*He was wholly unfitted by taste, character, and abilities for carrying out the political functions sometimes to strangely associated with the Episcopal office in Ireland*" (p xlvi).

Ireland was governed by the English Government, as was the Irish Church. But Ireland did not have a settled arrangement of things as England had. It had its own Parliament, representing an English colony which was not developing into a ruling class that was influential on the populace, as was the case in England. This was partly due to the fact that it was a recently implanted colony, but chiefly to the fact that the populace, though comprehensively suppressed as far as political affairs were concerned, did not despise themselves because they had been defeated. Conquest was not followed by collaboration with the conqueror. They did not revile the leaders who had led them to defeat because they did not regard themselves to have been made unworthy by defeat.

They were backward in their understanding and were unable to learn from the Protestant conqueror that morality is determined by physical force and that they were therefore under moral obligation to remake themselves. They had a different idea of Providence, and, reduced to miserable conditions of life, they continued to live as a people according to their own lights.

John Hume had a saying, that Ireland apart from its people meant nothing to him. It was often quoted by respectable people in Dublin for the purpose of distancing themselves from the big event that was happening in the North—and from the people, through whose activity that event was happening. By means of sophisticated forms of reasoning Dublin denied that the Nationalist people in the

North, responding to a structurally undemocratic system of government, were the prime movers in that event. An 'Ireland' was postulated independently of them, with the result that the meaning of Hume's saying (taken, I think, from Connolly) was effectively reversed.

An Ireland apart from the people in it was made the subject of history—as far as something that could be called 'history' survived in the new revisionist vision in academia.

It is a curious fact that the vision of the transcendental primacy of the geographical over the social took on its most tightly organised form with a group of Professors in Cork University (Murphy, Lee and Keogh) and was most effectively rebutted 30 or 40 miles away in the North-West of the County, and that the antagonism became so sharp that the University used its vast economic influence to ensure that political publications from North Cork should not be on sale in City bookshops.

Berkeley was appointed Bishop in an Ireland apart from its people. He could not afford to sneeze at the offer of a Bishoprick in exile. To be an Anglican Bishop was to be a gentleman of substance,<sup>a</sup> and a public figure of whom notice must be taken. Swift, who had performed a major service to the State, as a Tory pamphleteer who had enabled a Tory Government to bring a European War to a very advantageous conclusion for Britain, only got a Deanery. (He had reason to snarl against human ingratitude, and he did it.) Berkeley, who had done nothing but catch the notice of an intellectual Queen, got a Bishoprick.

Territorial Catholic Bishopricks were strictly illegal under the British Crown. But Bishops were necessary to the Roman Church. Rome therefore appointed Bishops "*in partibus*" to Britain and Ireland—Bishops to parts of the Church that had fallen to the infidels. They were Bishops of regions where the territory had been lost and there were no congregations. The Catholic Bishop operating in Birmingham around 1800, Milner, had the title of Bishop of Castabala.

Berkeley, too, was a kind of Bishop *in partibus*. He was a Bishop in social exile, without a congregation, but with territory. The territory was, however, inhabited by enemies. These enemies had been put down. They were lying low, scarcely uttering a sound. They were bound down by the Penal Laws. If they were defunct the Penal Laws might be relaxed. But Berkeley, stranger

though he was, and fanciful though he was in many respects, did not mistake their submissiveness for either compliance or terminal exhaustion. There was something in their heads that was not correct, and they were biding their time. They were hibernating Papists. Repeal of the Penal Laws was therefore out of the question. In the Penal Laws lay the only possibility of freedom for him.

Berkeley knew two things: matter did not exist and the Irish Papists were not like the English peasants.

John Locke, William of Orange's philosopher, said that the colour, taste, smell by which one becomes aware of objects were secondary qualities attached to a kind of primary matter that lay behind them. Berkeley reasoned that there was no need to suppose that this primary matter existed at all. The secondary qualities were all that was necessary: God didn't need any primary matter lying beyond the reach of the senses he gave us to stick them onto.

But he noticed that Papism had secondary qualities, and he thought that basic Papism could be got at through them. *Cleanliness is next to Godliness*, and it is achieved through industry and thrift, which were the major Protestant virtues. And the Papists could be got at through these secondary qualities—just like Captain O'Neill thought two and a half centuries later:

"The *Scythians* were noted for Wandering, and the *Spaniards* for Sloth and Pride; our *Irish* are behind neither of these Nations from which they descend, in their respective Characteristics... In my own Family a Kitchen wench refused to carry out Cinders, because she was descended from an old *Irish Stock*...

"The *Negroes* in our Plantations have a saying, *If Negro was not Negro Irishmen would be Negro*. And it may be affirmed with Truth, that the very *Savages* of America are better clad and better lodged than the *Irish Cottagers* throughout the fertile Counties of Limerick and Tipperary...

"A Slothful Man's Imagination is apt to dress up Labour in a horrible Masque; but, horrible as it is, Idleness is to be more dreaded, and a Life of Poverty (its necessary Consequence) is far more painful...

"Convince your people that not only Pleasure invites, but Necessity also drives them to labour. If your [i.e., the Roman priests] have any Compassion for these poor Creatures, put them in Mind how many of them perished in a late memorable Distress, through want of that provident Care against a hard

season, observable not only in all other men, but even in irrational Animals. Set before their Eyes, in lively Colours, their own indigent and sordid Lives, compared with those of other People, whose Industry hath procured them hearty Food, warm Clothes, and decent Dwellings. Make them sensible what a Reproach it is, that a Nation which makes so great Pretensions to Antiquity, and is said to have flourished many Ages ago in Arts and Learning, should in these our Days turn out a lazy, destitute, and degenerate Race..."

This is from *A Word To The Wise, Or, An Exhortation to the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland*, published in 1750. Of course there weren't supposed to be any Roman Catholic Clergy in Ireland under the Penal Laws that provided Berkeley with a Bishoprick. But there they were, serving, and being sustained by, a population that flourished in its dirt and squalor. And that same populace was obliged by law to provide Berkeley himself with an Episcopal standard of living. It was as indestructible as cockroaches in the ashes. Berkeley had nothing to say to it. He was not in communication with it. It did not belong to his alien English world which intruded into Co. Cork. He could only call on the illegal and abominable Papish priesthood to harass it:

"When so many Circumstances provoke and animate your People to Labour, when their private Wants, and the Necessities of the Public, when the Laws, the Magistrates, and the very Country calls upon them, you cannot think it becomes you alone to be silent, or hindmost in every Project for promoting the public Good. Why should you, whose Influence is greatest, be least active? Why should you, whose words are most likely to prevail, say least in the common Cause?"

"Perhaps it will be said, the Discouragements attending those of your Communion are a Bar against all Endeavours for exciting them to laudable Industry. Men are stirred up to Labour by the Prospect of bettering their Fortunes, by getting Estates, or Employments; but those who are limited in the purchase of Estates, and excluded from all civil Employments, are deprived of those Spurs to Industry.

"To this it may be answered, that admitting these Considerations to, in some Measure, damp Industry and Ambition in persons of a certain Rank, yet they can be no Let to the Industry of poor People, or supply an Argument against endeavouring to procure Meat, Drink and Clothes. It is not proposed that you should persuade the better Sort to acquire Estates, or qualify themselves

for becoming Magistrates; but only that you should set the lowest of the People to Work, to provide themselves with Necessaries, and supply the Wants of Nature.

"It will be alleged in excuse of their Idleness, that the Country people want Encouragement to labour, as not having a Property in the Lands. There is small Encouragement, say you, for them to build, or plant upon another's Land, wherein they have only a temporary Interest. To which I answer, that Life itself is but temporary; that all Tenures are not of the same Kind; that the Case of our *English* and the original *Irish* is equal in this Respect; and that the true *Aborigines*, or native *Irish* are noted for Want of Industry in improving even on their own Lands, whereof they have both Possession and Property.

"How many Industrious Persons are there in all civilized Countries without any Property in Lands, or any Prospect of Estates, or [Government] Employments? Industry never fails to reward her Votaries. There is none but can earn a little, and little added added to little makes a Heap... None who have Industry, Frugality and Foresight, but may get into a tolerable, if not wealthy Circumstances. Are not all Trades and Manufactures open to those of your Communion?... Have not, in fact, those of your Communion a very great share of the Commerce of this Kingdom in their Hands? And is not more to be got by those than by purchasing Estates, or possessing civil Employments, whose Incomes are often attended with large Expences?

"A tight House, warm Apparel, and wholesome Food, are sufficient Motives to labour. If all had them, we should be a flourishing Nation. And if those who take Pains may have them, those who will not take Pains are not to be pitied; they are to be looked on and treated as Drones, the Pest and Disgrace of Society.

"It will be said, the Hardness of the Landlord cramps the Industry of the Tenant. But if Rent be high, and the Landlord rigorous, there is more need of Industry in the Tenant. It is well known that in Holland, Taxes are much higher, and Rent both of Land and Houses far dearer than in *Ireland*. But this is no Objection or Impediment to the Industry of the People, who are rather animated and spurred on to earn a Livelihood by Labour, that is not to be got without it..." (p74).

It is said that the Irish lack conveniences:

"I answer that they have their four Quarters, and five Senses. Is it nothing to possess the bodily Organs sound and entire?..."

The Bishop contrasts the English

Labourer with the Irish:

"Those people, instead of closing the day with a game on greasy cards, or lying stretched before the fire, pass their time much more cheerfully in some useful employment which custom hath rendered light and agreeable..." (p75).

"But admitting... that it is impossible for our Cottages to be rich, yet it is certain that they may be clean. Now bring them to be cleanly, and your work is half done..."

"Indolence in dirt is a terrible symptom, which shows itself in our lower *Irish* more, perhaps, than in any people on this side of the Cape of Good Hope. I will venture to add, that look throughout the Kingdom, and you shall not find a clean house inhabited by clean people, and yet wanting necessaries; the same spirit of industry that keeps folk clean, being sufficient to keep them also in food and raiment.

"But alas! our poor Irish are wedded to dirt upon principle. It is with some of them a maxim, that the way to make children thrive is to keep them dirty. And I verily believe, that the familiarity with dirt, contrasted and nourished from their infancy, is the one great cause of that sloth which attends them in every stage of life..." (p76).

The Bishop knew a man "*of the lowest sort*", who was uneducated, illiterate, without a trade, and without friends to help him, who grew wealthy—

"by pure dint of Day-labour, frugality and foresight—And what is done by one, is possible to another. In Holland a Child five years old is maintained by his own labour; in Ireland many children twice that age do nothing but steal or encumber the hearth and dunghill" (p77).

"Mark an Irishman at work in the field; if a Coach or Horseman go bye, he is sure to suspend his Labour and stand staring till they are out of sight. A neighbour of mine made it his remark in a journey from London... that all the Labourers of whom he enquired the Road, constantly answered without looking up, or interrupting their work, except one who stood staring and leaning on a spade, and him he found to be an Irishman" (p78).

"It is indeed a difficult task to reclaim such fellows from their slothful and brutal manner of life, to which they seem wedded with an attachment that no temporal motives can conquer; nor is there, humanly speaking, any hopes they will mind, except their respect for your lessons and fear of something beyond the grave be able to work a change in them.

"Certainly, if I may advise, you should in return for the lenity and

indulgence of the Government, endeavour to make yourselves useful to the public; and this will best be performed, by rousing your poor countrymen from their beloved sloth... Seeing you are obnoxious to the Laws, should you not in prudence try to reconcile yourselves to the favour of the public, and can you do this more effectively, than by co-operating with the public spirit of the Legislature and men in power..."

