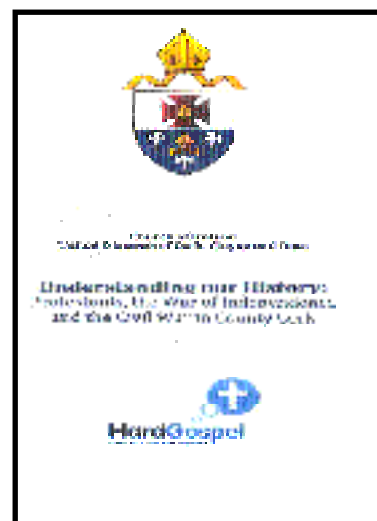


Church & State

A Cultural Review Of Ireland And The World

Harris, Hard Gospel and Hot Stuff in Co. Cork



The Amritsar Massacre: Hidden History, Part Two— INDIA

Also:
Jansenism
Cromwell
Coolacrease
and much else

No. 95

First Quarter, 2009

Price: €2.00/£1.50

Editorial

Sowing The Whirlwind

There has been a dramatic increase in British Army recruitment in the Republic. That is the line the BBC has been pushing out. But in fact the dramatic increase amounts to a percentage increase on a very small base. The hope is that enlistment in the British Army will be a normal thing to do in republican Ireland. But a vigorous British recruiting drive produced about a couple of dozen recruits for the Army in 2008.

We'll have to do better than that if the spirit of the Afghans is to be broken.

The business of taming and civilising the Afghans and bending them to our will has now been going on for more than a century and a half. One of the early editorials of the Young Ireland paper, *The Nation*, in the 1840s, was about it. The *Nation* contrasted the response of the Afghans to British invasion with that of the ultra-civilised Chinese.

A British Army of 20,000 marched through Afghanistan to its capital, Kabul, around 1840, meeting with little resistance. Only one of these soldiers managed to get out again. They were butchered by the populace in various barbaric ways. The civilised way of doing it would have been the way of Dresden, Tokyo, Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Major Paddy Ashdown's spirits perked up in 2001 when yet another invasion of Afghanistan was projected. He revealed that his great-great-grandmother was caught up in the First Afghan War. And he reminded us that the British Empire took revenge some years later for the loss of the Army in 1840. But the Afghans remained Afghans. It proved impossible to engender existential discontent among them. So the struggle goes on. They cannot be let be, because they don't live right.

The ultra-civilised Chinese, on the other hand, just suffered in the First Opium War (Britain's war to open China to British opium exports from India). The Chinese State was not expansionist. It never attacked others or tried to interfere in the affairs of others. And, for that reason, it was unable to defend itself in a world that was being remade by the British Empire. The influential ideologist of the Glorious Revolution of 1688, Algernon Sydney (whose writings were also very influential in the United States for many generations), laid it down that attack was the best form of defence. Sydney came to be forgotten as his teachings were absorbed into the habitual practice of the British State. Attack is now called pre-emptive defence.

The Chinese State, having been unaggressive for countless centuries, was unable to defend itself. Its Government paid reparations to Britain for having tried to defend itself, handed over territory to it, and opened some of its ports to British merchants to sell opium in. But it kept on trying to apply its anti-opium laws, and so a Second Opium War had to be fought.

Napoleon looked at China and decided it would be foolish to awaken that "*sleeping giant*". But Britain, driven by some demon within itself, could let nothing in the world be. It poked at China and tormented it for a hundred years, until eventually China renovated itself politically and constructed a

modern Army equipped with the most advanced military technology, and acquired the means of economic intervention in the Western States that had tormented it for so long.

A pre-emptive war against a non-existent threat from Iraq was launched by the USA and Britain with Irish complicity five years ago. When the threat was demonstrated not to have existed, the invasion was justified on other grounds. Martin Mansergh, the only member of the upper stratum of Fianna Fail who likes to talk about foreign affairs, said that at least the invasion got rid of Saddam Hussein. So it did, along with at least a hundred thousand Iraqi civilians.

Iraq was a liberal secular state until the invasion. It was not democratically organised. There is no necessary connection between liberalism and a democratic mode of government. Britain, the prototype of the modern liberal state, established its liberal culture under an aristocracy or oligarchy. The origin of the liberal regime is conventionally put at the accession of William of Orange—though the 1688 revolution was in fact a rejection of the much wider liberalism of James 2. The first small measure of democratisation did not come until 1832—and it was very small indeed. A majority of adult males did not get the vote until 1868. A majority of the adult population only got the vote in 1918. The complete adult franchise followed about ten years later.

By excluding females, one can say that Britain became a democracy after an aristocratic liberal regime had been functioning for a century and three-quarters. If females are not excluded, the gap is two centuries and a half.

Iraq was thrown together by Britain to be a subordinate 'nation-state' around 1920. There was no prior Iraqi nationalism to sustain it. The first election, that of a King, was openly rigged by the British administration. The candidate who would certainly have won, Sayid Talib of Basra, was invited to tea by the famous British Arabist, Gertrude Bell, so that he could be kidnapped out of sight of the populace, and he was deported. The electorate gathered the meaning of democracy from this masterful action of the conqueror, and they voted for the candidate the British brought in from the Western desert, who had no prior association with Basra or Baghdad.

Nominal independence was granted to Iraq in 1933 on the understanding that there would be ongoing British hegemony. A 'Treaty' was signed. Like the Irish 'Treaty', it was not an agreement between sovereign powers. It was dictated by the Imperial Power, the alternative being continued Imperial rule.

Under the terms of the 'Treaty', British military bases remained in Iraq, and Britain had the right to pass an Army through Iraq. In 1941 Britain decided to invade Iran and the Iraqi Government was informed that it would be sending an Army through Basra. Baghdad did not object, but said it would supervise the passage of the British Army through its state. Churchill took offence at this. He declared Iraq to be in "*revolt*", overthrew the Government and installed a puppet regime. The puppet regime lasted for almost twenty years. It was morally undermined by the British invasion of Egypt in 1956 and was overthrown. A period of confusion, of coup and counter-coup, of conflict of Communism and nationalism followed. Eventually a stable regime was established by Saddam Hussein with American support and dedicated to the realisation of the American dream in the Middle East. A liberal state was set up in a predominantly Muslim country, and while it was based on the Sunni community, it drew Shia, Kurds and Christians into its system.

Then there was the fundamentalist Shia revolution in Iran, and apprehension about its expansive power around the Middle East. Liberal secular Iraq went to war with Islamist Iran with the approval and support of the liberal West. A big airliner full of pilgrims to Mecca took off from Iran and was shot down by an American warship in the gulf on the off-chance

that it might be a military plane on the way to Iraq.

The Iranian revolution was contained by the Iraqi invasion, but proved to be stable internally. The war ended in stalemate.

The significant thing about Iraq was that the liberal secular regime in the state was not subverted by Shia dissent during the war with the Shia revolutionary power in Iran, although a substantial part of the Army was Shia. The conflict demonstrated the stability of both the Islamist regime in Iran and the liberal secular regime in Iraq.

The "*terrorism of evil tyrants*" does not explain such things. The Shah had a terror regime in Iran but it melted away almost overnight when it affronted the sentiment of the populace.

The liberal state was functional in Iraq until the leaders of the liberal West decided to destroy it by use of overwhelming military power, followed by a draconian sanctions policy approaching blockade.

At the end of the war with Iran, Iraq found that Kuwait was encroaching on its oil-fields while demanding punctual repayments of loans given to help fight the war. These Gulf States, with small populations and deluged with money, are Ameranglian constructs for Ameranglian purposes. Iraq consulted the USA about the conduct of Kuwait and was given the green light to deal with it by direct action. But, when it did so, Britain joined America in denouncing it as a war crime. The 'diplomatic offensive' that was launched was not intended to achieve an Iraqi withdrawal. It was conducted with the purpose of preventing Iraqi compliance by making it humiliating. America's General Schwarzkopf later explained on Radio Eireann that an Iraqi withdrawal in good order was the "*nightmare scenario*". So it had been decided in Washington that the regime which it had helped to put in place, and had supported against Iran, must be destroyed.

It was in those circumstances that Iraq declared the annexation of Kuwait—on the principle that it might as well be hung for a sheep as a lamb. (Kuwait was part of Basra province that had been nipped off by Britain for the obvious reasons.)

The Iraqi Army was defeated as a matter of course—and was slaughtered without military purpose in the great aerial "*turkey shoot*" after it had disengaged and was retreating.

Ameranglia then called on the oppressed peoples of Iraq to arise and overthrow the regime. Those who were oppressed were the Shia Islamists and the Kurdish separatists. When the US saw what the insurrection in Southern Iraq was, it changed its mind and lifted its interdiction of Iraqi air space so that Baghdad could restore order.

Force was used to suppress that insurrection, like any other insurrection, but force does not explain the restoration of the liberal secular regime, and its continuation despite severe economic sanctions and the deliberate destruction of the infrastructure of urban life by the United Nations—which in this instance amounted to US/UK on the Security Council.

Madeline Albright did not dispute the figure of half a million children killed by sanctions, but said it was worth it. Worth it for what purpose was unclear, because the liberal secular regime remained secure.

Then five years ago there was a direct invasion. The people were called to arise and loot. A statue of Saddam was pulled down by the Americans and a group of Iraqis was rounded up to come along and beat it for television. And British Defence Minister Hoon gave a loutish performance in the Commons, praising the looting as the first fruit of freedom.

The Ameranglian propaganda had from the first the purpose of inciting civil war. The Shia were told that the Sunnis were their oppressors and were urged to take revenge. It seemed for

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Church & State

Editor: Pat Maloney

All Correspondence should be sent to:

**P. Maloney,
C/O Shandon St. P.O., Cork City.**

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a while that there would be all-out civil war, but this was averted as an element of Iraqi statecraft emerged out of Shia fundamentalism, e.g. Moqtada al Sadr's movement. (The US tried to assassinate Moqtada.)

Who among us can imagine how he would behave if an absolutely overwhelming military force descended on us—a force capable of exterminating us at the push of a button if it wanted to—and incited us to arise, to rebel, to loot, to destroy, to pay off grudges, to put every fantasy we ever thought of into action?

The remarkable thing is that, despite all of this the US has found itself confronted with such a stubborn national will in Iraq that it now seems to have agreed to a comprehensive withdrawal, which is not something it contemplated when invading, or even last year.

Undoubtedly it went into Iraq with a programme of using it as a base for mopping up the Middle East and putting the place in order. Now it has been given notice to quit within three years.

The net result of all the killing and mayhem is increased scope for the terrorism it was supposed to restrict, and the replacement of a liberal secular state with an Islamist state.

The Irish Government played the part of a sneak-thief in the Iraq affair, but it seems to have become ambitious to play a bolder part. The country is being saturated with militarist propaganda. The Home Rule participation in the Great War of 1914-18 is being glorified. Recruits from Ireland into the British Army are being sought out and publicised as "*Irish soldiers*".

But amidst all of this we are not told what the Great War was about. Why did Britain intervene in a European War and make it into a World War? Was the outcome of the War such that, one can look back on it and see that, whatever Britain's motives might have been in launching it, the result of it was good for the world? Why did the Irish national leadership discard the traditional Irish scepticism about Britain's motives for going to war? What effect did the war have on Unionist/Nationalist hostility within Ireland?

Radio Eireann broadcast a programme about the Great War towards the end of November. Chris M'Gimpsey of the Ulster Unionist Party took part in it. It was put to him that the great slaughter suffered in the bungled attempt to invade Turkey in 1915 had led to a degree of alienation between the Australians who took part in it and the British Empire. Why did it not alienate the Ulstermen who took part in it?

M'Gimpsey's reply was matter-of-

fact, well-informed and realistic. It was unapologetically Ulsterish. It put the World War into proportion as a marginal event, the conflict in Ireland over Home Rule being the main event.

It was in that sense a continuation under fire of the training which the UVF had been undergoing in the parks of the Big Houses in the North in the Spring of 1914 with the rifles got through the Larne gun-running. The Great War was an incident in the Home Rule conflict. It was not something to be taken seriously in itself and brooded over. And the UVF came back "*tooled up*" for the real war at home—as he put it, "*both sides came back tooled up*".

The Home Rule leadership disorientated itself by taking the propaganda of the War too much in earnest. In recruiting for the war on Germany, it was fighting its corner too, but it felt obliged to engage in a groundless idealism of deception and self-deception about German evil. It built castles in the air about how Nationalists and Unionists overcame their own antagonisms when they joined the British Army to make war on this evil.

T. Ryle Dwyer wrote an article in praise of the World War for the *Irish* (formerly *Cork*) *Examiner* (8.11.08), in which he included the *Examiner's* victory editorial of 12th November 1918:

"Might, no matter how gorgeously it may be apparelled, and fortified with all the aids that wealth and science can bring to its support, can never usurp the place of Right. The war has demonstrated that the principles of Christianity and humanity are stronger than the armies that Germany has been able to raise, or the implements of destruction that have been placed in their hands."

That's the hype of Empire in the moment of victory when there is nobody to dispute it. But, looking at the facts of the matter soberly, it is evident that the balance of Might was heavily against Germany even before Britain increased it by joining in. The War lasted so long because of the spirit—the morale/morality—of the Germans who were conducting a desperate defensive war, at any rate from September 1914 onwards. Britain, France and Russia were unable to win with their preponderance of Might. What beat the Germans finally was the entry of an American Army into combat in 1918. And what counted was not American numbers, but the fighting spirit and technique of an American Army in whose formation there had been a strong Prussian input.

The mind-boggling thing about the victory editorial is the counter-posing

of Christianity against Germany in 1918. Christianity was indisputably stronger in Germany, (both kinds of it), than in Britain—where it had been subjected to creeping euthanasia by the dominant culture of the State over many generations and was dead—or in France, where it was officially persecuted. Russia had left the War and formally renounced Christianity.

This nonsense about the defeat of Germany being a victory for Christianity is an echo of the demonology inserted into the British propaganda right at the start by two smart Home Rule intellectuals writing for the London papers, Tom Kettle and Robert Lynd.

Kettle had the bright idea of telling the confused English Liberals, who had been manipulated into the war by the Liberal Imperialist clique that had gained control of the Party and the Government, that Germany had fallen under the spell of Nietzsche's philosophy of Evil and was dedicated to restoring barbarism in Europe.

Clive Bell of the Bloomsbury set recalled this in a book called *Civilisation* published in 1928:

"...just when we were beginning to wonder whether the war could be exactly described as a crusade, some cautious and cultivated person... discovered that what the Allies were really up against was Nietzsche.

"That discovery was, at first, a great success. Nietzsche was a butt for the high outrageous mettle of every one of us. That he was a German and a poet sufficed to put him in the wrong with the ruling class; and since he was said to have despised mediocrity the middle and lower had some grounds for disliking him. Down with Nietzsche! Ah, that was fun, drubbing the nasty blackguard, the man who presumed to sneer at liberals without admiring liberal-unionists. He was an epileptic, a scrofulous fellow, and no gentleman. We told the working men about him, we told them about his being the prophet of German imperialism, the poet of Prussia and the lickspittle of the Junkers. And were anyone who had compromised himself by dabbling in German literature so unpatriotic as to call our scholarship in question, we called him a traitor and shut him up. Those were the days, the best of 1914, when France and England were defending Paris against Nietzsche and the Russian steam-roller was catching him in the back.

"And yet this holding the fort against Nietzsche was not satisfying either... Nietzsche was so difficult to pronounce; and besides it seemed too odd to be fighting against someone of whose existence, six months earlier,

not one in ten thousand had heard" (Introduction).

Tom Kettle knew Nietzsche well. He supplied an Introduction to a *Life of Nietzsche*, translated from the French of Daniel Halevy by J.M. Hone, another Home rule intellectual, that was published in London in 1911 as a companion volume to a translation of Nietzsche's *Collected Works*.

The message of Nietzsche's *Zarathustra* that God was dead, and we had to learn to live without him, was more relevant to France and England than to Germany, where god was far from dead amongst the populace—in addition to which, Nietzsche was venomously hostile to the German Empire (i.e., to the Union of German States that was formed after 1870). All his books were commercial flops in Germany.

Nietzsche had done nothing towards killing God. That was done by rationalist critics of the Bible in England and France and in German Universities. When Nietzsche came on the scene, he saw that the deed had been done, and he asked "What now?" He did not celebrate Deicide. He saw it as a dangerous problem for European culture:

"The sea of religion is receding, leaving swamps and stagnant pools; nations are pulling apart again in a hostile manner and longing to tear each other to bits. Sciences pursued without restraint are shattering all firm belief. The educated classes and the states are swept along by a despicable money economy. The world was never more worldly, and never poorer in love and goodness. The educated classes are no longer beacons or refuges amidst the turmoil of secularisation, but themselves grow more restless daily, more thoughtless and more loveless. Everything in art and science now serves the approaching barbarism" (*Thoughts Out Of Season*, Part 3, No. 4).

Kettle was in Europe, buying guns for Redmond's Volunteers, when the War started. The English Liberals had seen that their leaders were intent on War and had tried to raise a campaign to stop them. But things happened too fast. War was declared by the Liberal Imperialists. The Liberal press was baffled. It did not dare to oppose the War after its party leaders had declared it, but did not know on what ground to support it. The famous Editor of the *Manchester Guardian* (now the *Guardian*), C.P. Scott, would not write war editorials. He let his Assistant Editor and son-in-law, C.E. Montague, write them. Montague, another Irish Home Ruler, became a very fierce war propagandist.

The main Liberal Party paper was the *Daily News* (founded by Charles Dickens). Right from the start, Kettle supplied it with inflammatory articles which overwhelmed reason with raw emotion in fine disregard of facts. His article *Europe Against The Barbarians* (10 August 1914) declared: "*The 'big blond brute' has stepped from the pages of Nietzsche out on the plains about Liege*". And English Liberalism was quickly infected with Kettleism. Public opinion was maddened and was in no fit condition to make a workable peace settlement four and a quarter years later.

A chain reaction of wars was set off. The condition in which the Great War left Europe led quickly to a Greater War. The Cold War was inherent in the way Britain conducted the Second World War. The USA defeated Germany in the First World War launched by Britain, and Bolshevik Russia did it in the second. Straight away in 1945 the struggle began to destroy the Power that had destroyed Nazi Germany. The means was the deliberate instigation of nationalism in the Soviet sphere, even where the antecedents of some of those nationalisms were fascist. The Soviet sphere collapsed in 1990 and nationalist wars began.

In Ireland James Connolly paid no heed to Kettle's ranting. He said a victory for Germany would be best for the working class. And he said a good word for Nietzsche in *The Workers' Republic*.

But it's no use mentioning Connolly to the Irish warmongers of today. Despite his substance and good sense, he was degraded into a hollow icon long ago. So let's end with the views of George Kennan, the American architect of cold War strategy, on the First World War that the Irish Government now insists on celebrating. It is from a lecture at Chicago University in 1951:

"I would like... to say a word about the total result of these two world wars

in Europe. These wars were fought at the price of some tens of millions of lives, of untold physical destruction, of the destruction of the balance of forces on the Continent—at the price of rendering western Europe dangerously, perhaps fatefully, vulnerable to Soviet power. Both wars were fought, really, with a view to changing Germany, to correcting her behaviour, to making the Germans something different from what they were. Yet, today, if one were offered the chance of having back again the Germany of 1913—a Germany run by conservative but relatively moderate people, no Nazis and no Communists, a vigorous Germany, united and unoccupied, full of energy and confidence, able to play a part in the balancing-off of Russian power in Europe—well, there would be objections to it from many quarters, and it wouldn't make everybody happy; but in many ways it wouldn't sound so bad, in comparison with our problems of today. Now, think what this means. When you tally up the total score of the two wars, in terms of their ostensible objective, you find that if there has been any gain at all, it is pretty hard to discern...

"Eclipsed for many of us by the fresher and more vivid recollections of World War 2, this first World War has become in many respects the forgotten factor. Yet all the lines of inquiry, it seems to me, lead back to it. World War 2 seemed really so extensively predetermined... And the main elements of that tragic situation—the sickness and impatience of Germany, the weakness of eastern Europe, the phenomenon of bolshevism in Russia, and the weariness and debility in France and England—all these things took their origin so clearly in the period of 1914-20 that it seems to be here, if anywhere, that the real answers should be sought" (*American Diplomacy 1900-1950*).

A Question

Cathal Brugha

A reader asks whether we have ever heard of the following poem. He is trying to ascertain whether there are more verses.

"England gave the orders and England gave the guns
And Michael dressed the boys in green to shoot
our gallant sons
England gave the orders and gave the cannons too
And Michael dressed the boys in green to shoot
brave Cathal Brugha."

If you can help, write to the Editor (address on page three).

Senator Harris saves the day for sectarianism

Harris, Hard Gospel and Hot Stuff in Co. Cork

Members of the Church of Ireland were treated to some 'Hard Gospel' in the Radisson SAS Hotel in Little Island, Cork on Monday, 8th December: a one-day seminar on *'Protestants, the War of Independence and the Civil War in Cork'*—see programme below. It was patrolled by a security company. The man who marshalled the security marshals said it was because the Aubane Historical Society planned to storm and disrupt the meeting.

Security was so tight that Alan Stanley who 'met murder on the way' at Coolacree was refused entry and was wandering around until he was rescued by Senator Harris. The Bishop of Cork runs a tight ship.

No local Catholics needed apply to listen at the Church of Ireland affair, with academics invited along to talk on the subject.

The audience had to show their pre-issued passes at the entrance (all day long), but no sign was seen of the mysterious band of allegedly disruptive Aubane historians. The carefully-selected but mystified audience heard Fianna Fail-appointed Senator Eoghan Harris declare war on the same Aubane Society. They were *"mentally deficient"*, said the highly-animated representative.

Senator Harris stated that priests should not be "dabbling" in history. They should keep their heads down, while Protestants should keep theirs up. Harris was referring to a particular *"meddlesome priest"*, the Oxford/TCD/UCD-educated Dr. Brian Murphy of Glenstal. This was an unusual, rather ominous, message for a Church of Ireland gathering, bordering almost on sectarianism. Certainly not very respectful.

Historian Meda Ryan did not meet

with the Harris seal of approval either. Neither did some heads-up Protestants. Fianna Fail TD Martin Mansergh, for instance, was castigated as a *"lie down and die Protestant"*, according to Senator Harris. A few members of the audience were seen to shift uncomfortably.

At one point in his stream of consciousness, Harris told the tale of an Aunt who embarked on a romantic interlude with an exotic creature known as a 'Protestant'—apologies if the details are hazy, possibly the finer ones have yet to be concocted—during the holding of the Eucharistic Congress in 1932. The two had arrived in a hotel bedroom and were contemplating their own type of congress when Count John McCormack's operatic rendition of a religious character came wafting up from the ground floor of the Hotel. For whatever reason, this had the effect of putting an end to their intended interlude.

While the denouement clearly needs work, this Hard Gospel is certainly Hot stuff.


Harris, spoke in the afternoon without notes (or much knowledge of the historical variety). He criticised one speaker from the morning session, John Borgonovo. While the San Francisco historian was speaking, Harris was seen to fidget, talk, get up, walk to the back of the room, go to walk out, think better of it, before settling down to frown severely at the speaker. Possibly, it had all become too much for him.

Harris and those who thought similarly may have been irritated also by the star turn, Peter Hart. He said there was no *"ethnic cleansing"* of Protestants during or after the War of Independence. Hart said there was fear of retribution, but not much of the substance of sectarian violence. This is a reversal of the message Hart once openly espoused. Perhaps he has been reading the criticism. Brian Murphy and Niall Meehan's *'Troubled History, a 10th anniversary critique of The IRA and its Enemies'*, published earlier this year, set out the problems with the Hart analysis. Perhaps he is finally taking it to heart.

If Hart retreated, Borgonovo advanced and seriously disrupted the Harris message of persecuted Protestants.


Protestants in the South of Ireland consistently denounced unionist attacks on Catholics in the North between 1920-22. In contrast, it seems they stated both early and often that Protestants were treated very kindly by their Catholic neighbours in the south. Some even praised the IRA.

Harris, the former republican, had the answer: the aforesaid Protestants *"had a gun to their head"*. Really? And when did these Protestants, who spoke out on



Church of Ireland
United Dioceses of Cork, Cloyne and Ross

**Understanding our History:
Protestants, the War of Independence
and the Civil War in County Cork**



HardGospel
1998 God + love your neighbour

unionist sectarianism in every Irish County not under Unionist control, reveal this to Senator Harris? What is his source, apart from the windmills of his mind? Perhaps Senator Harris could tell us how many Protestants he helped persecute when he was a fully paid-up supporter of the cause, perhaps the odd poppy lady in Patrick St? Those were the days!

According to an observer, Harris, "seemed livid" and was "working up to a great frenzy". Harris reported that, when once he was in deepest, darkest, Dunmanway, he was approached by four men in a car who pulled him to the side of the road and told him to lay off. Harris, who informed the assembly of his daughter's conversion to the Protestant cause, was having none of it. He knew how to handle such sinister people, "from experience", he said obscurely. This war, whoever it is with or against, is decidedly not over in the Senator's eyes.

He wants Southern Protestants to affirm a British identity or to recover it if they have lost one, so that the Irish state can then formally recognise it. So here we have a proposal for the creation of a new sectarian constituency from a Fianna Fail Party-sponsored legislator whose Government Ministers are forever promoting reconciliation. Have Fianna Fail no respect for themselves? And what of Martin Mansergh? How much more is he expected to endure from this senatorial nincompoop?

Andy Bielenberg of University College, Cork (UCC) spoke about beginning research into the finer details of Protestant emigration, 1911-26—and that promises to be interesting. Harris managed to get the gist of Bielenberg's research hopelessly wrong in the *Sunday Independent* on December 14th (but that should be no surprise).