"Right or wrong, men will be apt to judge of your Doctrines by their fruits. It will reflect small honour on their teachers, if instead of honesty and industry, those of your Communion are peculiarly distinguished by the contrary qualities, or if the nation converted by the great and glorious Saint Patrick should, above all other nations be stigmatized and marked out as good for nothing" (p80).

"You need not be told, how hard it is to raise from Rags and Penury a tolerable sustenance; or how offensive to perform the duties of your function amidst stench and nastiness..."

"Consult your Superiors. They will tell you the Doctrine here delivered is a sound Catholic Doctrine, not limited to Protestants, but extending to all..."

"In vain then do you endeavour to make men Orthodox in points of Faith, if at the same time in the eyes of Christ and his Apostles you suffer them to be worse than Infidels, than those who have no Faith at all. There is something it seems worse than even Infidelity; and to incite and stimulate you have to put away that cursed thing from among you, is the design and aim of this Address..." (p81).

That was the Reformation in Ireland in the mid-18th century in the person of the most intellectually superior and socially concerned of its functionaries. His messages to the people of Ireland, the Irish, was that the miserable condition they were in was their own fault. The condition they were in was not caused by the land settlement of the Revolution which took the land from them and gave it to an English colony, nor was it caused by the system of Penal Laws by which the Revolution settlement protected itself: it was caused by the fundamental fact that they were Irish. The implication is that they were not even civilised enough to be damaged by the Penal Laws which functioned only at an advanced level of civilisation.

The Revolution in question was the English *coup d'etat* of 1688 and the military conquest of Ireland in 1690-92 by the *coup* Government. It continued to be a basic historical reference point



for as long as the colony which it implanted had any life in it.

The *coup d'etat* of 1688 overthrew slavery and established freedom in the most important state in the world. It was therefore an event of world-historic importance, entitled to act as it pleased against all who resisted it. In that respect it bore a strong resemblance to the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, and its relationship with the Irish bore a strong resemblance to the relationship between the Kremlin and the Poles.

Living in Belfast I felt the need to get a clear idea of the slavery that was overthrown in 1688. It was not made perfectly clear in the July Twelfth celebrations. So I looked into it a bit. And I found that the slavery from which England freed itself in 1688 was *freedom of religion*.

James the Second introduced freedom of religion—freedom of Biblical Christianity and Roman Christianity alongside Anglican Christianity. That was taken to be a major step towards the re-enslavement of England to Romanism.

The implication of that is that, a century and a half after Henry and Cromwell broke up the Roman Church in England, Protestantism would have failed under conditions of freedom of religion.

Free Biblicalism had achieved supremacy and demonstrated its inadequacy thirty years earlier, and had tamely given way to the re-imposition of Government Protestantism by Monk, the Parliamentary General who had the wit to see Puritan Parliamentarianism was defunct, and that there was no use in flogging a dead horse. The country had to live and it was obvious that it needed Monarchy to live by.

What did Charles II believe? He believed whatever his advisers judged to be politically expedient. In 1649 he had been willing to sign the Presbyterian Covenant after his father was murdered, if that would have got him the Crown. The Belfast Presbytery took him at his word and recognised him as Charles the Second. It was reprimanded fiercely by Cromwell's Secretary of State, John Milton, who declared that—"*New Presbyterian is but old Priest writ large*".

Ten years later Milton was in a state of bewildered despair. The theocratic dictatorship had collapsed. God was not speaking to Cromwell junior, and so the suspicion was that Cromwell senior had been bluffing. The Parliament of Saints had relapsed into the anarchy from

which Oliver had rescued it. Milton could not see where it had all gone wrong—it had seemed so simple to get it right!

Charles, the refugee, was brought back to be King. He executed, by hanging drawing and quartering, some of the murderers of his father. But he let Milton be, to write his vast, ponderous, greatly admired but not widely read poem about the other world, of which the best-known line is Lucifer's "*Better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven*".

It was not a sentiment of which Milton approved, but from an Irish viewpoint it accords with what he did as Cromwell's Secretary as State. It seems that, with regard to the affairs of this world, he found it difficult to distinguish between Heaven and Hell.

Government Protestantism was restored in 1660. Its position was endangered by the freedom of religion introduced by James. It was restored again, as a Department of State, after 1688.

Government Protestantism was not a religion at all. It could not stand in free competition with either Biblicalism or Romanism. And, as there was an increasingly powerful and complex state to be governed, and religion was still regarded as a necessity of life, it was a reasonable assumption that, under conditions of religious freedom, Romanism would revive very strongly in England—as a religion with an inbuilt capacity to lend itself to statecraft without ceasing to be a religion.

The monopoly of Government Protestantism as the religious ideology of the state was restored in 1688. A few years later there was an *Act of Toleration*, which allowed the private practice of the politically exhausted English Biblicalism, and provided for the extermination of Catholicism. The measures for the extermination of Catholicism provided for by the Act of Toleration reconciled the Biblicalists to a tolerated private existence under Government Protestantism.

The Glorious (Protestant) Revolution of 1688 took about a quarter of a century to settle down into a system. The line of monarchical legitimacy was preserved by the succession of James's Protestant daughter, Mary, and her Dutch husband, and then by Anne.

Queen Anne, as legitimate sovereign, played an active part in her Government, and had a particular interest in the Church. When she died in 1714 a foreign dynasty was imported from Germany,

and a Whig *coup d'etat* against the Tories was enacted simultaneously. With the Tory leaders in exile, and a pliable German monarch who depended on it, the Whig Party set about constructing, by administrative methods, what we know as the British Constitution.

Bishop Berkeley's patron, Queen Caroline, was an intellectual and politically astute German. She was the wife of George the Second and came to England with him and George the First.

George One had no Queen. He had imprisoned his wife in Hanover for adultery and left her there to rot. Neither George had much political acumen and Caroline seems to have smoothed things out for them from the start. More than that, she seems to have been the active ally, behind the scenes, of Robert Walpole, who invented the Prime Ministership as the central Office of the State, and to have helped him to ensure that the Church was under his control as a department of the Government;

Berkeley was made Bishop of Cloyne, because he caught the fancy of a German intellectual who had been in correspondence with Leibnitz.

I suppose Berkeley believed in God after some fashion. He did not believe in the existence of matter, so what else was there for him to believe in?

In the following century Walter Pater, the aesthete—we knew about him in Slieve Luacra long ago—wanted to be an Anglican clergyman. He was clear in his intellect and spirit about the God question. God was make-believe. But he did not see why he should not be an atheist priest of the Anglican variety. He admired the style of High Anglicanism, which was so similar to Roman Catholicism in manner, and he knew that Anglican belief was doubtful. But his Bohemian friends objected strongly to this fancy; whether because it would bring discredit on Bohemianism or on Anglicanism is uncertain.

Pater insisted on going ahead with preparations to become a priest: they pleaded with the Archbishop of Canterbury to refuse to ordain him.

Such was the Government Protestantism in whose name Ireland was tormented for about six generations.

Whether Berkeley actually believed in the God, which his disbelief in the existence of matter left as the only possible existence, I don't know. It doesn't matter. He was, in everything that matters, an English gentleman who

happened to be born in Ireland and was lucky enough to get an Irish Bishoprick. In 1745, when the Scots rebelled, it was his business to call out the guard lest the Irish who refused to be his peasants should be stimulated to assert their actual mode of existence by public action.

(What was their actual existence? Was it what they imagined they were, or what they refused to be? It is curious that Berkeley, the Idealist, dismisses what they imagined themselves to be as a delusion. And it is interesting that he saw a possibility of using Papism against these supposed Papists for the purpose of shaping them into something close to what he wanted them to be. That is something that might be probed further in this era of Islamophobia.)

As an English gentleman of the new dispensation he despised the Irish. There Ireland of today is in no sense an evolution of Berkeley's Ireland. In its social substance it came from Berkeley's Ireland through a series of ruptures, both secular and religious.

Desmond Fennell has been wondering why the Irish intellectuals of the present time can't think. The reason why thought is impossible in Irish academia is that authority prohibits close consideration of the ruptures through which development actually occurred. And because Berkeley, who despised the Irish because of their refusal to become a useful peasantry of the colony, must be seen as an Irish intellectual.

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*Peter Brooke*

Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Alexander Dugin And The Russian Question  
Part 6

## The Russian Tradition (2)

### The Story So Far

The last article in this series ended with an account of the controversy surrounding the Young Guard (*Molodaya Gvardia*) journal in 1968. 'Young Guard' had published two articles evoking a distinctly Russian spirituality in opposition to an 'American' concern with merely material wellbeing. The second of the two articles even spoke in praise of patriotic Hermits (Serge of Radonezh, who blessed the Muscovite prince Dmitry Donskoy in his war with the Tatars in the fourteenth century) and Patriarchs (Hermogen, who inspired the rising against the Polish occupation in the seventeenth century).

Solzhenitsyn, in *The Oak and the Calf*, describes how he turned up at the office of *Novy Mir* (New World—the journal that supported him and had published *Ivan Denisovich*) to complain against an article attacking *Young Guard*, written by Alexander Dementyev. But during his visit he learned that Dementyev's article was also being attacked from a different angle.

### Alexander Yanov And The Russian New Right

It isn't clear from Solzhenitsyn's account what the objection to Dementyev's article was but an explanation of sorts is given by Alexander Yanov. The account I gave of the first of the controversial 'Young Guard' articles—Mikhail Lobanov's *Educated Shopkeepers*—was taken from Yanov's book *The Russian New Right* which also contained the argument I quoted earlier that Solzhenitsyn's characterisation of the revolutionary Alexander Parvus in *August 1914* was anti-Semitic.

Yanov had been a free-lance journalist writing in the 1960s for the legal, censored press, mainly the Komsomol journal *Molodoi Kommunist* ('Young Communist'—if these articles should come before the eyes of any Russian

readers they will quickly see that I'm not a Russian reader and my transliteration of Russian terms and names is very arbitrary). Yanov left Russia in 1974. Solzhenitsyn in an interview for the BBC broadcast to Russia in 1979 treats him as a typical representative of the 'third emigration', mostly Jewish and mostly leaving Russia because they wanted to. Although he regarded them as generally without significance, he singled out:

"one dangerous category which perhaps is fulfilling a historical mission. They come here not just as emigres but as full-fledged interpreters and explainers of our country, our people, history, culture, and so on. A typical characteristic is that they very soon sense the fashion and what people want from them. At the same time, their conclusions are always extremely useful for the Communist regime in the USSR.

"Sapiets. But can't we assume that they still, to some extent, express their own sincere views and offer their own answers to the crucial issues of Russia's fate?

"Solzhenitsyn. I will not guess at the real motivations of this category of emigres. But just consider: those who cooperated for decades with the Communists, who were all steeped in their Little Red Book—these people are welcomed in the West as the best of friends and experts, although the academic level of many of them is that of the barber's shop. With some variations, their general line is this: to do everything they can to reconcile the Americans with Communism in the USSR, on the grounds that it is, for Americans, the least evil and even a positive phenomenon. On the other hand, they try to convince people that a Russian national renaissance, even the national existence of the Russian people, is the greatest danger for the West.

"There is a whole string of people like this—too numerous to name. For instance, take Yanov. For seventeen

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years he was a Communist journalist, but he was not well known to anyone. But here in America, he became a university professor. He has already published two books analyzing the USSR and extremely hostile to everything Russian. The *Washington Post* devoted a whole column to his article declaring that Brezhnev is a peace lover. The message of his books is: hang on to Brezhnev with all your might, support the Communist regime by trade and diplomacy and strengthen it, for it is advantageous to your Americans..." (pp.4-5).<sup>1</sup>

Yanov himself, however, claims that, like Solzhenitsyn, he was expelled. The two books Solzhenitsyn is referring to are *Détente after Brezhnev* (1977) and *The Russian New Right* (1978). But in 1976 he produced a selection of translations of essays he had published in the USSR.<sup>2</sup> In his introduction ("*To my non-Russian reader*") he justifies what he was trying to do:

"But just as the nation began to see things clearly again, the Dissident Movement was divorced from its potential mass base, from the Latent Opposition, as I call it. Having recognized Official Authority for the hostile camp that it was, the Dissidents declared themselves in open warfare with it, in dramatic disregard of two fundamental facts.

"First, that Official Authority was not a colossus with clay feet. It was powerful and firmly based, not only because it rested on the bayonets of the army and police but also because *it was rooted in the age-long political culture of the people; because the barracks-type welfare system of economics it had created in the country was nothing more than the Soviet counter part of the time-honored Russian feudal cultural tradition; and because, despite all its obvious flaws and the state of semi Asiatic penury to which it had condemned its people, that system suited in principle the masses who were unenlightened and who wished to remain so.*

"Second, the Dissident Movement disregarded the fact that to contend with and overthrow such an Official Authority was only possible by creating a countertradition, a counterculture, based on a broad social stratum with a vital interest in changing the political structure and the regime. The origins of every democracy the world has known and the transformation of the Japanese autocracy, the brightest event in modern history, are indisputable proof of this.

"This social base of the opposition may be called a bourgeoisie, a managerial class, a farming class, 'kulaks', or simply a 'lower elite'—its historical form will vary. But it must be created.

Otherwise, all protest will be fruitless, all sacrifice senseless, and all suffering in vain.

"The real problem of rebuilding Russia today involves not just the rejection and condemnation of Soviet power but the creation of this social base; and once it is created, helping it to view itself as an integral social whole standing in opposition to *the tradition-bound, feudal-welfare mentality of the nation*, and finally as a political entity in its own right, representing an alternative to the autocratic regime.

"This social base—and my own existence as its legal representative and advocate is proof of this—exists in Russia today. It is in the process of becoming aware of itself both politically and socially" (pp.6-7. My emphases—PB).

We might remember the interesting argument of Richard Pipes I gave in the first of these articles, that what Tsarist Russia lacked was a class that had a real material/economic interest in radical change, that the "*intelligentsia*" had become a caste that, like the dissidents, were motivated by sheer altruism:

"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."<sup>3</sup>

Yanov says he was expelled after publishing an article in *The Young Communist* about the repression of the Polish revolt in 1863 in which the analogy between Poland then and Czechoslovakia in 1968, and between the exile of Alexander Herzen then and of Alexander Solzhenitsyn in 1974 was too obvious.

The *Washington Post* article Solzhenitsyn refers to summarises the argument of *Détente after Brezhnev* as follows:

"The Yanov model of the Soviet system proceeds from the fact that the gradual development of detente in recent years has given the new class an added interest in maintaining its privileges. Breakdown of detente would lead to the replacement of the present 'centrist' Brezhnev leadership by a Communist-nationalist regime, which would follow an isolationist policy and could evolve into a Russian Nazi system. The seeds of some such system were implanted long before the Communists came to power, and have let out a number of clearly discernible new shoots in recent years" ("*Averting a Soviet Drift to Nazism*", *Washington Post*, June 8, 1977).

The theme of the *Russian New Right*

is the emergence of this nationalist and isolationist tendency, continuous with a pre-revolutionary tradition, which could "*evolve into a Russian Nazi system*". The argument is that the tendency exists both in the *nomenklatura* and in the dissident movement. Among the dissidents, a leading role was played by Vladimir Osipov and his *samizdat* journal, *Veche*, which ran from 1971 to 1974 when Osipov was arrested—he had spent most of the 1960s in prison. But there was, of course, also Solzhenitsyn. Within the *nomenklatura* this tendency was represented by '*The Young Guard*'. Hence Yanov's interest in the dispute between '*Young Guard*' and *Novy Mir*.

### "*The Black Cloud Of Russophilism*"

In "*To my non-Russian readers*" he expresses regret at leaving Russia: "*Is it surprising that this 'someone' [himself—PB] had to pay for his protest with expulsion from his homeland, so that perhaps he shall never as long as he lives see his native penates, never again inhale his native air?*" (p.8). I don't know if Yanov returned to Russia in the 1990s when his hopes seemed to be fulfilled, when the self-serving technocratic class did indeed shake off even the pretence of Socialist public service and turned to the West for guidance as to how to reorganise the economy.

More recently, however, Yanov has been involved with the New York-based 'Institute of Modern Russia'—"a public policy think-tank that strives to establish an intellectual framework for building a democratic Russia governed by the rule of law", according to its website. It is affiliated to Mikhail Khordorkovsky's '*Open Russia*' movement, and its President is Khordorkovsky's son, Pavel. In 2013-14 Yanov published an interesting series of articles on Russian nationalism and Slavophilism, arguing that an intellectual development that had occurred in the nineteenth century and ended in disaster was repeated in the Soviet Union and, as he argues in other articles, coming to what he believes will be a catastrophic climax under Vladimir Putin. The account of the Soviet period largely repeats what he says in *The New Russian Right* but he adds some interesting details. In particular, discussing the *Novy Mir/Molodaia Gvardia* incident, he declares a personal interest:

"One voice that stood out in the chorus of Marxist voices attacking '*Chalmaevshchina*' was that of the liberal magazine *Novy Mir* (New World). For over a decade and a half, it

had valiantly opposed the orthodox Stalinist magazine 'October' (the same way today's radio station 'Echo of Moscow' opposes the pro-Kremlin NTV and other channels). But everything got mixed up once the black cloud of Russophilia appeared on the horizon. Rather than continuing the good old squabble, the irreconcilable opponents suddenly found themselves on the same side of a barricade. The seemingly impossible had happened: *Novy Mir*, under chief editor Alexander Tvardovsky, started to speak the same language as 'October', under Vsevolod Kochetov (who played a role similar to the one right-wing journalist Dmitry Kiselev publicly plays today).

"Not long before that, Tvardovsky had published Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's novellas *One Day In the Life of Ivan Denisovich* and *Matryona's Place*; printed caustic articles by the dissident Andrei Sinyavsky; and adamantly, like a lone rock of liberalism, stood in the midst of a raging ocean of reactionary forces. And yet in April 1969, *Novy Mir* came out with a super-orthodox article by Alexander Dementiev (Tvardovsky's deputy), that Kochetov himself would have gladly published in 'October'.

"Admittedly, my memories of this incident are stained with personal insult. Back then, I wrote an article that was submitted to (and even approved by) *Novy Mir*. It was an article against 'Chalmaevshchina'—calm, ironic, written in the spirit of the debate on the role of Slavophiles in Russian history (I opened this debate with an essay titled 'The Riddle of Slavophile Criticism' and finished it with 'The Answer to the Opponents'). The thrust of my article for *Novy Mir* was the following: Slavophilism had previously 'sunk' one Russian empire and, given free rein, it would 'sink' another. I didn't feel particularly sorry for the sunken empire, but I knew it could be replaced by something worse. And in any case, in a nuclear age balancing on the verge of self-destruction, 'the Byzantine idea of renunciation as the main achievement of a human being' is not the best way to forge a soldier.

"My article could have become a deadly liberal response to 'Chalmaevshchina' without getting the magazine in trouble; however, in the end, the management of *Novy Mir* refused to publish it. Perhaps this was because of the scandal surrounding Andrei Sinyavsky—a favorite author of *Novy Mir* who served time in Mordovia prisons for anti-Soviet stories published abroad. Or perhaps it was because Dementiev insisted on removing my article. Whatever the reason, Tvardovsky decided to demonstrate his love for the Soviet regime, and instead of my article pub-

lished the opus by Dementiev, an act he later regretted.

"The opus was revelatory. It contained all the necessary Marxist rhetoric, like 'Chalmaev speaks of Russia and the West in the language of Slavophile messianism, rather than in the language of our contemporaries... At the heart of the contemporary struggle between "Russia" and the "West" are not national differences, but social and class differences, the clash between the worlds of socialism and capitalism... Chalmaev's article is just one step away from the idea of Russian national exclusiveness and the superiority of the Russian nation over the rest, from an ideology that is incompatible with proletarian internationalism... The meaning and purpose of life according to Chalmaev is not in the material, but in the spiritual, which is an impediment on the material and spiritual development of the Soviet people.' And so on, in the same vein.

"This cast-iron phraseology sounded trivial, yet invulnerable. But Dementiev made one seemingly insignificant slip. In a huge article full of standard Marxist mantras, Dementiev included a tiny paragraph that doomed him to slaughter—not Chalmaev, not Young Guard, but himself and *Novy Mir*. Here is that paragraph:

"[Victor] Chalmaev and [Michael] Lobanov point to the danger of alien ideological influences. Will we resist, for example, the temptation of "bourgeois prosperity"? In modern ideological struggle, the temptation of "Americanism" cannot be understated, says Chalmaev. That's correct. But it should also not be overstated. The Soviet society, by its very nature, is not vulnerable to bourgeois influences."<sup>4</sup>

Yanov goes on to explain why that was problematic:

"In retrospect, the story of the downfall of *Novy Mir* (New World) magazine, edited by Alexander Tvardovsky, was quite typical for its time. In 1969, in its 30th issue, *Ogonyok* ["light" or "spark"—PB] magazine, which was a fundament for the conservatives of the moment, published an article titled 'What Does "New World" Stand Against?' It was a public denouncement of *Novy Mir* signed by eleven 'prominent' writers. More accurately, they were prominent in the realm of socialist realist literature, but hardly anyone remembers the names of Vyaly Zakrutkin or Sergei Malashkin today.

"The public denouncement read, 'Despite [Alexander] Dementiev's persistent appeals to not overestimate the danger of alien ideological influence, we claim again that the pervasion of bourgeois ideology remains the most

serious danger and might lead to progressive replacement of concepts of proletarian internationalism with cosmopolitan ideas, which are so dear to some critics and authors who are close to "New World". Collective letters were not favoured in those times—indeed, they were strictly punished. But as an exception, that denouncement was taken into consideration and resulted in a fatal ultimatum for Tvardovsky.

"This outcome came as no surprise. The denouncement had alluded to the magic word 'cosmopolitanism', which had been widely used in Stalin's times. Anyone familiar with the ways of the Soviet ideological establishment could understand how two people as different as Anatoly Sofronov and Sergei Vikulov—the editors of the conservative pro-Stalin magazine *Ogonyok* and the nationalist magazine *Nash Sovremennik* (Our Contemporary) respectively—could unite against 'cosmopolitanism'.<sup>5</sup>

The reader will probably recognise "*cosmopolitanism*" as a code word for 'Jew' and Yanov makes much of this, but I think it would be difficult to see anything very distinctively Jewish about *Novy Mir*. The common enemy of the Russian 'nationalists' and the 'Stalinists' was indeed, literally "*cosmopolitan liberalism*" of the type personified by Yanov himself and with the class of technocrats in the Soviet Union which Yanov identified as the most likely allies for what we might call—a little preemptively since the term (as a way of characterising the US and its allies) was not yet current—the "*international community*".

Yanov goes on, in *The Russian New Right*, to talk about a third controversial article in 'Young Guard', in 1970, after the fall of Tvardovsky—"On relative and eternal values" by Sergei Semanov:

"It contained as many odes to the 'national spirit' and praises of the 'Russian soil' and accusations of 'educated shopkeeper mentality' as Chalmaev's article; the October Revolution was described as a Russian national achievement; it asserted that 'in our society, services to the country (not to the cause of socialism—AY) are valued more highly than anything else'; and the chief sin of Trotskyism was declared to be 'the most profound aversion for our people (again, not for socialism—AY). its ... traditions ... its history.' However, the main point was the unprecedented assertion that 'the turning point in the struggle with destroyers and nihilists took place in the middle 1930s' and that 'it was precisely after the adoption of the new

Constitution that... all honest working people of our country were once and for all welded into a single and monolithic whole'..." (p.53).