Andy Ruane of UCC spoke on French-Irish Protestant connections, but as he came at the end of the day and after the excitement of Senator Harris, heads nodded off. Ruane did question the Harris's attempt to re-ethnicise Irish Protestants with a British identity. His research suggests that they have given most that old imperial guff up.

It was frustrating for the people who attended—up to 140 of them—as they were not given the opportunity to speak. Questions were allowed, but strictly screened by the Bishop. Such control freakery might be thought unusual. We certainly think that. More democracy and openness in the Church of Ireland, please. A response from the floor would have been an interesting but it didn't happen.

The event was organized by the Church of Ireland's *Hard Gospel Project*, which carries the sub-title, "love God, and love your neighbour". The project was set up

Understanding our History: Protestants, the War of Independence and the Civil War in County Cork

The Clergy and Laity of the United Dioceses of Cork, Cloyne and Ross
together with their guests are invited to a
Diocesan Day of learning and reflection
in partnership with the *Hard Gospel Project*.

Monday, 8th December 2008

9.30 a.m. to 4.30 p.m.

Radisson SAS Hotel, Little Island, County Cork

Speakers:

Professor Peter Hall
Senator Eughan Harris
Dr Andy Bielenberg
John Mansergh
Dr David J. Butler
Professor Joe Ruane

Admission by invitation and prior registration only.

The costs of this occasion are being covered by the Diocesan Ministerial Education in
Cork, Cloyne and Ross and by a grant from the *Hard Gospel Project*.

United Places

Please complete the enclosed registration form and return it
no later than Thursday 27th November 2008

to

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Saint Nicholas' House
14-16 St. John's Street, Cork
Fax: (021) 412 4940

or email admin@ccdi.ie to book your place

Understanding our History Protestants, the War of Independence and the Civil War in County Cork

Programme

9.30 a.m.	Arrival and Registration at Radisson SAS
9.45 a.m.	Official Opening The Right Reverend Paul Coffey Bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross
10.00 a.m.	West Cork Protestantism: Origins, Development and Geographical Context 1800 - 1920 Dr David J. Butler
10.30 a.m.	Protestant Emigration from the south of Ireland 1911-1926: A Historical and Cultural Overview Dr Andy Bielenberg
11.00 a.m.	Coffee
11.30 a.m.	Cork Protestants and the Irish Revolution Professor Peter Hall
12.00 p.m.	Travelling, Republicanism, and the Provisional in the City and County of Cork, 1920-1921 John Mansergh
1.00 p.m.	Lunch
2.15 p.m.	Revisiting the Protestant Church: An Anecdotal Account with Senator Eughan Harris
3.00 p.m.	Recording practices in the Irish context Professor Joe Ruane
3.45 p.m.	Questions
4.30 p.m.	Close

some years ago to distance the Church of Ireland from the Orange Order's annual antics at Drumcree Church of Ireland Parish Church. That was a step forward. This appears, in some respects, to be one back. It would have been time better spent for the local Hard Gospel branch to show some neighbourliness to immigrants to Ireland as some members had proposed (and that this should be regarded as one of their primary purposes) but were, apparently, overruled by the Bishop no less, in favour of listening to the excitable formerly Catholic Senator.

A day of 'learning and reflection' indeed.

NOTE: Jack Lane of the Aubane Historical Society wrote a letter to the Bishop of Cork about the denigration of the Society and its members at this Seminar. It is in the January issue of *Irish Political Review*.

Wilson John Haire

A Dysfunctional Family?

Lot's wife looked back despite the angel's warning and saw too much during that Imperial dreamtime

With a soundless scream she turned into sodium chloride as the bomb hatches opened and the racks emptied over Sodom and Gomorrah

And he who obeyed the angels was made drunk in a cave by his two daughters who thinking that no man was left on earth seduced him in turn that night and guaranteed the future of the human race

Out of necessity moral laws are cast aside after moral indignation has done its worse

(October 26, 2008)

The Speakers

National English Heritage

English Heritage has been using *Irish America* (which he wrote extensively about the peace process for the Sunday Times from 1998-2000) as a political advisor. He has worked with Mary Robinson, John Bruton and David Trimble. He is the author of two political plays dealing generational with the position of Protestants in the Irish Republic - *The Paper City* (Bryanston Theatre, 2000) and *Super Highway* (Abbey Theatre, 1995). As a commentator he credits include the *Starline* series frequently seen on UK Radio 4. *Angels of the Apocalypse* is a novel. He was heralded as *Traveller*, *Barbaric*, *Barbaric*. He currently writes a weekly column for the *Sunday Independent* which frequently carries *Great Work* and *The Beloved West Highland* reader, *Post*.

Professor Peter Hirst

Peter Hirst is a professor of history and the Canada 1994 Irish Canadian Studies at Memorial University of St. John's. He has a PhD from Trinity College Dublin and has also taught at Queen's University, Belfast. He is the author of a number of books and articles on Irish history, including *The Irish and the Protestant Empire* and *Community in Cork, 1916-1923*. His most recent book is *Irish and the British Empire*.

Dr Andy Blain

Andy Blain is a professor of Irish economic and social history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries at the Department of History at UCC. His research interests include Irish emigration in the nineteenth and twentieth century, modern Irish economic development. His latest book *Industry in Ireland during the 19th century* is published by Routledge and will be available early in 2009.

John Morgan

John Morgan is the author of *Irish Immigrants and the Irish in the 19th Century*, *The Irish in the United States, 1845-1921*, a study of the IRA's origins and political evolution in Cork. He also edited *The Irish in the United States, 1845-1921* and *The Irish in the United States, 1845-1921*. He is currently in the final year of a PhD at University College Cork conducting a study of the Irish in the United States.

David J. Butler

Dr David J. Butler is a historical geographer and religious historian at the University of Aberdeen and is visiting lecturer in the History of St. Patrick's College of Education, Thurston and in historical geography at UCC. He is author of *March Topography, 1570-1800*, *Walking Land and Sky* (Oxford, 2006 & 2007) *Power 1500-1600*, in the *NSA* *Protestantism and research* (UCC), conducting ethnographic and historical research into the social history of the Irish in the United States and March Mountain, resulting in a number of published articles, including *Irish Protestants: an example of colonialisation?* *Irish Protestants and Nationalism* (2005), *Difference, Identity and Community in Southern Irish Protestantism* (2005) and *Walking Land and Sky* (Oxford, 2006).

Professor John Ruane

John Ruane is an author, producer in the Department of Sociology at University College Cork. His research areas of interest are the social and cultural in Northern Ireland, but more recently he has been engaged in comparative research on Catholic-Protestant relationships. He has directed two projects: (1) *Between Northern Ireland and the Republic* (funded by the NSRF), and (2) *Between Ireland and Britain* (funded by the NSRF). Recent publications include *Southern Irish Protestantism: from ethnicity to a religious identity?* *Journal of Religion in Europe* 23, 4, 2007 (with D. Butler) and *Walking Land and Sky* (Oxford, 2006).

Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa

We are indebted to Manus O' Riordan for sending us the following extract from *A Fenian Ballad*, which is also known as *Sweet Iveleary*

India: A Fenian Protest

...I joined the Redcoats then—mo lein!—what would my father say? And I was sent in one short year on service to Bombay.

I thought to be a pauper the greatest human curse But fighting in a robber's cause I felt it ten times worse!

I helped to plunder and enslave those tribes of India's sons And we spent many a sultry day blowing sepoy's from our guns.

I told these sins to Father Ned, the murder and the booty. These were no sins for me, he said, I only did my "duty" ...

No sin to kill for English greed in some far foreign clime How can it be that patriot love in Ireland is a crime?

How can it be, by God's decree, I'm cursed, outlawed and banned? Because I swore one day to free my trampled native land.

Philip O'Connor

Massacre and pillage during the 'Indian Mutiny':
memoirs of a Dublin Fusiliers officer and others

'The Devil's Wind'

—savage crushing of India's First War Of Independence—

'The Indian Mutiny' is the British term for India's first War of Independence, which was put down with exemplary force. War crimes on a horrendous scale were committed by soldiers serving the Empire. All this was done with a good conscience and some of those involved went on to write memoirs.

Captain S. H. Jones-Parry, a Welshman born in 1830, was a life long soldier who led the adventurous life of a British officer of his generation, involved in the greatest territorial expansion of empire of all time. He took part in the taking of Burma and in various British "campaigns" in India, as well as in operations to Persia, Constantinople and the Crimea. His well remunerated "service" included the suppression of the "Indian Mutiny", where he served with the dreaded *Madras Fusiliers* ("Blue Caps") that played a central role in the campaign of retribution that followed the "mutiny". After its suppression, the proportion of Indians in British regiments was greatly reduced as a matter of policy and the European 'stock' expanded. This was the context of the forming of the so-called "Irish" Regiments. The *Madras Fusiliers*, which already contained a core of Irishmen, became the *Dublin Fusiliers* and similarly the *Bengals* became the *Munsters*.

Jones-Parry left behind a readable memoir (*An Old Soldier's Memories*, London, 1897), which he dedicated to Lt. General Sir John Blick Spurgin and "all officers past and present of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers". The memoirs provide quite a jolly—but also revealing—account of the business of empire-making and rebellion-quelling as carried out around the world by Victorian England on a scale unprecedented before or since in its ambition and success.

Jones-Parry arrived in 1857 to find India, as he put it, "in a blaze". His memoir gives only hints of the real nature of the British campaign to smash the upstart Indians.

Indian Rising

On 10th May 1857 British rule in India was shaken to its foundations when Indian troops ("sepoys") at Meerut mutinied and their rebellion spread, soon capturing a number of towns, including Delhi. The Indian soldiers in 55 of the

75 regiments of the 'Bengal Army' turned on their British officers (the other 20 were disbanded before they could rebel), as did all ten Bengal Cavalry regiments and the 70-odd 'irregular' (i.e. militia) regiments. They were soon joined by the rural population of Bengal and beyond. The 40,000 British garrison troops (26,000 Regular Army, 14,000 East India Company) found themselves confronted by 300,000 Indian 'rebels', but the British also had at their disposal about 80,000 'loyal' troops, mostly hastily recruited Sikhs, Gurkhas and other northern tribes formed into irregular units, as well as most of the artillery and other heavy weaponry.

The revolt was triggered by any number of humiliations suffered by Indian soldiers in the British Army—including poor pay (they were paid less than the civilian servants of British officers). One particular insult that became legendary was when news spread that the cartridges for the new Lee Enfield rifle introduced in 1853—which had to be bitten open—were greased with pork fat, a sacrilegious issue for Hindu and Moslem alike. The revolt was not simply an army 'mutiny' however, and was coordinated by a political leadership and mobilised mass support on the basis of hatred of British rule, particularly among the rural population. Resistance had been building against corrupting British land 'reform' policies and cultural arrogance. The revolt soon engulfed most of northern India and led to a proclamation of Indian Independence.

During the revolt British officers and civilians were killed. Such incidents—much publicised in the British press—were to form the justification for the campaign of "just retribution" that followed. In Meerut, 85 "sepoys" who had refused to accept new cartridges had been sentenced to 10 years' hard labour, and during their liberation from imprisonment by rebel troops, four civilian men, eight women and eight children were killed in the fighting. As the revolt spread into Delhi, up to 50 civilians—allegedly mainly Indian Christians—were killed in the city. These deaths were later used to justify the mass killing of sepoy prisoners, though sepoys were not involved in most of them and, in fact, many more people were killed in Delhi when the British

exploded a major arsenal to prevent its contents falling into Indian hands (three British soldiers and 400 Indian civilians were killed in the massive explosion).

The most famous incident happened at Kanpur (known by the British as "Cawnpore"). When it fell to the Indians on 27th June safe passage out of the city was granted to the men of the British colony. But in an incident still much disputed, firing broke out at the boats on the Ganges from where they were to depart, and most of the men were killed. The 200 British women and children in the city were taken hostage. Two weeks later, on 15th July, as the British retook the city, a rebel leader ordered the hostages killed. When the sepoys refused, five civilians armed with knives and swords carried out the order in a brutal manner and flung the bodies down a well.

Cannon Law

Though this incident was to become the battlecry of the avenging British army, by the time it occurred the savage punitive expedition led by Generals Nicholson and Lawrence had been in full swing across the Punjab for over a month, killing many thousands. As Lieutenant Colonel James George Smith Neill of the *Madras Fusiliers* (Jones-Parry's unit) was advancing towards Kanpur, they indulged in a string of massacres in revenge for real and alleged killings of colonial garrison populations. Neill—lionised by the British press as the "Saviour of India"—ordered all villages along the Grand Trunk Road to be burned and their inhabitants hanged. Nearly 2,000 died. During one of these punitive operations, Major General Sir Henry Barnard, during a five day drive from Karnal to Alipore (11 miles north of Delhi) left in his wake a trail of death and destruction:

"We burnt every village", wrote Lieutenant Kendal Coghill of the 2nd Bengal Fusiliers, "and hanged all the villagers who had treated our fugitives badly until every tree was covered with scoundrels hanging from every branch"... "There were eleven more villagers hung yesterday, to the great delight of Fawcett, Blair and Evans, who nearly forfeited their dinner for the butchery", wrote an officer of the 9th Lancers to his wife on 4 June... Trials were little more than drumhead courts with officers and men vowing to kill prisoners whether they were found guilty or not..." (Saul David, *The Indian Mutiny 1857*, London, 2003, p. 154)

One officer, Thomas Lowe, later wrote of the wholesale slaughter of "pandy" prisoners. On one occasion his unit actually returned with 76

prisoners—his men, he explained, were simply exhausted from the killing and needed a rest. Later, after a quick trial, even these prisoners were lined up with British soldiers positioned a couple of yards in front of them and shot, "swept... from their earthly existence."