This last phrase, Yanov says, almost did for *Molodaya Gvardia* what Demytyev had done for *Novy Mir*:

"A romantic, so to speak, Napoleonic legend about 'our Generalissimo' is one thing, and open praise for an epoch of mass murder of the 'old guard' is quite another. Semanov reminded people of precisely what should have been forgotten; with one blow he destroyed everything which had been begun so successfully a year ago by *Ogonek*, and put an end to the Rightist alliance. Thereby he gave the Propaganda Division a trump ace."

As a result the Editor of 'Young Guard', Anatoly Niknov, was dismissed as Tvardovsky had been dismissed from *Novy Mir*. But, as Yanov says in the later article,

"Valery Kosolapov, who succeeded Tvardovsky as editor-in-chief of *Novy Mir*, was also a liberal, and after the resignation of Anatoly Nikonov, 'Young Guard's' new editor-in-chief, Anatoly Ivanov, was also a nationalist. Such were the ritual and the logic of the Soviet centrist regime: radical representatives of both ideological wings of the opposition were shown their place. So they'd be more careful in the future."

Also in this later article Yanov quotes from an interview Semanov gave after the fall of the Soviet Union to Nikolay Mitrokhin, published in his book: *The Russian Party: Movement of the Russian Nationalists in the USSR, 1953–1985*, in which he explains how the world looked from within the 'Young Guard' circle:

"*Young Guard* magazine placed its biggest stake on enlightenment of the bosses (or more accurately, the 'deputy bosses'). The environment was free and friendly: everyone who didn't marry in Brezhnev's style—' (Brezhnev's wife was thought to be Jewish, an assumption that served as an explanation for his absolute indifference to the "Russian cause") '—and wasn't under the influence of the "wise men", seemed rather sensitive to *Young Guard's* ideas—and this was the fair majority of the upper ruling class. The ideas of the national character, order, traditionality, and rejection of destructive modernism of any kind—they all matched the beliefs of the fundamental part of the post-Stalin political elite... The majority of Russian intellectuals in the 1970s... remained more or less within the

mainstream of cosmopolitan liberalism. At that time, *Young Guard's* audience was chosen correctly in terms of political perspectives: dismissing the "key circles of intelligentsia", the magazine addressed the [Communist] party's middle class, the army, and the [common] people."

Yanov gives the impression that the row over Demytyev's article was directly responsible for Tvardovsky's fall. In fact the immediate occasion was the appearance of Tvardovsky's own autobiographical poem '*By right of memory*' in the emigré journal *Posev*. We may remember that publishing abroad (the practice nicknamed *tamizdat*) was also behind the problems of Pasternak, Sinyavsky and Daniel, and indeed Solzhenitsyn himself. In contrast, though, it must have been obvious that the loyal Tvardovsky was not himself responsible for the appearance of the poem in *Posev*. The incident occurred in the context of Solzhenitsyn's expulsion from the Soviet Writer's Union and his magnificent, but very aggressive protest of November 1969. Owing to the vigilance of the censor, *Novy Mir* had published nothing of substance by Solzhenitsyn since *Matryona's House* in 1963, but he was still defended by Tvardovsky and was on the *Novy Mir* payroll. According to Scammell (p.681):

"Tvardovsky is said to have exploded on being shown a copy of Solzhenitsyn's letter. 'He's finished us!' was his first reaction ..."

### Vadim Kozhinov And Nash Sovremennik

An interesting alternative account of the reaction to Demytyev's article and Tvardovsky's fall (and of Tvardovsky's role in Soviet literature in the 1960s) is given by Vadim Kozhinov.

Kozhinov's main claim to fame is that, as a young man in 1959, he discovered, living in obscurity, the literary theorist and philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin (1895-1985), a survivor, like Boris Pasternak and Anna Akhmatova, of what Berdiaev had called the "*silver age*"—the period of aesthetic and philosophical experimentation that was cut short by the Revolution and came to a final end about 1930. Bakhtin has since become very fashionable on an international scale. Kozhinov was one of his two literary executors and, according to Nicholas Rzhevsky:

"It is not an exaggeration to say that without Kozhinov's advocacy, from the early stages of discovery to the active

dissemination of works, Bakhtin would have been unlikely to have attained his current stature." <sup>6</sup>

But Kozhinov is also known as a "radical slavophile" (Riitta H. Pittman <sup>7</sup>) and as a "Stalin apologist" (Sommer and Chodakiewicz <sup>8</sup>). According to Sommer and Chodakiewicz:

"Kozhinov argues that the history of the Great Terror is a record of falsification: both Lenin and Stalin meant well and their only mistake was the lack of control over the secret police apparatus. Moreover, had other leaders, such as Mikhail Tomski and Nikolai Bukharin (who were shot for 'right-wing deviationism' in 1936 and 1938, respectively), seized power, the Great Terror would have been much more ruthless.

"Who is responsible then for the millions of victims of the Soviet purge years? No one. All the bloodletting was the function of impersonal forces of history. In the Russian context, according to Kozhinov, such deaths were the more or less natural result of a Time of Troubles (*velikaia smuta*) which, 'as everyone knows', occur cyclically in Russian history. There are repeated downturns and crises in capitalism that cannot be prevented. Why not in Soviet history as well?

"But in addition to being the result of the Time of Troubles, the Great Terror, according to Kozhinov, was also a period of imperial restoration for Russia. Is this a shocking logical misfire? No. It is a natural conclusion flowing from Marxist-Leninist dialectics, according to whose formula contradictions complement and pervade each other. Therefore, Kozhinov concludes (in logic recalling the tortured intellectual gymnastics of the Politburo) that restoration is a contradiction of revolution. The latter is utterly alien and damaging to Russia; the former is wholesome and healing. The less revolution occurs, the more the real Russia emerges. In fact, the restoration of Russia consists of countering the revolution in all its stages. Thus Stalin's Great Terror, with its millions of deaths, was actually a counterrevolution ('understandably a very relative one') to restore Russia.

"While defending Stalin's innocence, Kozhinov also touches upon the so-called 'Jewish problem'—from which he also exonerates the Soviet generalissimo. Stalin and his minions have nothing in common with the Black Hundred pogromist legacy of the end of the czar's regime. On the contrary, they really respected Jews. 'Why while discussing the phenomenon of "the year 1937" are so many Jewish names always mentioned?' Kozhinov asks. The explanation is obvious and entails the

deployment of Marxist dialectics and social Darwinism. Jews poured into Russia in the wake of the 1917 revolution because the ban on Jewish migrations outside of the Pale of Settlement was abolished. There were officially only 6,400 Jews in Moscow in 1912 and 241,700 in 1933. Their ascent occurred further because members of the traditional Russian elite were exterminated. The Russian Jews replaced them through a 'natural selection' process because, on the average, they were better educated than the rest of Russian society. The Jews adapted better to the new circumstances in the Soviet Union, and their 'overrepresentation' in Stalin's government and party institutions occurred 'naturally', just as the Great Terror did later on. Each was part of a complex social process of historical evolution that had little to do with Stalin himself. If Jews (and others) perished in the Terror, it was simply because of the inexorable forces of history. Jews were more heavily represented at the higher reaches of Soviet power than other groups, so more of them died.

"Incidentally, Kozhinov is virtually the sole neo-revisionist of 1937 who brings up Soviet Jews. Unlike the National Bolsheviks and neo-Nazis in today's Russia, the 'mainstream revisionists' have tended not to play the Jewish card. If anything, they deny that there was Jewish participation (or 'overrepresentation') in Communism, which they, for nationalistic reasons, insist was purely a Russian affair."

Kozhinov discusses Tvardovsky and *Novyi Mir* in an essay published in 1993 on his own relations with the rival magazine *Nash Sovremennik* ('Our Contemporary').<sup>9</sup> According to Riitta Pittman, writing in 1990:

"The most chauvinistic (and anti-semitic) strand of reactionary views is found in *Nash Sovremennik* whose Chief Editor, Sergei Vikulov, has frequently given space to contributions from the extremist sympathisers of the *Pamyat'* organisation".<sup>10</sup>

Yanov, in his account of the attack on Dementyev, referred to the coming together of—

"two people as different as Anatoly Sofronov and Sergei Vikulov—the editors of the conservative pro-Stalin magazine *Ogonyok* and the national magazine *Nash Sovremennik*."

The collective letter was published in *Ogonyok* but Vikulov was one of the people who signed it. In what could be read as a critique of Yanov's account, Kozhinov elaborates on the role of *Nash Sovremennik*:

"The slandering of *Nash Sovremennik* was directly connected to the history of another magazine, *Novyi Mir* (New World), particularly to the period when Alexander Tvardovsky was editor-in-chief of the latter. It is quite clear from an examination of the pre-1970 issues of *Novyi Mir* and the post-1970 numbers of *Nash Sovremennik* that more than half of the contributors to *Novyi Mir* began publishing their literary works in *Nash Sovremennik* after Tvardovsky's retirement in early 1970! Some of these writers were: F. Abramov, V. Astafiev, V. Belov, V. Bykov, O. Volkov, K. Vorobyov, S. Zalygin [the man who eventually, as editor of *Novyi Mir*, published *The Gulag Archipelago*—PB], F. Iskander, Y. Kazakov, A. Kondratovich, V. Likhonosov, E. Nosov, V. Tendryakov, G. Troepolsky, Y. Chernichenko, and V. Shukshin. All had been greatly valued by Tvardovsky (most were 'introduced' to readers by him), and after 1970 they became the leading authors of *Nash Sovremennik*. From this fact alone it is not possible to consider *Nash Sovremennik* the enemy of Tvardovsky.

"Another question concerns whether the authors published by *Novyi Mir* were essentially different. For example, Alexander Dementiev, a critic writing in the vein of socialist realism and famous from the late 1940s to the early 1990s as a fierce fighter against 'cosmopolitanism', ultimately became a kind of 'party commissar' under Tvardovsky, and in 1969 he published a crushing article in which, from an extremist communist position, he excoriated those writers who searched for the positive beginnings of Russia's historical experience, especially in the history of Russian Christianity. Several writers, including Sergei Vikulov, the editor of *Nash Sovremennik*, published in July 1969 a letter defending Russian values from the nihilism of Dementiev and other authors of his sort writing for *Novyi Mir*. In this letter the name Tvardovsky was never even mentioned. It is worth recalling that Alexander Solzhenitsyn, in his book *The Oak and the Calf*, sharply opposed the article by Dementiev. At the end of the eighties, however, several literary critics, especially on the pages of *Ogonek*, began to affirm falsely that the letter was aimed against Tvardovsky, and it was that very letter that led Tvardovsky to leave his post of editor-in-chief of *Novyi Mir*. The charge was an obvious lie. In fact, the Central Committee of the Communist Party forced Tvardovsky out (in 1970), declaring his poem 'Po pravu pamiati' (By Right of Memory), which had been published abroad, to be 'anti-Soviet'; the case was a repeat (though in 'softened form) of the Doctor Zhivago affair.

"I would like to assure everyone that

*Nash Sovremennik* always had a profound respect for Tvardovsky; in any case, it could not have been otherwise, for the leading authors began contributing to the magazine following Tvardovsky's resignation—after having written previously for *Novyi Mir*. The distorted and perverted view of the real situation in the literature of the sixties and seventies which was conveyed by *Ogonek* and other periodicals of its kind during the period of *glasnost* became a manifestation of the impudent policy of people alien to the main foundations of Russia.

"In the seventies and the early eighties *Nash Sovremennik* was published under most unfavorable conditions, with pressure coming from both the Central Committee and the censors. I myself, for example, as already mentioned, was deprived for six years of the possibility to contribute to the magazine. Almost every issue was 'cleared' by the censors and was sharply criticized after publication. During the same period *Nash Sovremennik*, if I might formulate it in elevated terms, was the place where the heart of Russia was still beating, the authentic Russia whose image had been created by Pushkin and Gogol, Dostoevsky and Tolstoy, Chekhov and Bunin, Pasternak and Sholokhov, Tvardovsky and Shukshin, and not the ideological myth bearing the name 'USSR'..." (p.35).

### The Yakovlev Affair

Following his account of the *Molodaya Gvardia* affair, Yanov goes on to discuss what he calls "*the Yakovlev affair*". He is referring to "*a gigantic article by Yakovlev, taking up two newspaper pages*" which appeared on 15th November 1972, in the mainstream Soviet journal *Literaturnaia gazeta* (to which Yanov himself was also a contributor) under the title *Against anti-historicism*.<sup>11</sup>

Alexander Yakovlev was an important figure in the *nomenklatura*. Yanov says that he—

"fulfilled the function of the head of the Propaganda Division of the Central Committee—that is to say, ideologist of the Party [...] He was performing the functions of a Division Head, but he was not named to the post. He was too far 'to the left'. His reputation had its obligations, and in order to justify his 'leftism', Yakovlev tried to move the centre of gravity of the Brezhnevist faction to the left. The most convenient political lever for doing this was the struggle against Russophilism. As far back as 1968, Yakovlev was trying to transform Russophilism into an object of political struggle 'upstairs'. He stood



behind the critical salvo fired at 'Chal-maevisism'; he stood behind the article in *Kommunist* [according to Yanov the authoritative pronouncement which finally ended the controversy over *Molodaya gvardia*]; he stood behind the session of the Secretariat of the Central Committee at which the fate of the editorial board of *Molodaya gvardia* was decided" (p.57).

But Yakovlev's real importance comes later and is reflected in the title of a book devoted to him, written by Richard Pipes: *Alexander Yakovlev: the man whose ideas delivered Russia from Communism*. The ideas were indicated in a memorandum submitted to Gorbachev in 1985 on "*The imperative of political development*". According to Pipes, "*During the six and a half years that Gorbachev served as General Secretary and President he was in almost daily contact with Yakovlev by phone or in person*".<sup>12</sup>

Pipes gives the full texts of both the 1985 Memorandum and the 1972 article, '*Against Anti-Historicism*'. They are both written in what the French call "*langue de bois*" ('wooden tongue' Soviet jargon), larded with quotes from Lenin. The 'historicism' defended in the first article is of course the march towards the radiant future of humanity proved by the science of dialectical materialism to be historically irresistible:

"the degree to which the eyes of the scholar or artist, capable of perceiving the novelty, are far-seeing; the degree to which the heart generously gladdens at the new; the degree to which the progress of his thought is profound in penetrating the future—on all this depends the social significance and buoyancy of the scientific or literary work. The question is to know how to accurately analyse and inspiringly to dream, or, to speak in Maiakovskii's words, 'to pin the day to the paper' and to peer into 'the Communist far away'..."

The anti-historicism that is attacked is nostalgia for a pre-industrial age when the Russian landscape was studded with pretty onion-domed Churches. As with Demytyev, a main target is writers associated with an obviously unreformed *Molodaya gvardia*, in particular again, Mikhail Lobanov:

"In M. Lobanov's book [*The courage of mankind*] we encounter concepts that have long set our teeth on edge: 'the enigma of Russia', 'the heavy cross of national consciousness', 'the mystery of the people, its tacit wisdom', 'the call of natural wholeness' and, in contrast,

'the corruptors of the national spirit'. These concepts contain not an ounce of concrete historical analysis. There is no understanding of the elementary facts—that 'the national feeling', 'the national spirit' of the Decembrists and of Nicholas I, of Chernyshevskii and Katkov [Mikhail Katkov, 1818-1887, leading advocate of a conservative, Western-style Russian nationalism—PB], of Plekhanov and Pobedonostsev [Konstantin Pobedonostsev, 1827-1907, Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod, the government department responsible for running the Orthodox Church, and advocate of an absolute Orthodox Christian autocracy—PB] are incompatible, that in a class society there is not and cannot be one and the same 'national consciousness' for all."

He quotes Kozhinov:

"Eating, whether in one's family or in company, has been since time immemorial a genuine religious rite and ceremony. It began and ended with a prayer of thanks', writes V.Kozhinov in the journal *Kodry* (no 3, 1971), drawing further a picture of 'Russian eating' with its abundance, beauty and 'spirituality' as something nationally special, something linked to 'millennial tradition, to the peoples tradition'. Doesn't all this sound abusive? ... Hunger, poverty, shackled peasants, and the lash of serfdom or, speaking in the language of Lenin, 'the slave past', 'the slave present', 'the great servility'—this is what was inextricably associated with the concept of patriarchal Russia, which the protagonists of 'eternal morality', people out of step with history, cherish in their imagination."

By way of contrast:

"Active socially transforming industry shaped in the village the character of the laboring collectivist, the Soviet patriot, a spiritually rich personality, for whom the world is not only the regions beyond the neighborhood, but the mighty and free Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Peasant sons today do not graciously worry about the 'self-regeneration of the patriarchal spirit' but they transform the soil, storm outer space!"

And he damns them through association with the appalling Solzhenitsyn and with *Vekhi* (which I discussed in the last article in this series):

"As is well-known, anti-Communism, in the search for a new means of struggle against the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, attempts to galvanise the ideology of *Vekhi*, the ideas of Berdiaev and other reactionary, nationalistic, religious-idealist conceptions of the

past, which were shattered by V.I.Lenin. A vivid example of this is the stir aroused in the West by the works of Solzhenitsyn, and especially by his most recent novel, *August 1914*, which follows *Vekhi* in its philosophy and the Constitutional Democrats in its politics—a novel that foists on the reader a negative attitude to the very ideas of revolution and socialism, denigrates the Russian liberational movement and its intellectual-ethical values [sic—it was of course 'the Russian liberational movement' that gave rise to the Constitutional Democratic Party!—PB]. idealises the life, the mores and the customs of autocratic Russia.

"Of course, Solzhenitsyn's novel is a manifestation of overt hostility to the ideals of revolution and socialism. It goes without saying that for Soviet writers, including those whose erroneous views are criticised in the present article, the behaviour of the latter-day Vekhovite is alien and offensive."

Although the emphasis is heavily on Russia, Yakovlev also, it should be said, criticises manifestations of non-Russian—Georgian, Kirghiz, Moldavian—nationalist writing, including a book of Armenian poetry published by *Novy Mir*:

"Sighs for rocks, ruins, monasteries fill the selection of poems 'The Poets of Armenia' (*Novy Mir*, No 6, 1972). The lyrical hero of one of the verses sits at the window and sees trucks carrying horses 'which for thousands of years have hauled and hauled, bearing along the history of mankind on their hardy cruppers, their hoofs hammering out that history' and it seems to him that one must save the past from the present. 'How should I save you, horses? All I can do is repress my tears, to give my soul for you ..."

But what is interesting in all this is that Yakovlev was punished for publishing what appears to be a perfectly conventional defence of the radiant future of humanity against what one would have expected Leninists to see as whining nostalgia for an idealised past. Pipes tells us that, ten days after it was published, an article in *Pravda* praised Yakovlev, saying that the—

"broad repercussions this essay produced in society were not by accident. Profoundly argued in a Party manner it clearly and principally asserted the necessity of a precise class and Marxist-Leninist approach to the evaluation of any manifestations of history and decisively refuted attempts at its distortion'..."

Nonetheless, Pipes continues:

"After the offending article had been discussed in high party circles, including the Politburo, Yakovlev was dismissed from his position of head [sic. Acting head, according to Yanov—PB] of the Central Committee Propaganda department and told that he would have to choose another post. He asked to be assigned as ambassador to an English language country [he had studied for a year, 1958-9, as a Fulbright scholar in Columbia University, leading to later charges that he was in the pay of the CIA—PB] and was appointed envoy to Canada."

Pipes, quoting Yakovlev's son, gives a relatively frivolous explanation for this—that Yakovlev—

"had spoken out in Communist Party circles against 'the excessive glorification of Brezhnev ... the article in *Literaturnaia gazeta* served as a pretext"

—but that hardly explains why it was an effective pretext. For Yanov:

"Like Dement'ev he suffered for a Marxist dogmatic article, for a 'refutation' of anti-party ideology. Who was behind this fall of the high-flying ideologist? [...] We can only guess. We know one thing: with his fall the campaign against Russophilism not only ceased to be the arena of political struggle, but was totally closed. One other thing is clear: very powerful forces 'upstairs' were concerned not to let the editorial board of *Molodaia gvardia* go under as did the editorial board of *Novy Mir* ..." (pp.59-60).

### The Policy Of 'Inclsionary Politics'

Yanov's view is confirmed in more detail in Yitzhak Brudny's book *Re-inventing Russia*, published in 2000.<sup>13</sup> According to Brudny:

"Behind the efforts to co-opt the *Molodaia gvardia* writers stood high-ranking neo-Stalinist members of the party *apparat*, especially in the Propaganda and Cultural Departments of the Central Committee of the *Komsomol*" (p.61).

What he calls "*the policy of inclusionary politics*" (a politics that 'included' the non-Soviet Russian patriotic theme) coincided with an attack launched on *Novy Mir* at the 23rd Congress, March-April 1966, when Tvardovsky was expelled from the Central Committee. The immediate occasion was the publication of an article by Andrei Sinyavsky in December 1964 attacking the novel *The Louse* by Soviet war hero Ivan Shevtsov. But in broader terms it was a reaction to the Khrushchev period, both to the

discrediting of Stalin and the attack on the Church, seen as a useful morale booster in the confrontation with the West. At a plenum of the *Komosmol* Central Committee, Yuri Verchenko, director of the *Molodaya gvardia* publishing house, had attacked works that raised concerns about prison camps, what happened to Soviet POWs etc. In 1966, the literary journal *Volga* was founded in Saratov, which published writers associated with *Molodaya gvardia*, including Lobanov. In 1982, Brudny tells us, *Volga* published Lobanov's *Osvobozhdenie—Liberation—*a denunciation of collectivisation and 'the most open Russian nationalist denunciation of Communist ideology and the entire Soviet historical experience to appear in the censored Soviet press' (p.123) resulting (p.135) in the suppression of the issue of the journal that contained the article and the dismissal of its Editors).

Lobanov's article had been a review of a novel by Mikhail Alekseev. In 1968, Alekseev (characterised by Yanov—'New Right', p.51—as a representative of 'the orthodox Stalinist Right') became Editor of the journal *Moskva* which he used to promote 'village prose' and *Molodaya gvardia* writers. In the same year, Sergei Vikulov became head of *Nash Sovremennik*. Vikulov, from the Russian North East "had strong personal ties with many *Novy Mir* associated village prose writers from the area." He appointed Viktor Chalmaev as his Deputy Chief. (Brudny, pp.64-5)

Kozhinov has it that this showed a continuity between *Nash Sovremennik* and *Novy Mir*, but Brudny sees it as a policy of detaching these writers from the *Novy Mir liberal camp*.