General John Nicholson formed a "Movable Column" of British and Punjabi Sikh irregulars. With this force he swept through the Punjab, scorching and killing everything in his path. He is credited with introducing the "blowing away" of mutineers from cannon mouths in spectacular mass executions. In one incident alone in early June Nicholson had forty prisoners simultaneously blown from the cannon before the assembled garrison of Peshawar.

An Anglo-Irish Lieutenant, Frederick Roberts (later Lord Roberts of Kandahar and Waterford, and Commander in Chief in India), commented that Nicholson's methods were "awe-inspiring certainly, but probably the most humane as being a sure and instantaneous mode of execution".

When the British retook Kanpur itself, General Neill—in what Jones-Parry described as "exemplary punishment"—ordered the hundreds of sepoy prisoners taken to be executed (though the sepoys had not been involved in killing the hostages). What this "exemplary punishment" was has since been explained: the prisoners were first forced to eat beef (if Hindu) or pork (if Muslim) and then taken to the site where the hostages had been killed and forced to lick the bloodstains from the walls and floor. The mass execution itself was an orgy of violence. Some of the Muslim sepoys were sown into pig skins

before being hung and, in an act of further humiliation, road sweepers were employed to execute the high-caste Brahmin rebels. The majority of the sepoy prisoners in Kanpur were then hanged or "blown from the cannon."

Extermination

Dr. V.S. Amod Saxena, an Indian academic working in the USA, gave a lecture on the 'Indian Mutiny' to the Chicago Literary Club in 2003 (*Revolt and Revenge; a Double Tragedy*). He related how, following Kanpur, British soldiers, with the battlecry "*Remember Cawnpore!*", engaged in a war of extermination against civilians by sacking villages, raping women, killing children and hanging countless numbers of men:

"Stringing men up and shooting them in front of their family was a sport the troops enjoyed. Watching women stooping and begging for the lives of their men seemed to thrill the young soldiers and their officers. The prisoners were made to stand under the hot summer sun for hours 'til they fainted. It was easy to flog them when they were half conscience, otherwise, they would squirm and make it hard to strike. Flogging invariably ended in killing of the victims.... On several occasions, the British soldiers bribed the executioners to keep the noose loose enough for the victims to go slowly towards their death. The English called slow dangling of the body on a rope the "*Pandies' hornpipe*" Cannon-shows were announced to a whole village. Here, a prisoner would be tied to the mouth of cannon. The cannon would then be fired blowing the poor man to pieces. Small bits of

flesh mixed with fresh blood exploding in the air made a spectacular show. The next prisoner was forced to pick the flesh pieces from the ground, and clean the cannon before he was tied to the cannon mouth. In several cases, a victim would be flogged before being sewn alive in pigskin and be left in the sun to die of asphyxiation and heat. Such punishment was meant to demonstrate the military power of the British and to instil fear in the minds of the public."

It was a systematic campaign of retribution led by General Neill who, on his marching map, marked out the villages he had chosen for special treatment. Saxena quotes historian Andrew Ward:

"Neill appointed commissioners to oversee the retribution, including one particularly homicidal civilian who, on June 28, boasted that "we have the power of life and death in our hands, and I assure you we spare not." Each day he had strung up "eight and ten men" and after a summary "trial" each prisoner was placed under a tree with a rope around his neck on the top of a carriage; and when it is pulled away, "off he swings"..." (*Our Bones Are Scattered: The Cawnpore Massacres and The Indian Mutiny Of 1857*).

In one village, when around 2,000 villagers came out in protest waving traditional *laithi* canes, the British troops surrounded them and set the village on fire. Villagers—men, women and children—trying to escape were shot to death. In another incident, a soldier recounted in a letter home: "*We took eighteen of them prisoners; they were*



Execution By Cannon

all tied together, and we fired a volley at them and shot them on the spot". In another letter home, a soldier of the 78th Highlanders related:

"We shouted that he was a sepoy, and to seize him. He was taken and about twelve more. We came back to the carts on the road, and an old man came to us, and wanted to be paid for the village we had burned. We had a magistrate with us, who found he had been harbouring the villains and giving them arms and food. Five minutes settled it; the sepoy and the man that wanted the money were taken to the roadside, hanged to a branch of a tree. We came to the village and set it in fire. The sun came out, and we got dry, but soon we got wet again with sweat. We came to a large village and it was full of people. We took about 200 of them out, and set fire to it..."

In this way Nicholson's and Neill's forces suppressed the rebellion in the Punjab and forced the rebel army back to Delhi which they then besieged. On 30th August 1857 the rebels in the city offered terms for surrender, but the British refused and stormed the city, capturing it in September 1857 after fierce fighting in which small numbers of British troops were killed, among them, however, Nicholson. During the street fighting, the British set up artillery in the main mosque in the city and indiscriminately bombarded the neighbourhoods within range. These included the homes of Muslim nobles from all over India, and contained innumerable cultural, artistic, literary and monetary riches. The rebel leader in the city, Bahadur Shah, was captured (and later hanged), and his sons and grandson shot. Mass killings of 'rebels' then ensued and the troops proceeded to loot and pillage the city. The liberation of Delhi was accompanied by an orgy of killing and looting. A letter published after the fall of Delhi in the *Bombay Telegraph* and reproduced in the British press testified to the scale and nature of the retaliation:

"All the city people found within the walls (of the city of Delhi) when our troops entered were bayoneted on the spot, and the number was considerable, as you may suppose, when I tell you that in some houses forty and fifty people were hiding. These were not mutineers but residents of the city, who trusted to our well-known mild rule for pardon. I am glad to say they were disappointed."

General Montgomery (a relation of the later Anglo-Irish General Montgomery of West Cork and Second World War fame) wrote to Captain Hodson, the conqueror of Delhi, approving of the cold blooded massacre of Delhites:

"All honour to you for catching the king and slaying his sons. I hope you will bag many more!" On another occasion Montgomery complained that lack of resolve on the British side had let the rebellion spread out of hand: "A severe example of one regiment would have saved much bloodshed and a campaign. By a severe example, I mean destroying them" (quoted in David, *Indian Mutiny*, p136).

The massacres did not seem to all to be sensible colonial policy. John Lawrence, a top Anglo-Irish official in Punjab and brother of one of the avenging Generals, wrote to General Penny, the Commander in Delhi:

"I wish I could induce you to interfere in this matter. I believe we shall lastingly, and, indeed, justly be abused for the way in which we have despoiled all classes without distinction. I have even heard, though it seems incredible, that officers have gone about and murdered natives in cold blood ... Unless we endeavour to distinguish friend from foe, we shall unite all classes against us."

But the massacres continued, egged on by an outraged public opinion in Britain. Edward Vibart, a 19-year-old officer, recorded his experience:

"It was literally murder... I have seen many bloody and awful sights lately but such a one as I witnessed yesterday I pray I never see again. The women were all spared but their screams on seeing their husbands and sons butchered, were most painful... Heaven knows I feel no pity, but when some old grey bearded man is brought and shot before your very eyes, hard must be that man's heart I think who can look on with indifference..."

As the campaign of retribution unfolded across northern India, the destruction of villages and crops meant a death sentence by starvation for the 'natives'. In a typical incident a Scots Highlander recalled how in one village his unit caught around 140 men, women and children. Sixty of the men were forced to build gallows of wooden logs, while others were flogged and beaten. Ten men were then hanged without any evidence or trial: "There was one of them fell; the rope broke, and down he came. He rose up, looked all around; he was hung up again."

Meanwhile in the Punjab, when a brigade of sepoys at Sialkot rebelled and began to move on Delhi on 9th July 1857, they were intercepted by John Nicholson's British army as they attempted to cross the Ravi River, and trapped on an island. Three days later Nicholson annihilated the 1,100 trapped sepoys by gun and bayonet—British casualties: 6 wounded. The Rajputs clans

in Jaunpur also rebelled, and attacked East India Company bases throughout the region. At the end of June the Rajputs, armed only with swords, spears and a few serviceable muskets, were attacked by Company troops aided by artillery, Sikh 'irregulars' and Hindustani cavalry, and were routed at the "battle" of Pisanaharia-ka-Inar. They fled back across the Gomti river and the British pursued them, sacking every Rajput village and committing many atrocities in their advance. That the burning of villages was a sentence of death on those that survived was understood by one British official quoted by David: "the aged, women and children are sacrificed as well as those guilty of rebellion.... Cultivation is impossible; a famine is consequently almost certain... The sternest measures are obviously necessary... but here there seems to be no discrimination."

Toned Down

In his memoir, Jones-Parry gives a sanitised account of the pacification of villages around Kanpur in September-October 1857. "Advancing" in the wake of Neill's troops, he remarked "The grand trunk road to Cawnpore was desolation personified; wires cut, villages still smouldering, and the hand of havoc apparent everywhere".

Writing for a British audience he was restrained in his language, and this can be presumed to be a euphemism for destroyed crops and corpses hanging along the road from gibbets. Jones-Parry's column of Englishmen and Irishmen were mopping up what Neill had missed. In one incident, after shots were fired at two soldiers, he ordered in heavy artillery and destroyed the offending village. He describes women and men being taken prisoner in another subdued village and how he allegedly interceded with his soldiers (Sikhs of course) to spare the women's lives. Murders are invariably attributed in such memoirs to the 'natives' among the troops.

He also describes the shooting up of villages and the practice of Sikh troops "blazing into the roofs of the houses, in hopes of dislodging Pandies, who were very fond of hiding in the thatch and remaining quietly there, until they could get a shot at an officer" (p180-1). He describes the burning of villages as general practice to deprive the rebels of shelter. In another incident:

"A party was sent out to a village near, which was said to be hostile. The women and children had been removed which showed they anticipated a fight. About eighty men were killed; some, I am afraid, innocent. We lost one Sikh killed, and a 93rd Highlander wounded" (pp. 179-180).

During the first battle of Luknow in November 1857, the Royal Palace (Secundra Bagh) was stormed by the 93rd Highlanders and 4th Punjab Regiment suffering light casualties. Once inside, the Sikhs and Highlanders, with bayonets drawn and shouting "*Remember Cawnpore!*" closed in on the trapped defenders. Jones-Barry briefly describes what followed:

"The building was full of regular sepoy, and the 93rd and Sikhs fired volley after volley into the dense mass, until nothing was left but a moving mass like mites in a cheese... When the work of destruction inside had been completed, and 2,000 of the sepoy had been killed, the men of the 93rd and Sikhs were recalled, and we had an hour's rest" (p188-9).

Lieutenant Roberts (Later Lord Roberts of Kandahar and Waterford) described the same scene:

"They were now completely caught in a trap... Inch by inch they were forced back to the pavilion, and into the space between it and the north wall, where they were all shot or bayoneted. There they lay in a heap as high as my head, a heaving surging mass of dead and dying inextricably entangled. It was a sickening sight..." {finally the British set the mass of bodies on fire} "and to hear the living ... calling out in agony to be shot was horrible..." (quoted in David, *Indian Mutiny*, p.328).

The horrific numbers of Indians killed in these engagements stands in no relation to British casualties. Throughout September-October 1857 Jones-Parry's regiment (Madras Fusiliers) lost just 75 killed to the thousands of deaths they inflicted. In '*battles*' in January 1858 he regularly recorded similarly disproportionate casualties. At Alumbagh in one fight the Indians ("*Pandies*") lost 1,000 dead to just six or seven wounded on his side (p216).

Bloodlust, Rapine & Pillage

A racial contempt infuses his accounts of the Indians. After one attack Jones-Parry wrote: "*We are supposed to have caused a great slaughter... It is sad to have to feel such pleasure in hearing of the death of hundreds of them. They are a bitter, cruel, wretched enemy, and I feel it difficult to think humanly, much less Christianlike, towards them*" (p225). One attack was led by "*a very fat Subadar*". He had "*scarcely advanced a few yards when one of the 84th hit him right in the stomach, and he went pop like a ripe gooseberry; then all the rest bolted under cover like rabbits*" (p198).

But the endless killing was also proving tiring and demoralising for the army.

In January 1858 Jones-Parry noted in his diary: "*anything is better than being forced to hunt them down and kill them in cold blood; if we get them to stand all will soon be over*" (p219). But the killing continued. The leaders of the Dobhi Rajputs were invited to a peace conference in May 1858 but treacherously arrested by the East India Company troops when they arrived at the meeting house. All were summarily executed by hanging from a mango tree. The dead bodies were further shot with muskets and left hanging from the trees.