While all this was happening, a movement had been launched in May 1964, shortly before Khrushchev's downfall, for the study and preservation of ancient monuments, including Churches (VOOPIK). At the 1965 *Komsomol* plenum, Vasilii Peskov had condemned the destruction of churches, and in May 1965, *Molodaya gvardia* published a '*Letter of the Three*' (painter Pavel Korin, sculptor Sergei Konnenkov, writer Leonid Leonov), protesting against the destruction of churches and putting forward the slogan '*Preserve our Sacred Place*' which from July 1965 became the title of a regular column in the journal which called, not just for the preservation of buildings, but for the rehabilitation of the Orthodox Church itself (Brudny,

pp.68-9). The movement was supported by Vasilii Shauro who became head of the Cultural Department of the Central Committee in November 1965. But he was subject to the Propaganda Committee which was split between Vladimir Stepanov, appointed in May 1966, who sympathised with this development, and Yakovlev, who opposed it (p.63).

But Yakovlev's exile to Canada did not signify a final victory for the patriots. Far from it. The main direction of policy by 1972 was towards *détente*, which implied a pro-Western orientation. As Yanov put it in 1978 (p.60):

"the true lesson of the "Yakovlev affair" was [...] that someone would not allow the Establishment Right to share the fate of the Establishment Liberals [...] that the editorial board of *Molodaia gvardia*, which was politically defeated, nonetheless retained its personnel, its position, its ideological ammunition. What for? Only the future can answer—after Brezhnev."

### Where Does Solzhenitsyn Fit In?

In relation to Solzhenitsyn this story is full of irony. In 1972 Solzhenitsyn was still in the Soviet Union. He had lost the support of *Novy Mir* and all possibility of legal publication and was living in the *dacha* of the cellist Mstislav Rostropovich—

"the biggest present I remember ever receiving ... here in the incomparable peace and quiet of the special zone (where *they* live there are neither loudspeakers nor tractors to be heard), under the pure trees and the pure stars, it was easy to be firm and keep calm" (*Oak and Calf*, p.270).

But, by 1972,

"Rostropovitch had begun to grow weary and to weaken under protracted siege with no hope of relief, with the loss of the post he loved best, his conductorship at the Bolshoi, the banning of his best Moscow concerts, the termination of those trips abroad which had become a habit and used to occupy half his life. The question grew bigger all the time: Was it right for one artist to wither so that another might flourish?" (p.336).

In the peace and calm of the *dacha* he was busy with writing *The Red Wheel* and planning the best circumstances to launch *The Gulag Archipelago*. He was also working with Shafarevich on *From under the rubble*. But meanwhile a legal literature existed that expressed ideas very close to his heart—a love of the

non-Soviet Russian tradition, of the Russian peasantry and its way of life independent of the *kolkhoz* and Soviet bureaucracy, a respect for the Church even, a suspicion of industry, a concern with ecological issues.

Solzhenitsyn himself had played an important role in this development with *Matryona's House* when, according to Itzhak Brudny,

"he became the first Russian writer in the post Stalin era to combine an open criticism of party politics in the countryside with an equally open challenge to the official cult of modernity and the modern lifestyle. This combination became a distinctive mark of the ideology of the conservative wing of the Village Prose movement in the Brezhnev era."

One of Solzhenitsyn's closest friends in the *Novy Mir* circle, Boris Mozhaev, was a leading member of the Village Prose school and in the *Sketches of Exile*, he says:

"But the hope that is unquestionably coming to the surface of Soviet life all the same lies with the 'ruralists' who, at the present time, under the Soviet yoke, continue the tradition of Russian literature. Shukshin, with his strong personality, is dead, but there is Astafiev, Belov, Mozhaev, Evgeny Nosov. They haven't stumbled, they've kept going. And suddenly the rapid, confident breakthrough of Valentine Rasputin [no relation!—PB]—with the great qualities of his heart and his profound understanding of things (and little by little Soloukhin is toughening up, who got soft moving in the higher literary spheres). Its now more than ten years that the 'ruralists' have stayed faithful and write—and despite certain additions imposed by the official canons or certain forced silences, one can see emerging through their books the real authentic language and the life of the people who are humiliated in our time, and the foundations of a morality that owes nothing to conventions of the governing power" (p.50).

And in his 1979 BBC interview:

"During these last few years while I have been in exile in the West, I have been impressed and delighted by the Russian literary writings that have been coming out. And this successful writing has been achieved not by the free emigre writers, not through the abundance of so-called self-expression, but back in our Russian homeland where writers are aching [sic—acting?—PB] under enormous pressure. Moreover this success has been achieved in what is the real heart and core of Russian literature—in that area which Soviet

literary critics half-contemptuously refer to as the 'literature of the countryside'. This is in fact the most difficult area attempted in the works of our Russian classic writers. It is in this area that there has been some outstanding Soviet writing in the last few years, despite all the restrictions. I could easily name five or six of these writers and give the titles of their books—some of them have written more than one—and an analysis of their achievements. But speaking as I am from America, I have no right to do that in a broadcast to Russia: the authorities would start reproaching those writers—'It's not for nothing that Solzhenitsyn is praising you', and so on. But I think the authors concerned, and their readers too, will understand of whom I am speaking. It's hard for us to appraise the standard of contemporary literary writing: but such a level in the depiction of peasant life from the inside, how the peasant feels towards the earth around him, towards nature, towards his own labor—such a level of unforced, organic imagery, springing straight from the life of the people—such a level of poetic, rich, popular language—this was the level to which our Russian classic writers aspired, but which they never achieved, not Turgenev, nor Nekrasov, nor even Tolstoy. And the reason why they could not achieve it was that they themselves were not peasants. For the first time, peasant authors are now writing about themselves. And today's readers can now enjoy the subtleties they find on the pages of these authors."

Yet this movement was not a marginal, barely tolerated phenomenon. Between 1971 and 1982 a total of 13,737,840 copies of books were published by Astafiev alone. He won the USSR State Prize in 1978 and the Gorky Prize in 1975.<sup>14</sup> Nosov had 6,640,150 copies of books published in the same period, Shuksin 6,537,500 and he was awarded the Lenin Prize, posthumously, in 1976. Belov 4,006,000 copies and the USSR State Prize in 1981, Rasputin 3,478,600 and the USSR State Prize in 1975. They were supported within the *nomenklatura* by what we might call the anti-Khrushchevite, anti-'liberal' tendency, overlapping with surprising ease—despite the implicit, and increasingly explicit anti-collectivisation of the ruralists—with the tendency that wanted to defend the memory of Stalin, being most concerned to maintain a defensive hostility towards the West (while Solzhenitsyn in the US was trying to toughen up the West's defensive hostility to the Soviet Union—they had in common from their different angles an opposition to

*détente*); and to assert a continuity of the 'Russian' tradition through the Stalin era (while Solzhenitsyn insisted that Bolshevism, continuous through Lenin and Stalin, was profoundly in opposition to the Russian tradition).

Indeed, when in 1973 Solzhenitsyn wrote his *Letter to the Soviet Leaders* advocating something very close to the 'Village prose' ideal of an ecologically conscious Russian patriotism, he may well have had reason to think there were elements among the leaders who would look on it sympathetically—who were already convinced that 'Russia' was a stronger, more motivating idea than Marxism-Leninism. And who may even have had a soft spot for rural Russia. According to William Korey,

"A close study of the top 306 party executives on both national and regional levels (in 1958 and 1962) shows that almost half of them have peasant fathers. Only 6 per cent have white-collar origins, while a little more than a quarter come from the proletariat."<sup>15</sup>

This should also perhaps be borne in mind when considering the apparently extreme hostility Solzhenitsyn experienced from many of the Soviet dissidents.

### **Yakovlev And The Liberal Revolution**

The paradox can perhaps be seen through the subsequent career of Alexander Yakovlev.

It was as Ambassador in Canada that Yakovlev met Gorbachev in 1983. Gorbachev was at the time a *protégé* of the General Secretary, ex-KGB head and a particular enemy of Solzhenitsyn's, Yuri Andropov. According to Pipes:

"On May 20th, the two men [Yakovlev and Gorbachev] were scheduled for a joint visit to the farm of the Canadian Minister of Agriculture, Eugene Whelan. Because of bad weather, the minister was late and they had an opportunity to engage in serious conversation ... Yakovlev later asserted that four fifths of what was to become *perestroika* had been articulated on this occasion. As he recalled: 'in all these conversations the future contours of the reorganisation of the Soviet Union appeared to take shape'..."

Gorbachev brought Yakovlev back to the USSR and put him in charge of the influential Institute of World Economy and International Relations. Gorbachev himself became General Secretary in 1985 and in December of that year Yakovlev submitted his memorandum—*The Imperative of Political Development*

—calling for:

"the development of the individual as an independent, creative, conscious force, united with others in its thoughts and actions. The transformation of every human into a genuine master of the country ... the transformation of every human being into a personality ('lichnost') who stands consciously on the socialist terrain and is in command of at least the rudiments of the dialectical-materialistic method of thinking (the unchaining of thought!) without which the development of his creative character is unattainable."

One wonders if Pipes (in his extraordinarily thin and superficial book) has rendered Yakovlev a service by reproducing this.

"In a certain sense socialism and democracy are identical because it is precisely under socialism that democracy, in the broad sense of the word, is concurrently the means and the goal of the movement. In fact we are democratic but in form often anti-democratic [one might have thought it was the other way round—PB] [...]."

"Socialism is a more diverse system, providing alternative choices and, in particular, for this reason a system that is by its nature profoundly democratic because democracy is above all the freedom (even in the capacity of realised necessity) of choice. But with us there is the absence of alternative, there is centralisation."

The job, then, is to provide a "socialist alternative" so that the people will have a choice:

"There should be freedom of choice but exclusively and fully on a socialist basis. [...]"

"The very process should be directed not only from above but also from below, by the hands of the masses, while the party directs and instructs them in democratic as well as consciously socialist forms of existence and thought. 'Democracy ought to become a habit' [...]"

He goes on to make a number of practical proposals, including:

"Liquidation of castes; the state bureaucracy, the party machine, the military, intellectuals, technocracy, writers, artists and others [...] It may be that at a certain stage it will be necessary to carry out a purge of the party in order to be rid of elements who compromise it."

"We can govern only when we correctly express what the people are conscious of (Lenin) [...]"

"More complete democracy by virtue of less formality, greater ease of

election and recall' (Lenin) [...]"

"the state is strong only when the masses know everything, when they can judge everything and are prepared to do everything consciously' (Lenin)..."

Hence *Glasnost*.

In practical terms, he argues for a functioning Legislature independent of the Executive, an independent Judiciary, Elections with more than one candidate—"one can limit the number of nominated candidates (but no fewer than two)"—a law guaranteeing Human Rights—"inviolability of persons, property and residence, about the privacy of correspondence, telephone conversations, private life".

But perhaps most radically, he proposes turning the Communist Party into a 'Communist Union' which would have a united *politburo* but would be made up of "two parties: Socialist and National Democratic", thus giving the people a choice. He slips this in at the end of the memo without elaborating on what is distinctive about the 'National Democratic' party. Is it not 'socialist'? is it perhaps the 'Russian Nationalist' tendency which undoubtedly by this time existed in the Communist Party?

TO BE CONTINUED

<sup>1</sup> Janis Sapiets and British Broadcasting Corporation: Interview with Solzhenitsyn, *The Kenyon Review*, New Series, Vol. 1, No. 4 (Autumn, 1979), pp. 3-11.

<sup>2</sup> 'Social Contradictions and the Social Struggle in the Post-Stalinist USSR: Essays by Alexander Yanov', *International Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 6, No. 2/3, (Summer-Fall, 1976), pp. 184-219.

<sup>3</sup> In *Church & State*, No.122, Oct-Dec 2015, quoting Pipes: *Russia under the old régime*, p. 251.

<sup>4</sup> Alexander Yanov: *The Young Guard, or "Russification of the Spirit"* part two, accessible at <http://imrussia.org/en/analysis/nation/771-the-young-guard-or-russification-of-the-spirit-part-2>.

<sup>5</sup> Yanov: *The Resurrection of "Cosmopolitanism" and the consolidation of the Russian Party*, <http://imrussia.org/en/analysis/nation/791-the-resurrection-of-cosmopolitanism-and-the-consolidation-of-the-russian-party>

<sup>6</sup> Nicholas Rzhevsky: 'Kozhinov on Bakhtin', *New Literary History*, vol 25, no 2, Spring 1994, p.430.

<sup>7</sup> Riitta H. Pittman: 'Perestroika and Soviet cultural politics: the case of the major literary journals', *Soviet Studies*, vol 42, No 1 (Jan, 1990), p.128.

<sup>8</sup> Tomasz Sommer and Marek Jan Chodakiewicz: 'Average Joe: The Return of Stalin apologists', *World Affairs*, vol 173, No 5 (Jan/Feb 2011), pp.76-7.

<sup>9</sup> Vadim Kozhinov: 'The magazine *Nash Sovremennik* (Our contemporary) and Russian literature', *World Literature Today*, vol 67, No 1 (Winter 1993), pp.34-6.

<sup>10</sup> Pittman op.cit., p.129. There seem to have been several bodies called *Pamyat'*

(memory) but the term is usually used to refer to the militant monarchist anti-semitic "'People's National-patriotic Orthodox Christian movement'" led by Dmitry Vasiliev which emerged in the 1980s out of the 'Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments' (see later in the present article). If Vikulov did give space to Vasiliev's group it must have been after the break-up of the Soviet Union.

<sup>11</sup> *Russian New Right*, p.58. The series for the Institute of Modern Russia doesn't continue this far though it promised to go further. The last article in the series as published was dated August 2014.

<sup>11</sup> Richard Pipes: *Alexander Yakovlev: the man whose ideas delivered Russia from Communism*, Illinois, Northern Illinois University Press, 2015. I have it in a Kindle edition that doesn't give page numbers.

<sup>13</sup> Yitzhak Brudny: *Reinventing Russia - Russian Nationalism and the Soviet State, 1953-1991*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2000.

<sup>14</sup> Figures from Brudny, *op.cit.*, p.105.

<sup>15</sup> William Korey: 'The Origins and development of Soviet Anti-Semitism: an analysis', *Slavic Review*, vol.31, No 1 (March 1972), pp.123-4. His own source is George Fischer: *The Soviet System and Modern Society*, New York 1968. He is using these figures to help explain what he sees as the Soviet leadership's susceptibility to anti-semitism.

## Peter Brooke

Due to an Editorial oversight, the Notes to this series were omitted from the last four instalments.

Here are some of them

### Some Missing Notes

#### Part Two - confronting the Soviet regime

1. Alexander Solzhenitsyn: *Letter to Soviet Leaders*, translation by Hilary Sternberg with a preface by Michael Scammell, London, Index on Censorship, 1973. In *Le Grain tombé entre les meules - esquisses d'exil, tome 1*, Fayard, 1998, p. 393, Solzhenitsyn says (my translation from the French): 'Starting with the *Letter to the Leaders* the ban on criticising me or mounting accusations against me which society had imposed on itself was lifted and angry voices could be heard from all sides.'
2. Dimitri Panine: *Soljénitsyne et la réalité*, translation by Marie-Noëlle Desbrosses and Jacob Gregory, Paris, La Table ronde, 1976, (first published in Russian 1975)
3. Alexandre Soljénitsyne: *Mars dix-sept*, tome 3, Fayard, 1998 (first published in Russian 1987), pp.60-63.
4. Alexandre Soljénitsyne: *Avril dix-sept*, Fayard, 2009 (first published in Russian 1991), pp.515-518.
5. Steven Kotkin: *Stalin, Vol. I: Paradoxes of Power, 1878-1928*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 2015 (first published in hard cover 2014).
6. I hope to discuss this question of Solzhenitsyn's attitude to the 'Jackson amendment' and the specifically Jewish

nature of the third emigration in more detail in a later article.

7. Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn: *In The first circle*, translated by Harry Willetts, New York, HarperCollins, 2009., pp.180-181.

### Part Three - Sympathy for the Devil

1. Alexandre Soljénitsyne: *Réflexions sur la révolution de Février*, French translation by Nikita Struve, Fayard, 2007 (published in Russian, 1995).
2. Der Spiegel, 07/23/2007. English translation accessible at <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/spiegel-interview-with-alexander-solzhenitsyn-i-am-not-afraid-of-death-a-496003-druck.html>
3. Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn: *The Gulag Archipelago*, Vol 3, translation by Harry Willetts, New York, HarperPerennial, 2007. English translation first published 1978 (first published in Russian 1976), pp.27-30. Outrageously the 2007 edition has a foreword by the anti-Russian propagandist Anne Applebaum. It is difficult to see how this could have been agreed by the Solzhenitsyn estate.
4. From *The Oak and the Calf* (Collins/Fontana ed, p.218) we learn that Solzhenitsyn reworked 'Circle 96' in 1968 so we can't be sure that it all predates 'Circle 87'.
5. Joseph de Maistre: *Considérations sur la France*, Brussels, Éditions Complexe, 1988.
6. Joseph de Maistre: *De la souveraineté du peuple - un anti-contrat social*, Vendôme, Presses Universitaires de France, 1992.

### Part four - Solzhenitsyn's Jews

1. Interview with Lydia Chukovskaya, *Moscow News*, January 1-7, 2003. Available at <http://www.orthodoxytoday.org/articles/ChukovskayaSolzhenitsyn.php?articles/ChukovskayaSolzhenitsyn.htm>
2. Richard Pipes: 'Solzhenitsyn and the Jews, Revisited - Review of "Alone Together"', *New Republic*, November 25, 2002. Available at <http://www.benadorassociates.com/article/141>
3. Alexandre Soljénitsyne: *Le Grain tombé entre les meules - esquisses d'exil t.1*, Fayard, 1998. The book isn't yet available in English translation so extracts given here, from this and from the second volume, are my translation from the French.
4. Heinz Schurer: 'Alexander Helphand-Parvus - Russian revolutionary and German patriot', *The Russian Review*, vol 18, no 4, pp.313-331. According to Tony Cliff (*Trotsky: Towards October 1879-1917*, ch 6 'Trotsky and Parvus: The inception of the theory of permanent revolution' (available at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/cliff/works/1989/trotsky1/06-parvus.html>) Trotsky's pamphlet was called 'Up to the 9th January'. Solzhenitsyn (November 1916, p.639) has Lenin ruminating on Parvus' 'grotesque fantasy about the possibility of a socialist party wining power and turning it against the majority of the people, suppressing the trade unions.'
5. Schurer says that while Trotsky had arrived in January, Parvus didn't arrive until October and, though he had certainly been Trotsky's mentor, he was in 1905 very much in his shadow.
6. Daniel Rancour-Laferriere: 'A Psycho-analytic View of Solzhenitsyn', *Soviet*

*Jewish Affairs*, November 1985, p.33. Rancour-Laferriere concludes that Solzhenitsyn is not anti-semitic in the obvious sense but that he suffers from a subconscious and unhappy 'Jewish shadow identity', a feeling that perhaps he is himself a Jew.

7. The term "pumping in" is quoted not from Harry Willetts' translation of *November 1916/Lenin in Zurich* but from the Russian original. The references to "demonic seed" and "embryo of the revolution" are not quotations from Solzhenitsyn but from Emil Kogan: 'A Pillar of Salt: The Political psychology of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn' Paris 1982 (in Russian)
8. Konstantin Nikolayevich Leontyev (1831-1891). Conservative Russian philosopher 'who advocated closer cultural ties between Russia and the East in order to oppose the catastrophic egalitarian, utilitarian and revolutionary influences from the West' (Wikipedia).
9. Nikolay Alexeyevich Nekrasov (1821-1878). Publisher and poet. He also published Chernyshevsky and early Dostoyevsky and Tolstoy.
10. Pavel Aleksandrovich Krushevan (1860-1909), first publisher of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, thought to have inspired the Kishinev pogrom in 1903; Alexander Ivanovich Dubrovin (1855-unknown, caught up in the confusion of the post-Revolution period), leader of the more militant wing of the anti-semitic Union of the Russian People; Vladimir Mitrofanovich Purishkevich (1870-1920), one of the founders of the Union of the Russian People and in 1908, after quarreling with Dubrovin, of the Union of Archangel Michael.
11. Mikhail Herzenstein and Grigori Borisovich Iollos, both Jewish deputies for the Constitutional Democratic Party ('Cadets') in the First Duma were murdered, Herzenstein in 1906 and Iollos in 1907.
12. *Octobrists*. Politicians who supported the Tsar's 1905 October Manifesto which allowed a certain element of democracy in the Russian system. Recognising this as insufficient they still supported it as a basis for further evolution.
13. Vasily Vasilievich Rozanov (1856-1919) philosopher who championed what he believed to be a pre-Christian religion based on sexual feeling. Solzhenitsyn doesn't mention that soon after the assassination of Stolypin, in response to the Beilis trial when a Kievan Jew was accused of ritual murder, Rozanov wrote 'a book under the provocative title *Olfactory and Tactile Attitude of Jews to Blood* (1914). In this book he tried to prove that Beilis was able to murder the boy because he was driven by the power of ancient cells which had existed in Jewish bodies from the times of antiquity when humankind practiced human sacrifice.' (account of Rozanov at [http://www.isfp.co.uk/russian\\_thinkers/vasily\\_rozanov.html](http://www.isfp.co.uk/russian_thinkers/vasily_rozanov.html))
14. Alexandre Soljénitsyne: *Deux siècles ensemble*, t.1, pp.484-488. There is an English translation of this passage at <https://souloftheeast.org/2011/09/07/solzhenitsyn-stolypins-murder/> I have made some alterations on the basis of the French translation.
15. Alexandre Soljénitsyne: *Esquisses d'exil - Le grain tombé entre les meules*, t.2, Fayard, 2005.