In March 1858 Lucknow was finally retaken with the capture of the imperial palace (Kaiser Bagh). Jones-Parry relates how the British troops were rewarded: "*the city up to the Kaiser Bagh is given up to plunder*" (p. 227). "*Every house was gutted, and turned inside out; the street was strewn with furniture, palanquins, cooking-utensils, cloth, silks, velvet, and satins, some of the most costly description... Sailors passed and repassed, with embroidered muslims wrapped around their heads... It was perfect pandemonium, a chaos of loot*" (p231). He describes the lavish loot collected by the troops—gold, silver, diamonds, ivory, money etc.—and often sold on to officers for small amounts of money or for alcohol.

Another soldier later recalled:

"to my certain knowledge many soldiers of the English regiments got possession of jewellery and gold ornaments taken from the bodies of the slain city inhabitants, and I was shown by men of my regiment strings of pearl and gold mohur which had fallen into their hands. That many private soldiers of my regiment succeeded in acquiring a great quantity of valuable plunder was fully demonstrated soon after our return to England."

Thus were many family fortunes in Britain and Ireland based on the looting of India! With the capture of the Residency, the city of Lucknow was back fully in British hands and the killing of prisoners continued. Jones-Parry recalled:

"While at the observatory, some prisoners were caught with slow matches, evidently lurking about to spring mines; our fellows rammed greased cartridges into their mouths and then shot them. You cannot imagine how infuriated our fellows are, and being in sight of the old Residency, where they suffered so much, nothing can restrain them" (p.30).

Fief & Famine

India was re-organised after the war. The East India Company was abolished and the colony brought fully under the

crown (Queen Victoria later becoming "*Empress of India*"). A new system of colonial government was developed, based on a corrupting system of pliant Princedoms. Land was confiscated on a massive basis and re-granted to loyal individuals. But there was no real trust. The India Army was reorganised with traditional colonial regiments now stocked up with recruits from the British homelands. This is how the Bengal and Madras regiments become the Munster and Dublin Fusiliers respectively. For the controlled recruitment of Indians, a list of "*races*" was drawn up on the basis of their supposed martial qualities. Sikhs, Gurkas and other mountain tribes—classified as the "*Martial Races*"—were preferred. Sepoy artillery was abolished also, leaving all heavy artillery in British hands.

Within a few decades India became the source of food exports as cash crops became the major activity of the huge estates created in the post-"mutiny" arrangements. The railways built (mostly from the Famine Fund) accelerated the capitalist penetration of rural India rather than serving the alleviation of rural destitution. The result was massive famine in the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s. In 1878 the *Journal of the Statistical Society* contrasted the thirty one serious famines which had occurred in 120 years of British rule with the seventeen recorded famines of the previous two millennia (Mike Davies, *Late Victorian Holocausts*, London, 2002, p. 287).

In 1886, H. M. Hyndman, founder of the Social Democratic Federation, wrote: "*I am firmly convinced that in India we are working up to a hideous economical catastrophe, beside which the great Irish Famine of 1847 will seem mere child's play*".

The British regime of Lord Elgin responded with the poorhouse, to which the Indians reacted much as the Irish had done: "*The hatred of the poorhouse has in many instances proved more strong than the fear of death*" (p. 147). By March 1887 Elgin himself conceded that 4.5 million Indians had perished, though Indian nationalists maintained that the total, including plague figures, was over three times that number (p141-152)

. . . Happily Ever After

Captain S. H. Jones-Parry, on the other hand, retired from the Dublin Fusiliers and returned to run a large farm in Wales 1868. He also became a District Magistrate and High Sheriff and became involved in local politics. An upright Man.

British history writing takes the form of well-refined propaganda telling an acceptable story of the British state. Numbers are always an issue, and in

cases such as the Irish Famine, the bombing of Dresden, and the 'Indian Mutiny', many studies appear 'proving' the numbers of the victims of these Imperial crimes to be lower than had been accepted hitherto. Thus have the 1.5 million of the Irish Famine gradually become 800,000, the 200,000 incinerated at Dresden 60,000 and the hundreds of thousands of Indian deaths which occurred in the wake of the "*Devil's Wind*" and the many millions who died in the famines which followed the 're-organisation' of rural life are rarely counted. We'll let the reader decide . . .

Even its very title, *The Indian Mutiny*, is the British imperialist euphemism for what the Indians themselves remember as their "*First War of Independence*". The retribution that followed—in which Pary-Jones played such an active and bloody part—is recalled as the "*Devil's Wind*".

One of the first acts of Eamon De Valera on losing power in 1948 was to visit India to pay homage to the success of the Indian nationalist movement in finally achieving Independence. He was received with an overwhelming warmth of emotion and celebrated as the towering and pioneering figure of anti-colonial national liberation that he was. This is the Irish heritage that should be remembered with pride.

Report

The following report appeared in the *Irish Independent* of 9th August 2004. By honouring a war-criminal in this way, Ireland is buying into the British myth of Empire: all under the cover of a spurious 'reconciliation' with Ulster Protestants. When the Mayo Peace Park was established in October 2008, Coughlan was one of the war criminals commemorated in it. Accordingly, Jack Lane sent the letter of protest below to the *Mayo News*, and it appeared on 7th October, the day the war park was officially opened by President McAleese in the presence of the the British, Canadian, Australian and Belgian Ambassadors and representatives from the German, the United States and French Embassies.

'Soldier's courage recalled 150 years on in 'reconciling' ceremony

"An old-style military ceremony, including a musket salute by men dressed as Redcoats, marked the unveiling of a gravestone of an honoured soldier.

The ceremony took place at the Mayo graveyard, where Sgt. Major Cornelius Coughlan is buried. A native of Eyrecourt, Co. Galway, he was one of about 200 Irishmen to receive the

Victoria Cross, Britain's highest military honour.

Sgt. Major Coughlan was decorated for bravery in the Indian Mutiny in 1857, but his grave at Aughavale Cemetery, near Westport, Co. Mayo has been unmarked since his death in 1915.

Two great-great-granddaughters of the heroic Sergeant Major, Patricia O'Callaghan and Pauline McGowan, both from Glasgow, attended Saturday's colourful ceremony.

Ms O'Callaghan (49), a secondary school teacher, said she had never been overly concerned about the fact that the memory of her great-great-grandfather had been largely ignored.

"I think the most important thing is that he has become part of the peace process", she explained. Ms O'Callaghan's sentiments were echoed by Defence Minister Michael Smith TD and by the British Ambassador to Ireland, Mr. Stuart Eldon, who were among the many attending the ceremony.

...Mr. Eldon said: "*It symbolises the development of the relationship between Britain and Ireland, the new willingness to discuss things which were not so easily discussed at all and the willingness to think about the extent of our shared history*".

Captain Donal Buckley, a director of Military Heritage Tours, said:

"The fact that this man served in an imperial army is not the point. The fact that he was denying the Indians their independence and imposing colonial rule was not the point.

The point is that soldiers in combat are not thinking of ambition or lofty ideals. They are thinking of staying alive and their loyalty is to their comrades."

..."

Letter published in Mayo News newspaper on the day of the "Peace" Park Grand Opening:

Four years ago a participant in one of the greatest war crimes in history was honoured in Mayo by a minister of the Irish government. Sergeant Major Cornelius Coughlan (Victoria Cross) of the Gordon Highlanders was praised by Defence Minister Michael Smith for his role in putting down the so-called Indian Mutiny of 1857, which Indians call their First War of Independence. Minister Smith praised Coughlan, along with sixty other brave Irishmen, as he put it, who were awarded the Victoria Cross during the military campaign that followed the Indian Mutiny.

A letter published after the 1857 fall of Delhi in the '*Bombay Telegraph*', and subsequently reproduced in the British press, testified to the scale of the massacres carried out by British troops: "*All*

the city people found within the walls (of the city of Delhi) when our troops entered were bayoneted on the spot, and the number was considerable, as you may suppose, when I tell you that in some houses forty and fifty people were hiding. These were not mutineers but residents of the city, who trusted to our well-known mild rule for pardon. I am glad to say they were disappointed."

Fanatical blood-lust saturated the Empire. Charles Dickens said: "*I wish I were commander-in-chief in India ... I should proclaim to them that I considered my holding that appointment by the leave of God, to mean that I should do my utmost to exterminate the race.*"

A book published last year (*War of Civilisations: India AD 1857*, by Amaresh Misra, a writer and historian based in Mumbai) argued that up to 10 million Indians, and not the 100,000 acknowledged by Britain, were slaughtered over a 10 year period in revenge for the so-called 'Mutiny'. In India this period of acute terror was called 'the Devil's Wind'. Being blown to pieces at the mouth of a cannon was regarded by the British perpetrators as one of their more humane methods of slaughter ('instant death to the victim, salutary terror to the onlookers who had body parts sprayed all over them').

What would we say if a Dutch or Bosnian government minister today were to honour one of their many countrymen who, as volunteers in the German army, were decorated by Hitler for their role in similar Nazi extermination in the Ukraine in 1942?

On October 7, President McAleese will endorse in our name the Mayo Peace Park.

We are told this 'Peace Park' will honour those Mayo people who fought in foreign armies and foreign wars in the twentieth century. So if they participated in the extermination of half a million Filipinos by the American Army in 1902 we honour them. Or the incineration of a hundred thousand defenceless civilians in Dresden in 1945, or the obliteration of Hiroshima in the same year. Or the My Lai massacre in Vietnam in 1968. Or the razing of Fallujah in 2004. Or any of the innumerable other criminal acts for which we as a people gave no authorisation and had no responsibility.

Is Mayo about to sleepwalk into yet another war crime commemoration similar to its celebration of the rape of Delhi by Cornelius Coughlan and his colleagues in the British Army?

Jack Lane (PRO, AHS)

See

<http://www.indymedia.ie/article/89339>

for further reading.

Religious Scaffolding

Dublin Cathedral?

According to a report in *The Irish Catholic* (27.11.2008), Dublin will have a Catholic Cathedral for the first time in almost 500 years : well, almost!

The city's 'Pro' Cathedral will be given the honour of being raised to a full Cathedral to mark the 2012 Eucharistic Congress celebrations which the Vatican has announced will take place in Dublin.

Dublin city has not had a Catholic Cathedral since the 16th century when clergy loyal to the Pope were expelled from Christ Church Cathedral following King Henry VIII's Reformation in 1534.

Regarded as one of the great Catholic capitals, it is extraordinary that the city's Catholic bourgeoisie failed to elevate the Province of Dublin (Primatial See of Ireland) to a Cathedral city! Witness the beautiful edifices of St. Mary's Cathedral, Killarney; St. Macartan's, Monaghan or St. Eunan's in Letterkenny—all built in predominately rural Ireland and in times of great deprivation, yet they mustered the faith and will to undertake such outstanding architectural landmarks.

Dedicated to St. Mary (Immaculate Conception), the building in Marlborough Street was completed in 1825 pending the construction of a more fitting location and given the title *Cathedral pro tempore* (for the time being). W. T. Cosgrave, President of the Executive Council of the Free State from 1922 to 1932, suggested that the burnt out shell of the General Post Office, the location of the 1916 Easter Rising, be turned into a cathedral, but the idea was not acted on.

Archbishop John Charles McQuaid bought the gardens in the centre of Merrion Square and announced plans to erect a cathedral there, but this plan was later dropped.

Development

The Archbishop was more concerned about souls than architecture: during his episcopate John Charles McQuaid built some eighty new churches; over 250 primary schools were provided or

reconstructed; and over 100 secondary schools established. His episcopate of thirty-one years (1940-1971) saw the Catholic population of the Dublin archdiocese increase from 630,000 to over 800,000; the diocesan clergy increase from 370 to 600 and religious from 500 to 800. The Archbishop constituted sixty new parishes giving the archdiocese a total of 131 at his retirement.

He may not have had a Cathedral but he sure had some congregation.

During the episcopate of Archbishop Dermot Ryan (1971-1984), almost £4 million was spent on replacing the roof of the Pro-Cathedral and the restoration of a new altar.

The Pro-Cathedral was built on the site of the old town house of the Northern peer, Lord Annesley. In an earlier age, the Cistercians located an abbey on the same site.

When Henry VIII established the Anglican Church of Ireland as the State Church of Ireland in 1536, Christ Church has remained under Protestant control ever since.

"The designation of St. Mary's as a full cathedral would effectively end the Catholic Church's claim to Christchurch as the cathedral of the Archbishop loyal to Rome." (*The Irish Catholic*, 27.11.2008).

An *Irish Catholic* reader suggested that:

". . . we might persuade our Anglican brothers and sisters in Christ to return one of them [Christ Church or St. Patrick's] to the Catholic community to replace the Pro-Cathedral, if this were to come about, I would suggest Saint Patrick's might be more suitable, as it was never an ordinary Diocesan Cathedral as was Christ Church (The Cathedral of Holy Trinity). It is beyond question that both Cathedrals were built with Papal authority, by and for the use of the Catholic community, who were in full communion with Rome." (4.12.2008).

In the end, it all comes down to Mammon! Archbishop Diarmuid Martin said he would like to renovate the Pro-Cathedral but monies are tight.

The Dublin archdiocese may even

have to curtail its pastoral services in the future to finance the mounting cost of compensation to victims of clerical sex abuse.

A spokeswoman for the diocese said the €12.4 million (€9.1 million in settlements and €3.3 million in legal costs for both sides) paid out in settlements to date had been taken out of "funds that are available to the Archbishop to use at his own discretion".

"But those funds aren't going to be there indefinitely, in the future we have to change and adapt as the needs arise," the spokeswoman said.

"Given the information that continues to come to light, it is clear that some Diocesan pastoral planning may have to be curtailed to allow for adequate compensation of victims of abuse and other child protection services."

To date, 120 civil actions have been brought against 35 Dublin priests or priests who held appointments in the diocese. Of these 94 have been concluded and 26 are ongoing. The Commission of Inquiry into clerical child abuse in the Archdiocese is due to report in January, 2009 having secured three extensions to deal with the unprecedented number of claims.

"The Archbishop of Dublin wants to build more Churches, but financial pressures are upsetting his plans . . . Why build more Churches when the country is littered with churches? As an American friend once said of Ireland, 'I'm Massed out!'" (Garry O'Sullivan-Managing Editor, *The Irish Catholic*, 4.12.2008).

Cork: the 'real' Ecumenical Capital of Ireland

"Iconic cathedral poised for €1m repairs grant from council" was the headline in the *"Irish Examiner"* on October 11, 2008. Cork City Council has sanctioned the move to partially fund the estimated €4 million refurbishment works on the landmark St Fin Barre's Church of Ireland Cathedral, it will kick-start the process of securing further funding from central Government.

Designed by William Burges and consecrated in 1870, the Cathedral is a city landmark. The site of worship since the Seventh century, it is of international architectural significance and attracted more than 26,000 visitors last year.

"At the Reformation, this site and the existing church, a modest affair, passed into the ownership of the Church of Ireland and has remained so ever since. St. Fin Barre's Cathedral is the mother-church of the Church of Ireland Diocese of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, whose members contribute significantly to all

aspects of the public life of Cork." (Dr. Sean Pettit-"Pilgrim Trail in Cork").

In Cork, we have such a civilised way of saying and doing things, "passed into the ownership" rather than being "booted out", or "expelled" from our own church and place of worship.

Now we're going to pay a €1 million for its upkeep! And poor old Diarmuid Martin can barely maintain a Pro-Cathedral in one of Europe's richest cities, once the "second city of the Empire" and again, beginning to act as if it is back in the British Empire!

The entire works at St. Fin Barre's could cost up to €4m.

The Protestant Dean of Cork, the Very Reverend Nigel Dunne, had discussed the issue with city manager Joe Gavin who recommended to councillors that the city offers financial support, up to a maximum of €1 million, over the coming years. The Dean has approached the Heritage Council and the Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government for funding.

"In view of the important heritage value of St Fin Barre's, I recommend that the city council offers financial support," Mr Gavin stated in a report he presented to councillors. Mr Gavin is grappling with a direction from Government to slash 3 per cent from the council's payroll budget, funded from revenue sources.

It is understood the funding for the St Fin Barre's project will come from capital spending. The city is using €1.25m from capital funds to buy the original North Monastery School from the Christian Brothers and to transform it into a cultural centre.

George Errington and Edward McCabe's Red Hat

George Errington, MP for Longford (1874-1885), was accustomed to spend the winter in Rome and dabbled in Irish Church affairs to an incredible degree. Although a nominal Catholic he would seem to have put the interests of England before those of the Church. He emerges more as an agent of Britain and a traitor of Ireland than a harmless MP seeking a mild winter in Italy—as his scheming in relation to Archbishop of Dublin, Edward McCabe (1816-1885) indicates.

He had hoped to use McCabe in re-organising the Irish Church and then have a lever to work with and bring pressure to bear when necessary.

Errington went so far as to promote McCabe's elevation to the Cardinalate and was able to report to the British Foreign Secretary that Cardinal Ludovici Jacobini, Papal Secretary of State, had:

". . . supposed the government approved of McCabe's {political} conduct. I said Mr. {William Edward} Forster {Quaker-born Chief Secretary for Ireland and strong opponent of Home Rule} had over and over again spoken to me most highly of him and would, I am sure, be very glad if he were in a position to make his influence more widely felt."

On 6th March 1882, Foreign Secretary, George Granville wired Errington at Rome on McCabe's elevation to the Cardinalate:

"Express the cordial acknowledgement by Her Majesty's Government of the Pope's wisdom in making such an appointment."

McCabe was never a man to court publicity : he spoke his mind.

He was reputed to have little sympathy for the Land League movement; regularly denounced what he considered agrarian outrage and showed his strong disapproval of the "no rent" manifesto.

The Archbishop of Cashel, Thomas Croke attacked McCabe in a letter to the newspapers over the Dublin Archbishop's pastoral condemning the Ladies Land League. McCabe was shocked to be attacked in public by a fellow bishop. The dispute was referred to Rome but the matter was settled and then forgotten.

McCabe was hasty and outspoken, but never a man to hold a grudge! Indeed, he and Croke became life-long friends thereafter.

At the Pope's request, he had met Lord Spencer, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, at Dublin Castle on a few occasions to discuss Anglo-Papal relations, which is why many referred to him as a "*Castle Bishop*". However, it is doubtful if he ever took pleasure involving himself in politics.

When he passed away in February, 1885, the *Freeman's Journal* wrote of him thus:

"Dr. McCabe was an ideal priest, a charitable Christian and a most well-meaning and practical man; but of politics he knew little and about them he cared nothing. Born and bred in Dublin city, agricultural Ireland was a sealed book to him. He had read of it."

The President and the Polish Chaplain

She said that: "*the old days of them and us in which so much energy and hope was wasted along those formidable demarcation lines of Catholic and Protestant, of landlord and tenant, of Irish and Anglo, have manifestly begun*

to give way to a shared purpose and shared identity as shapers of a shared future" (President McAleese at Maynooth, 13.11.2008).

"People often confuse integration with assimilation. And the policy in this country is integration—we do not have to become like the Irish, there is us and there is them and we co-exist together." (Fr. Jaroslaw Maszkiewicz, head of the Polish chaplaincy in Ireland-*The Irish Catholic*, 4.12.2008.).

No, we are never too old to learn!

"PRESIDENT MARY McALEESE has turned her legal mind to the study of the law of the Catholic Church.

"Mrs. McAleese, a devout Catholic who ignited controversy by receiving communion in Christ Church Cathedral, was yesterday conferred with a Higher Diploma in Canon Law." (*Irish Independent*, 9.10.2008).

This was no honorary accolade, such as she has been awarded by universities the world over, but the end of a one-year programme of study at Dublin's Milltown Institute where the President attended class regularly.

The President has now embarked on a follow-up MA in Canon Law, which involves in-depth research of one aspect of the Code of Canon Law.

A spokesperson for the President said this was an area of study that she was interested in and she had undertaken the course in a private capacity in her own time.

Mrs. McAleese, who graduated in law from Queens University Belfast, was a member of the Catholic Church Episcopal Delegation to the New Ireland Forum in 1984 and a member of the Catholic Church delegation to the North Commission on Contentious Parades in 1996.

"Back in 1997, Mrs. McAleese was accused of breaking Canon Law when she received Communion in the Protestant Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, in what she saw as a bridge-building gesture against a backdrop of the evolving Northern peace process. However, the then Archbishop of Dublin, Dr Desmond Connell, took a dim view and said it was a "sham" for Catholics to receive communion in a Protestant church." (*ibid*)

**MORE VOX PAT
on page 38**

Catherine Dunlop

Review of *God's Executioner, Oliver Cromwell And The Conquest of Ireland*, by Micheál Ó Siochrú. Faber and Faber, 2008

Stuart Ireland And The Cromwellians

The innocent reader buying the book gets both more and less than could be expected from the title and cover. *More*, because the book begins in 1641 and covers more than the conquest of Ireland. *Less*, because Cromwell occupies only two chapters and God hardly gets a mention. The author indeed asks why so much is made of Cromwell, when others played as great a part in the conquest of Ireland, and were responsible for as great or greater atrocities. The conquest of Ireland was not a foregone conclusion, and Cromwell made it more difficult for the English, not less. But the author doesn't really answer his own question.

A Subliminal Battle

To the outsider reading about Irish history, the vocabulary can be confusing. The innocuous sounding term '*plantation*' for example means the taking of lands from their owners and the expulsion of said owners to be replaced by colonisers, with consequent hardship, to put it mildly. Words like '*expropriation*' and '*confiscation*' are much clearer and would make it more difficult for historians to write phrases like "*Catholic resentment at loss of land*" (p21), which seem to imply that Catholic were offended in their honour, rather than totally deprived of their homes and livelihood.

Pejorative phrases like "*bands of native outlaws*" (p14) or "*landless labourers and notorious outlaws*" become comprehensible but harder to use blandly, as the author does, when you know the reality behind the word *plantation*.

The author is surely trying to write objectively, but in attempting to do so he uses the vocabulary of the invader: the Irish were "*recalcitrant*"; there were "*disaffected*" elements among them. "*They refused to embrace the reformed faith, creating deep divisions*". Creating divisions! "*Their stubborn refusal to discard their faith*". Stubborn! Discard!

Throughout the book, the Irish are described as "*rebels*", even though the author makes it clear that they supported the Stuart Kings of England, Scotland and Ireland from beginning to end. *Chambers Dictionary* gives the meaning of '*rebel*' as '*one who resents and resists authority or grievous conditions*'. It is therefore not necessarily a pejorative

term. While it may be wrong to resist authority, it is right to resent and resist grievous conditions. The trouble is that the term is ambiguous and easily taken and understood in its negative meaning, especially in a book which seems to take the English point of view for granted. The other problem is that it is not clear who the rebels are rebelling against, and it is too easy to assume the Irish were rebelling against '*England*', when it is not the case, as the author makes plain.

Legitimacy

Ó Siochrú writes that, in 1641-42,

"the rebel leaders clearly distinguished between the institutions of power, which they supported, and the current occupants, in this case the Lords Justices in Dublin, whom they bitterly opposed. They fought against bad governors rather than a bad system of government" (p27); the rebels then "established a parallel government to the colonial administration in Dublin" (p33).

The author means they formed an alternative to the Dublin Parliament, of which we learned that the Catholic 'Old English' were members, although no longer dominant in 1641.

Later, on page 35, we learn that "Parliamentarians"—Ó Siochrú's term for those in England who were against the King, that is, the Puritans—came to form the majority in Dublin also. Describing the Puritans as "*Parliamentarians*" is misleading as the word carries a modern connotation of democratic legitimacy. Furthermore Cromwell ruled without Parliament for years. He called selected Parliaments and suppressed them at will.

The very term "*1641 Rebellion*"—which is applied to the Irish response to English constitutional upheaval—conveys the English view of what happened. By contrast *Rising* or *Revolt* would not convey disapproval of an illegitimate action. It was England that was in rebellion, as Lord Clarendon recognised when he wrote his *History Of The Rebellion*.

Penal Laws

In London Puritan opposition to the King in Parliament had been continuous since the 1620s, gradually gaining in strength. One of their weapons was anti-

Catholic propaganda: they insisted that Penal Laws be applied strongly, ensuring that, if you wanted to be part of upper layers of society, you had to be a Protestant. Catholics were not allowed to hold office, send their children to public school, buy property in London or practise their religion in public etc. The objective was to remove the Catholic religion from England, and it succeeded to a large extent. Since Ireland was a province of the Kingdom, the same thing was to be done there, but obviously to a much greater proportion of the population.

The King's representative in Ireland, Strafford, built up the country as a base of support for the King. To further this objective, he developed the Parliament into an institution representative of various interests and built up the country. When the King executed Strafford at the behest of the English Parliament, it was clear to supporters of the Stuarts in Ireland, that measures against them were in the offing. That was when Gaelic land-owners rose against the planters in Ulster, providing ammunition to the Puritan propaganda offensive in England.

Within Ireland:

"The ferocious reaction of the government exacerbated an already explosive situation. On 23 October 1641, the day after the rebellion broke out in Ulster, the Lords Justices, Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, issued a proclamation blaming the disorder on 'evil affected Irish Papists' without distinction."

"Over the next two months, brutal and indiscriminate reprisals by colonial commanders ... horrified the Old English community."

Talking about St. Leger, a colonial commander,

"a commentator recorded the execution of innocent civilians 'gave the people a general apprehension that the extirpation of the Catholic religion and the nation, not the punishment of men's particular crimes', was the end he aimed at".

In this context—and Ó Siochrú explains the context in great detail, including "*heavy handed colonial military tactics*", indeed, the habitual "*government sponsored slaughter*"—a massacre of Protestant settlers in Ulster occurred in November of that year. He adds: "*Latest research suggest that up to 5000 Protestants perished during the first few months of the rebellion, along with a similar number of Catholics, victims of retaliatory attacks by government forces*". Obviously we are talking of a process here: it is not that 5,000 Protestants were killed, then 5,000 Catholics. There was tit-for-tat killing

and counter-killing.