16. Article by Lars-Erik Nelson in the *Evening Independent*, 26th February 1986.

### Part five - Solzhenitsyn's Russians part one

1. Alexander Solzhenitsyn et al: *From under the rubble*, translated under the direction of Michael Scammell, London, Collins and Harvill, 1975. In Russian, Paris, YMCA-Press, 1974.
2. For those who understand these things. Shafarevich's name is evoked in the Shafarevich-Tate group; the Shafarevich-Weil theorem; the Shafarevich reciprocity law; the Artin-Hasse-Shafarevich exponential map; the Shafarevich basis of the group of principle units; the Golod-Shafarevich theorem on class field towers; the Grothendieck-Ogg-Shafarevich formula for arithmetic surfaces; the relative Shafarevich theorem; the Shafarevich conjecture for holomorphic convexity; the Shafarevich complex; the Kostrikin-Shafarevich conjecture (Ko-S 66), the Shafarevich basis in the Milnor K-Groups of a multidimensional local field; the Néron-Ogg-Shafarevich criterion; the Rudakov-Shafarevich lattice; and the Shafarevich maps. Listed in Krista Berglund: *The Vexing case of Igor Shafarevich, a Russian political thinker*, Springer Basel A.G., 2012.
3. Igor Chafarévitch: *La Russophobie*, Éditions chapitre douze, 1993 for the French translation by Alexandre Volsky. I don't know of an English translation. The French translation is prefaced with an 'avertissement' which reads: 'Some readers may be shocked by the publication of the French translation of *Russophobia* which some have not hesitated to call a fascist and racist polemic. This essay which originally circulated in *samizdat* in the 1980s and was published three years ago [ie in 1990 - PB] in hundreds of thousands of copies by the literary review *Nach sovremennik* is nonetheless an historic document of the greatest importance both through the personality of its author and of those who back him and through the popularity in Russia of the doctrines which inspire him against which we believe a struggle is still necessary.'
4. The English word 'smatters' obviously isn't quite adequate. In a footnote in his biography of Solzhenitsyn, Michael Scammell, who devised the word, elaborates: 'Solzhenitsyn's word is derived from the Russian for "schooling" and implies that anyone who has been to school in the Soviet Union, and has a smattering of knowledge, tends to think of himself as an *intelligent* or intellectual.' (p.823).
5. Boris Shragin and Albert Todd (ed): *Landmarks - a collection of essays on the Russian intelligentsia, 1909* translated by Marian Schwarz, New York, Karz Howard, 1977.
6. Randall A. Poole (ed): *Problems of Idealism - essays in Russian social history*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2003.
7. Nicolas Berdyaev: *Dream and reality - an essay in autobiography*, translation by Katharine Lampert, London, Geoffrey Bles, 1950.
8. Leonard Schapiro: 'The "Vekhi" Group and the mystique of revolution', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol 34, no 82 (Dec 1955), pp. 56-76.
9. Conventional Soviet view of *Vekhi*. Georgi



- Plekhanov: *Selected Philosophical Works, volume II*, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1976, p.659 (fn 173).
10. V.I.Lenin: 'Concerning Vekhi', *Novy Dyen*, no 15, Dec 13, 1909, accessible at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1909/dec/13.htm>
  11. Note to Shragin (ed): Landmarks, pp.187-9.
  12. Through a collaboration between the YMCA officer responsible for Russians outside Russia, the American Paul B. Anderson, and Berdyaev, the YMCA in the 1920s became the major publisher of Russian religious literature during the Soviet period (and the *Vekhi* group enjoyed an influence greater than they might have done otherwise). Nikita Struve took over in 1955 by which time the American YMCA had lost interest though Anderson was still alive and helpful. Under Struve the YMCA Russian press was taken over by the Russian Student Christian Movement. The name YMCA press was retained. Struve opened a bookshop in Paris in the rue Montée Sainte Geneviève which was to become a favourite haunt of the present writer. The relationship with Solzhenitsyn began with the publication in 1970 of *August 1917* although they had previously, in 1968, published an unauthorised version of *Cancer Ward*, obtained through *samizdat*. See Matt Miller: *The Russian YMCA Press: Preserver and Patron of Russian Orthodox Culture* at <http://www.eastwestreport.org/24-english/e15-3/177-the-russian-ymca-press-preserver-and-patron-of-russian-orthodox-culture>
  13. Alexander Solzhenitsyn: *The Oak and the calf - a memoir*, translated by Harry Willets, Collins/Harvill press, 1980.
  14. The play [defending The Vlasovites who fought for Germany in WWII] was not published in Russian until 1981. An English translation - *Victory celebrations* - was published together with *The Prisoners and The Love-girl and the innocent*, also plays, in 1985 (Farrar, Straus and Giroux). The version I have read is the French translation in Alexandre Soljénitsyne: *Oeuvres dramatiques - tome 3 des oeuvres complètes*, Fayard 1986. In an author's note Solzhenitsyn says 'The play was not circulated in *samizdat*. It is published today [presumably 1981 - PB] for the first time.'
  15. Michael Scammell: *Solzhenitsyn*, Paladin Books, 1986 (first published in 1985).
  16. Alexander Yanov: *The Russian New Right - Right wing ideologies in the contemporary USSR*, Berkeley, Institute of International Studies, 1978. An updated version of much the same text can be found at <http://imrussia.org/en/authors/alexander-yanov>
  17. Solzhenitsyn in *The Oak and the calf*, p.245, refers to 'two articles by the obscure and mediocre journalist Chalmayev (probably with someone cleverer looking over his shoulder)'. I suspect that in referring to two articles by Chalmaev, Solzhenitsyn and Scammell following him (p.269) have in mind the articles by Lobanov and Chalmaev.
  18. Extracts from Chalmaev's article, taken from John Dunlop: *The Faces of Contemporary Russian Nationalism*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983, pp. 281-287, can be found at <http://soviethistory.msu.edu/1968-2/the-russian-village/the-russian-village-texts/chalmaev-on-inevitability/> Lacunae not in square brackets as in this probably shortened version.
  19. Yitzhak Brudny: *Reinventing Russia - Russian Nationalism and the Soviet State, 1953-1991*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2000.
  20. Geoffrey Hosking: 'The Russian peasant rediscovered: "Village Prose" of the 1960s', *Slavic Review*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Dec., 1973), pp. 705-724.
  21. Note by Hosking: 'Vladimir Soloukhin's 'Vladimirskie proselki' was first published in *Novyi mir*, 1957, no. 9, pp. 82-141, and no. 10, pp. 75-134. It is available in an English translation by Stella Miskin: *A Walk in Rural Russia* (London, 1966; New York, 1967).'
  22. Note by Hosking: 'The numbers of Dorosh's 'Derevenskii dnevniki' can be found in *Literaturnaia Moskva*, 1956, no. 2, pp. 549-626, and in *Novyi mir*, 1958, no. 7, pp. 3-27; 1961, no. 7, pp. 3-51; 1962, no. 10, pp. 9-46; 1964, no. 6, pp. 11-83; 1965, no. 1, pp. 81-87; 1969, no. 1, pp. 3-41, and no. 2, pp. 6-59; 1970, no. 9, pp. 39-73. His hopes and fears for the future of the Russian village are most succinctly presented in the last number, *Novyi mir*, 1970, no. 9, esp. pp. 49-56.'
  23. Geoffrey A.Hosking: 'Vasilii Belov - Chronicler of the Soviet village', *The Russian Review*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (Apr., 1975), pp. 165-185
  24. Vladimir Soloukhin: *Searching for icons in Russia*, translated by P.S.Falla, London, Harvill Press, 1971.
  25. [On the monetary value of Soloukhin's collection of icons] According to the obituary published in *The Independent*, 9th April, 1997.
  26. Soljénitsyne: *Esquisses d'exil* t.2, pp.330-331.



This postcard from Muriel MacSwiney to the *Irish Independent* was sent in by a reader who found it in an old book. It says: "That every young priest in & around Dublin has a house & a housekeeper! is mise le meas Muirghéal Bean Mhich Suibhne, Mrs. Terence MacSwiney".



**Lord Palmerston's Sligo Tenants**

On 29th March 1847, Palmerston (1784-1865)—who was British Prime Minister in 1855-1858 and 1859-1865—wrote to his land agent, J. Kincaid : In this letter he orders his agent to act on—

"...the purpose of sending off this Spring the whole nine hundred (tenants) and I wish you to do so. If the next year should be as bad in Ireland as the present one is it will be a Mercy to these people and an economy to me to send them this Spring to Canada; If next year should prove less disastrous in Ireland those who might remain out of the nine hundred would probably change their mind and not be willing next Spring to go, and they would linger on to their disadvantage and to mine".

He goes on to say that they will do well in Canada and concludes by threatening those who remain as follows:

"my Sligo tenants, that any of them who do not this Spring cultivate their lands will be turned out without fail" (29.3.1847).

During the *Confiscation of Connacht* (1650s), land was divided up amongst Cromwell's adventurers and soldiers. The two main beneficiaries in County Sligo were the Gore-Booth family of Lissadell, who were given 32,000 acres, and Sir John Temple, who became the 1st Viscount Palmerston in 1723. He was granted 12,000 acres. Rents of Sir John Temple's properties were collected by middlemen and forwarded to the family in Hampshire, England.

His descendent was Henry John Temple, Third Viscount Palmerston, better known as Lord Palmerston who eventually served two terms as Prime Minister of Britain. Palmerston's record during the Famine has been described as shameful.

Black '47 refers to 1847, the worst year of the Famine Holocaust. In 1847, nine passenger ships carrying over 2,000 people left Sligo port. The ships were filled with Lord Palmerston's evicted

tenants who arrived in Canada half-naked, half-starved and totally destitute. The city of St. John in Quebec province, which had taken many of the emigrants, sent Palmerston an angry scathing letter complaining of his treatment of his tenants which showed "total lack of regard to humanity or even common decency". The graves of many of these unfortunate victims can be seen today on the old Quarantine Station, now a museum, at Grosse Ile near Quebec.

Palmerston was a Tory. It is said that he had no enduring achievement to his credit and he left many bitter legacies. Salisbury said that Palmerston too often induced his country to "back the wrong horse". On the contrary, this writer believes Palmerston was the very epitome of the Imperial policy of "divide and rule" on continental Europe.

He had a number of biographers but one interesting biography was by Karl Marx in 1853: *The Story of the Life of Lord Palmerston*. The Tories described it as "...the caustic but accurate life by Karl Marx".

Incidentally, at least 10 Dublin thoroughfares honour his name.

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**Too True!**

"It is easy to sleep on another man's wound." Old Gaelic proverb.

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**Vatican Embassy**

*RTE*—4.11.2011. Tánaiste Eamon Gilmore has announced plans to close three of Ireland's diplomatic missions, including its embassy to the Vatican.

*THE IRISH SUN*—16.4.2012. Gilmore is adamant—embassy in Vatican will not reopen. *Sunday Independent*: Labour says no to Vatican embassy.

*IRISH NEWS*—26.9.2013. Gilmore stands firm on Vatican Embassy by Cathal Barry. Tánaiste has 'no plans' to reopen Vatican Embassy.

*IRISH INDEPENDENT*—3.12.2013. Eamon Gilmore today gave his strongest indication yet that he is willing to reopen

the Irish embassy in the Vatican.

*THE JOURNAL.ie*—21.1.2014. Eamon Gilmore has said that the decision to reopen an embassy in the Vatican was not about the election of the new Pope.

*IRISH TIMES*—22.1.2014. Tánaiste Eamon Gilmore has linked the Government's decision to reopen the Embassy to the Holy See to the arrival of Pope Francis.

*IRISH EXAMINER*—22.1.2014. Just 26 months after the closure of the embassy, Mr Gilmore announced a scaled back, "modest, one-person operation", at no extra cost to the taxpayer.

Ireland and the Holy See "have some different perspectives" but share a belief in working for a just world, said the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Charlie Flanagan, as he officially reopened the Irish Chancery to the Holy See.

Following a meeting with Archbishop Paul Gallagher, Holy See Secretary for Relations with States in the Vatican, Minister Flanagan said the two states have "much to talk about and much in common".

"Like all old friends, Ireland and the Holy See have some different perspectives. That is normal in a bilateral relationship. At times, we will have difficult conversations. But we will also have many fruitful conversations about our shared values", he said.

"Fundamentally we each believe we have a responsibility to work towards a world that is just, fair, safe and sustainable."

He said Ireland's "deep historic faith" means that the Church "of course has a place in Irish life well beyond the realm of formal diplomatic relations" and the intention of Pope Francis to visit Ireland next year for the World Meeting of Families would be "of huge importance to so many Irish people" (*The Irish Catholic*, 23.03.2017).

The Government's decision to downgrade relations with the Vatican with the closure of the Irish Embassy in 2011 was reversed with the appointment of Ambassador Emma Madigan in 2014.

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**Nerds**

"My press secretary's mother was telling me about this boy who had brilliant exam results but didn't know how to cook a pot of potatoes" (Niamh Breathnach on the advisability of a balanced lifestyle for undomesticated nerds, 1993).

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