The author explains that later commentators tried, wrongly, to make out that Ireland was peaceful and prosperous when the rising occurred. He points out that the Earl of Strafford—the strongest and ablest ally of the King and his representative in Ireland, at a time when the Irish Parliament was being taken over by the King's enemies—was executed; leaving Ireland without royal representation. Ó Siochrú does not point out that Ireland was in a political vacuum as a consequence. Nor that the Irish had only further repression to expect from the elements who forced the King to execute his Minister.

Revenge?

In England "*Revenge for the Settlers*" was then used to whip up enthusiasm for the Puritan war in Ireland, and at the same time to justify it, in language with modern resonance in England's later wars. This slogan was effective, and destined to have a long life. The date 1641 is still a live date in Northern Ireland. Strangely, although the author explains the nature of the events clearly, he still says that the English came to Ireland "*to avenge the Protestant settlers*". (pp51, 53, 63, 79, among others). If he had used inverted commas, it would be clear that it was England's position he was describing. By simply repeating the propagandist terminology of the conqueror, he is reinforcing it.

According to the author, Cromwell was wrong to claim Drogheda was destroyed "*to avenge the settlers*", because the population had had nothing to do with the Ulster rebellion!

Elsewhere in the book it is clear that the Puritans came to Ireland to grab the land. Within months of the rising, in 1642, the *Adventurers Act* raised money against the expectation of 'forfeited' Irish land, with Cromwell investing £600 of his own money in the venture. Thus politics and business made good bed-fellows, and even those who had no direct part in the Puritan Crusade in Ireland shared in its profits. The anti-Catholic crusade improved the standing of the Puritans in England after the unpopular execution of Charles I.

Again, in describing these events, Ó Siochrú uses the English term "*forfeited*" without inverted commas, obscuring the robbery involved: *confiscated* would be less opaque, but could still carry the implication of a just retribution. Yet elsewhere, the author seems to acknowledge that the massacre of settlers was an excuse invoked for public consumption in England, for instance writing on page 227 that, "*Cromwell, publicly at least, predicated his military intervention in 1649 on the need to exact revenge*".

Savages?

Still probably trying to be impartial, Ó Siochrú gives the English view of the Irish as barbarous savages, without comment. In doing so he perpetuates the myth with the general reader of an uncivilised society. There is just one sentence mentioning poets who wrote about Cromwell, and the Bibliography tells us that "*Irish bardic poetry has provided a rich seam for historical research*". You have to read John Minahane's essay *Ireland's War Poets 1641-1653* (in *The Poems Of Geoffrey O'Donoghue*, Aubane Historical Society, 2008) to find out that Catholic noble families sent their sons to poetry schools—for as long as twenty years—and that poets were not just paid bards but nobles and soldiers.

Destroy the castles, chase the noble families from the land, and you destroy the culture at the same time, which happened at the end of the War when "*Catholics were left in possession of only one fifth of the land total, a huge reduction from the 60 per cent they owned prior to the 1641 rebellion*" (p248). I am reminded of comments by the French philosopher Simone Weil in *The Need For Roots* regarding Julius Caesar's policy of exterminating druids; they were poets, masters of a huge inheritance of verse. This is not something you learn in the Roman history.

Genocide?

The notion of "*extirpating the whole nation*" is mentioned at least three times in the book in the shape of the authorities denying they had such intentions. For example, the preamble to the *Act of Settlement* of 1660 "*reassured the general population that the parliamentary regime did not intend 'to extirpate the whole nation'...*" (p226). Did the Irish need to be reassured that the authorities did not have genocidal intentions?

Under that Act, all Catholic land-owners were condemned to full or partial confiscation of their estates. The population of all ranks was removed from their land and pushed to the West of Ireland. This is shown clearly on the map on page 236 (once you have mentally adjusted the captions, which are the wrong way round). Thousands were killed, or sent as slaves to the West Indies; many soldiers went to the Continent to enrol in the French and Spanish armies.

In this context I would like to quote John Minahane:

"On the Confederate side, vast numbers of fighting men were leaving for Spain. Among them was Theobald Purcell, Baron of Loughmoe in

Tipperary, who must have taken ship some time in 1650. He had fought throughout the Rebellion with the Confederates, and by now his estates were ruined and his position hopeless. Haicéad made a moving poem on his departure. Here for the first time Haicéad faces the prospect of defeat, the likelihood of years of tyranny, and the fact of his own aging, which means he will not see the soldiers' return:

"No worse, I feel, is the slaughter of the strong,
than my friends alive being heaped over the sea
and if they return, the way will not be short,
I won't be there—no happy end for me!"
(p210, author's translation of the original Irish which is also given).

Role Of Cromwell

Ó Siochrú, if anything, plays down the importance of Cromwell, taking him as being representative of English attitudes:

"There is a failure to acknowledge fully the extent to which Cromwell's views on Ireland mirrored those of the vast majority of his contemporaries in England, who applauded the crushing of all native resistance, regardless of the cold-blooded methods employed in achieving his goal" (p5).

He was "unquestionably the most ruthless exponent of his country's uncompromising policy of conquest and colonisation" (p2).

Far from impetuously rushing across the sea to do God's will, Cromwell spent months preparing the campaign and would not go until he had been given the enormous sum of £100 000, by a Parliament already impoverished by years of civil war—which presumably intended to recoup the money. His conduct of the war "*almost certainly prolonged it by a number of years*" (p249). The book shows that the war had little to do with Cromwell's will and personality. The so-called *Cromwellian Act of Settlement* of 1652 was in fact contained in the 1642 *Adventurers Act* (see p224).

You could almost conclude that Cromwell was a convenient hate figure, the scapegoat for the crimes of a nation, an outsider only present in Ireland for nine months and responsible for well-remembered atrocities. Ó Siochrú says that English resident planters were often really responsible for atrocities attributed to Cromwell's troops. The Irish lived to fight another day, again for a Stuart King. This time the defeat was more absolute, but, by contrast, the event that occasioned it is still known as the Glorious Revolution. *

Pat Muldowney

Review of *Irish Jansenists 1600-70, Religion and Politics in Flanders, France, Ireland and Rome* by Thomas O'Connor, Four Courts Press 2008

Jansenism

Jansenism is often thought of as a puritanical trend in Catholicism, given to scrupulosity and rigour in religious practice. It is often blamed for Catholic obsession with sexual sin.

This book provides a much fuller explanation of Jansenism as a Catholic reform movement following the 16th century breach with Protestantism, a movement influenced by a perceived need for better clerical education and improvement of standards in religious practice. The Jansenist movement was influential in France, Flanders and Ireland, where Roman Catholicism came under strong pressure from politically-powerful Protestantism, and where debate with Protestant theorists took place.

On the Protestant-Catholic axis, Jansenism can be seen as a shift in the direction of Protestant religious values. It was founded on the writings of St. Augustine whose doctrine of divine grace offered a solution to the Calvinist conundrum of Predestination versus Free Will. (If an omniscient deity knows everything that will ever happen, then He knows whether each individual will sin or not. Therefore, in advance of the individual choosing to commit the sin, the outcome is already known to God, so the outcome is predetermined in some sense. It follows that the individual's choice or exercise of free will is an illusion, and his future salvation or damnation is pre-determined or pre-destined.)

The Jansenists countered this with the doctrine of Grace. When I first heard of this doctrine at a young age it seemed to make practical sense. Because farm machinery was lubricated with grease, for which the local pronunciation was "gr'ase", it seemed reasonable enough

that God might use some kind of divine grease to make human conduct better. And it made sense that the individual should have to make an effort to ingratiate himself with God in order to earn some of this divine grease. The Predestination/Free Will paradox could be resolved by linking human will to divine will by means of grease/grace.

In the 17th century, much more than the afterlife hinged on these seemingly arcane religious issues. The ownership of Ireland was at stake, and the outcome was to dominate Irish life until the Land Acts at the end of the nineteenth century. The 17th century contest disrupted Irish society fatally. It wrecked an emerging economic development based on the indigenous social elements, both Irish and English. A new, alien British stratum was imposed which never 'took' because it proved incapable of establishing an organic connection with Irish life. The long-term cost was centuries of conflict and millions of famine deaths. Ultimately the only feasible resolution of the problem was Irish independence from Britain—a step which in the 17th century would have been considered outlandish by most people in Ireland.

In France, Jansenism is linked with Gallicanism, a movement which favoured a French Catholicism which was relatively autonomous from the papacy. It did not go as far as Henry VIII who while remaining largely Catholic in doctrine was, in national terms, independent of Rome. The Stuart king Charles I was linked by marriage to France, and the Stuarts remained close to France until their extinction in the 18th century. In Ireland, Catholic Jansenism/Gallicanism favoured compromise with the Protestant Stuart monarchy.

On the other hand, the papacy was allied to Spain, the deadly enemy of the new religious and political order in Britain following Elizabeth, and the ally of Irish rebels such as Hugh O'Neill and the Ulster Chiefs. In contrast to Jansenist compromisers, this faction can be called Ultramontane. While the Papacy, represented in Ireland by Archbishop Rinnuccini, might have preferred the restoration of the Catholic Church *cum splendore* (traditional glory), even this faction would have been unprepared to hand back to the Church the monastic lands which had been dished out to the old landholders at a time when a serious

effort was being made to integrate native Irish society into the emerging British order. The seizure of monastic lands and commons land was the basis of the new capitalist economic development.

In conjunction with land title generally, these problems tended to crystallise politically around the issue of the Churches—the physical buildings themselves—whether they would be taken back from the State Protestant Church and restored to Catholic use. As head of the State Church, Charles I could hardly agree to that. Jansenists/Gallicans were prepared to concede on this point in return for religious toleration and confirmation of land title which was under threat. Because at the start of the 1641 Rebellion in Ireland, Charles had signed an Act under which confiscated Irish estates would be the means of paying the military for suppression of the rebellion.

In Ireland some of the names of more prominent clergy of the period are still remembered. These include David Rothe, Bishop of Ossory (or Kilkenny, where the Parliament of the Confederation met). The Waterford Franciscan Luke Wadding, represented the Confederation in Rome. Florence Conry (Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire) was chaplain to the army of Ulster in Hugh O'Neill's rebellion and welcomed the Earls to Louvain on the occasion of their Flight in 1607. He founded the Irish Franciscan College at Louvain, and, as scion of a bardic family, wrote the famous *Scathán an Chrábhaidh* (Mirror Of Piety), a translation into Irish of a Catalan poem.

All of these were close to Jansenism/Gallicanism, and sought an accommodation with the secular power of the monarch Charles I, even though he was Protestant. There were many practical reasons for this, not least the monastic lands which had been acquired by the Catholic landowners in Ireland by the actions of the English monarch Henry VIII.

Traditionally the papacy had a secular role in Western Christendom, embodying in some sense a system of international law recognised by the secular powers. In this capacity Pope Adrian IV in 1155 had given the English Crown the authority to rule Ireland, an authority which was not seriously challenged in Ireland until the end of the eighteenth century. All that happened in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was that the Irish disagreed with other subjects of the three kingdoms as to which of the claimants to state power in England should exercise authority in the three kingdoms.

On the other hand, the secular authority had a role in religious affairs. For instance, even after they had lost the

The Poems of Geoffrey O' Donoghue/Dánta Shéarfráidh Uí Dhonnchadha an Ghleanna, with Ireland's War Poets 1641-53 translated and edited by John Minahane

(first full collection of Geoffrey O' Donoghue's poetry in Irish with translations into English; also includes a collection of Gaelic poetry of the period of the Confederate Wars of the 1640s with an account of that conflict as seen through the work of the major poets of the era). 302 pp. ISBN 978-1-903497-49-4. Aubane Historical Society. 2008. €25, £20.

Three Kingdoms, the Stuarts continued to have a role in the appointment of Irish Bishops. Even today religious faith plays a residual role in secular affairs. When you think about it, what is the secular logic of swearing oaths in court? But in the seventeenth century, the points of religion at issue between Jansenists and Ultramontanists were crucially important to everyone, not just theologians.

The Jansenists were bitterly opposed to the Jesuits who represented a different tendency in the Catholic reform. The latter asserted a more traditional role for the Papacy as a secular powerbroker. Because they regarded papal authority (the authority of Jesus transmitted through his divinely appointed representatives on earth) as the essence of Christianity, they were not so reliant as the Jansenists on a rigorously uniform system of Catholic religious practice in order to distinguish true religion from heresy. So they were much more flexible and adaptable to local tradition and culture in their various missions in China, Japan, India, North and South America.

Thomas O'Connor's book sets the scene by outlining the various political solutions to the problem of religious minorities in western European Christian states. The Treaty of Augsburg (1555) established the principle of *cuius regio eius religio*—subjects should subscribe to the religion chosen by their ruler (why not the other way round?); but this left the thorny problem of dissenting minorities. If they were not to be persecuted and forced to change religion, how was toleration to be organised and managed by the State, and how should the minority assert its interests without jeopardising the State? After a period of religious warfare French Protestants were constituted into a separate estate under the monarch and this settlement lasted for a century or so. Dutch Catholics were kept out of politics.

The Catholic Church in Ireland had been wrecked in the 16th century and the State Church had failed to get popular support. Thomas O'Connor's book traces the huge intellectual and political effort made by Irish clerics in Europe and Ireland to devise a solution. Jansenism was one result. He tells in detail the political contests in Ireland between the various trends in Catholic theology, how they related to the broader military, political and social developments in the first half of the 17th century, and how they fared in the aftermath of cataclysmic defeat at the hands of Cromwell.

As a very crude indicator, the secular clergy (diocesan priests and bishops whose livings depended on landowners and the existing establishment) were, with notable exceptions, in favour of a

settlement with Charles I and the royalists at almost any price. On the other hand, the regular clergy such as the Franciscans who had, as papal missionaries, revived Catholic practice after the Elizabethan onslaught, were in favour of re-establishing the majority religion in Ireland on the basis of official recognition. That meant restoring church property to Catholic use. Again there were prominent exceptions, such as the Franciscan Peter Walsh and the Irish Jesuits.

The Ultramontane policy was effectively destroyed by the 1648 Peace of Westphalia which ended the international secular role of the Papacy as a military power and as (for Catholics) the embodiment of international law. Westphalia confirmed the Augsburg principle, and asserted a principle of religious toleration for Christian minorities. In regard to Catholicism this was a French/Jansenist/Gallican triumph. It cut the ground from under the Papacy which, as a secular power, had provided military and political aid to the Irish Confederates who were still at war in 1648.

But the defeat and execution of Charles I destroyed, in turn, the Jansenist/Gallican policy in Ireland. Archbishop Rinuccini left Ireland in 1649 in advance of Cromwell's arrival. Cromwell introduced an era in which Ireland is best compared, not with any west European country, but with the

colonial territories of Virginia and New England. The Westphalia settlement did not apply. Three centuries later the situation was resolved by a policy of Irish national independence which, when it was first proposed in 1645 by the Cork Jesuit C. O'Mahony in his *Disputatio Apologetica, de Iure regni Hiberniae pro Catholicis Hibernis adversus haereticos Anglos*, was dismissed out of hand in Ireland.

This era is important in many ways. Not least in that, having had a measure of autonomy forced on it, Ireland developed a foreign policy for the first time.

In Church terms, Thomas O'Connor's book describes how Jansenism/Gallicanism itself lost ground in the Church as the papacy retreated to a more strictly religious role. But religious modernisers eventually got their revenge on the Jesuits when they were suppressed by the Church a century or so later.

Of all the European tendencies—Calvinist, Anglo-Catholic, Gallican, Jansenist, Freemason, Enlightenment—it seems to me that the record of the papally-minded Jesuits in resisting European extermination of colonised peoples in the 17th and 18th centuries is the one with most to recommend it.

Further reading:

Padraig Lenihan, *Confederate Catholics At War*, Cork 2001.

Michael Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland 1642-49*, Dublin 1999.

Stephen Richards

Second part of a series on Robert Lewis Dabney, inspired by Sean Michael Lucas, *A Southern Presbyterian Life* (P&R Publishing, Philipsburg, NJ, 2005). Part One of this series appeared in *Church & State*, No. 3 of 2008

Contending For the Faith

In the last issue of *Church & State* I was gently chastised by Robert Burrage for my possibly extravagant numerical claims made on behalf of the Presbyterian church of America (PCA) in the first part. In fact, Robert could have put the statistical argument even more forcefully if he hadn't confused the PCA with the post-1983 mainline Presbyterian Church (USA), the product of the united Northern and Southern Churches, which had an estimated membership of 3.2 million at the date of union, but had been leaking members steadily ever since. I believe the PCA has less than half a million members, so it's not much bigger than the Irish Presbyterian Church, and is about the same size as the beleaguered Presbyt-

erian Church in Egypt; but it is still growing.

Quite rightly my use of the word "apparently" is highlighted. A decade of listening to Gordon Brown has made me distrustful of statistics; and 'apparently' was intended as a kind of shorthand way of denoting the raised eyebrow. It's always easy for a small organization to claim that it has doubled or tripled in size. Also, in the case of the PCA, there is the added factor that, in the course of its development, it has incorporated into itself the Reformed Presbyterian Church, Evangelical Synod. (I apologize to those who may not find the kaleidoscopic history of American Presbyterianism as fascinating as I do.)

At a more general level, the

phenomenal growth of the so-called megachurches has tended to disguise the underlying weakness of the evangelical constituency in America, especially on the Atlantic and Pacific seaboard. Out of the older declining denominations, however, has emerged a young, hardcore reformed, i.e. Calvinistic, movement, made up of previously disaffected or disillusioned youths who suddenly find themselves reading Jonathan Edwards under the tutelage of leaders like Mark Driscoll in Seattle and Tim Keller in New York (see Colin Hansen, *Young Restless, Reformed*). So there are waves and counter-waves going on all over the American Christian cosmos, which makes me conclude that the American Evangelical story isn't likely to shudder to a halt for a while yet.

Federalism

Anyway, back to Dabney. However dishonest he may be in his biblical and historical exegesis at crucial points, he is so blatant in his special pleading that it almost enhances the rugged astringent quality of his writing. He just comes out and says things that seem to us almost intolerable, and maybe seemed not much less so to many of his contemporaries. He had no time for the decent draperies of language, which is what makes him so interesting as a specimen of old southern *antebellum* man.

I was hoping that his main polemical book, *A Defense Of Virginia And Through Her Of The South*, would give me some idea of his theoretical position on secession, and the constitutional arguments which were supposed to underpin the Confederacy. The book is still widely available and was republished by Sprinkle Publications, Harrisonburg, Virginia, as recently as 1991 in a cheap but attractive plain cloth edition. But the "defense" in this case turns out to be a defence of Virginia as a slave state, with a justification on moral, historical and biblical grounds. The nineteenth century white supremacist writers of England aren't so easily come by, or, as with H.G. Wells and Charles Darwin, their racial theories are hushed up.

Of secessionist arguments *per se* I can find very little in Dabney's writings. It is of course assumed that the Northern states had overstepped the bounds of constitutional propriety, thus leaving the southerners no alternative but to band together to protect their rights to self-government, but I would have expected Dabney to argue at great length the virtues of his interpretation of the federal system of government. The constitutional structure of the US has been incredibly resilient. It has been subjected to some tremendous traumas: the Civil War itself, the two World Wars,

the New Deal (on which Desmond Fennell has some very perceptive comments), the Great Society, *Roe v. Wade*, and the Walmart-isation of American culture. But somehow it seems to reassert itself. States' Rights has been the instinctive cry of American conservatives. Ronald Reagan, perhaps the most thoughtful of the post-war Presidents, writes that people like him are often accused of wanting fifty independent countries (*Selected Letters*), and he doesn't totally deny the charge. Nearly every Presidential contender casts himself in the William Jennings Bryan mould, as the voice of the outsider, with a mission to clean up Washington. There seems to be something of the same mentality in the politics of the Irish Republic as well, whereas in mainland Britain that whole rhetorical device is meaningless.

The whole idea of the United States of America implies that certain independent commonwealths (it's still the Commonwealth of Massachusetts) have entered into a defensive alliance against a common enemy. It may be that the relevant precedents for the founding fathers were the United Provinces of Holland and the Swiss cantons. The danger being removed, the states can then go back and mind their own concerns. If it's felt that there is some overreaching end which can be best realized in a Federal Union, this can be limited to currency, postal services, economic policy, and an army supported by each of the states in proportion to size or wealth, maintained for defensive purposes only. If things had turned out that way, the United States might not have become a, or the, Superpower, but economically it would have been the wonder of the world.

This was not an improbable outcome, even if the possibility of its realization was irrevocably lost in 1917, when the US committed itself on the anti-German side. From 1777 to 1791 Vermont had remained aloof from the rest of the States, Texas had a history as an independent republic, and we learn more recently that Sarah Palin's Alaska has a strong independence movement. Large parts of the south were not reconciled to the Federal Union for generations after the end of the Civil War. For eighty years, until 1945, the people of Vicksburg Mississippi refused to celebrate Independence Day, which was the anniversary of the surrender of the town to the forces of Ulysses S. Grant.

Power Politics

A substantial element in Southern society still resents its nineteenth century humiliation, but strangely this resentment has gone hand in hand with the increasing recognition of the South

as the heartland of US militarism; and, while I have no statistics, I would suspect that the armed forces recruit rather more heavily from south of the Mason-Dixon line than from the north. It occurs to me that this development might be akin to what the British State achieved among the remnants of the defeated Highland clans after Culloden: it was able to transform them into highly effective fighting units in the service of the Empire. Both the Highlands and the southern States had become demoralized and disorientated after a cataclysmic defeat. The scarcity of other jobs presumably was another factor. Psychologically too these were both proud patriarchal cultures, and they needed an outlet needed for their self-esteem, which they found by subjecting other cultures to a humiliation even more profound.

While there has been more of a shift of power to the federal institutions than some feel comfortable with, the degree of legislative and financial autonomy enjoyed by the individual states is still impressive. One hears constantly, in movies and in actual political campaigning, references made as a matter of course to "the great state of Alabama" or wherever, reinforcing the dictum of the late Tip O'Neill that "all politics is local". But I can't imagine an English politician referring with a straight face to "the great county of Hampshire".

A very proper criticism that could be made of the European Union as it has developed is the lack of clear constitutional boundaries. The problem is not that it has become or is becoming a Federal Union, but that it has never become a federal union; so, despite occasional lip service being paid to the concept of "subsidiarity", there is no mechanism in place whereby the member states can appeal to a supreme court for a ruling on the competence of domestic courts and legislatures. Lord Denning long ago depicted the incursion of European law as analogous to the tidal waters running further and further up the rivers. Something of the same problem of course infects the relationship between the Westminster and Holyrood Parliaments. the British constitution used to be able to get away with this kind of fluidity, but maybe for not much longer.

Liberties

So, even in what he might have judged to be its present-day debased form, the US Constitution would still be recognizable to Dabney. The building designed by Jefferson has been knocked about a bit over the years, and has had one or two interesting extensions bolted on, but it's still structurally sound, and

retains its classical form and function. that function was to provide a framework within which citizens could get on with their own lives with a minimum of interference, whether by Federal or indeed state institutions. It enabled communities to be self-governing. You got excited (and Dabney did get very excited) only when these liberties were threatened.

Dabney as polemicist needs plenty of elbow room to make his points, and many of the particular battlegrounds over which he fought are now concreted over, like most of the Civil War battlegrounds themselves. First we will hear him on the Walnut Street case which was eventually adjudicated upon by the Supreme Court, and where the issues were dear to his heart:

"The Walnut Street or Third Presbyterian Church of Louisville, Kentucky, dates from 1842. In the spring of 1861 it had the Rev. Mr. McElroy as stated supply, Messrs. Watson, Gault and Avery as elders, and a board of trustees elected biennially by the congregation, who, by a law of Kentucky, were a corporation entitled to hold their house of worship. The attempts of the General Assembly, Old School, to legislate abolition and centralizing politics into Christ's kingdom, by a usurped spiritual authority, of course produced many divisions in this border church. Messrs. McElroy, Watson and Gault, with half the congregation, sympathized with the invaded spiritual rights of the people; Mr. Avery and the rest with the aggressive party. These divisions at length drew the attention of Synod, which, in January 1866, visited the church by a committee, which called a meeting of the congregation to choose a new stated supply and elect new elders. Messrs. Watson and Gault, a majority of the session {elders} caused that body to resist this call as irregular, and at the bidding of the session, whom the Kentucky law of incorporation clothed with that power, the trustees closed the house against the meeting... when the Assembly of 1866 meddled in the matter, the session resisted their order on the same ground. They were sustained in both positions by the court of Appeals of Kentucky. But a part of the people organized a meeting upon the sidewalk, and went through the form of installing three new elders... ..But Messrs. Watson and Gault, with a majority of the trustees, refused to recognize the newly elected as real elders. {The new 'elders'} began a suit in the Louisville Chancery Court, presided over by a radical judge, for possession of the house."

The decision didn't meet with the approval of the traditional party, who

appealed to the Court of Appeals of Kentucky, where the decision was overturned and the *status quo ante* restored. But the matter didn't end there, because by a despicable ruse, as Dabney saw it, the innovators managed to bring the matter before a Federal District Court in the neighbouring state of Indiana, where they got their way; and the only appeal that now lay was to the Supreme Court of the United States, where it came up for hearing in December 1871. The first ground of appeal was that the Federal Courts had no jurisdiction to interfere in proceedings that were still running their course in a State Court, which "*was related to the Federal courts, not as an inferior but as a coordinate tribunal*", which objection was overruled.

"The second point of the appeal raised the main question, with which alone we are now concerned. The appellants held, in accordance with the Supreme Court of Kentucky, that in this country church and state are wholly independent of each other, and the civil law guaranteed to all absolute freedom of religious opinion and of religious action, so far as it does not infringe the law or the civil right of any fellow-citizen. That consequently no civil tribunal has any right to touch spiritual doctrines or rights as such; that the proper sphere of these civil tribunals is to protect and adjudicate all civil and secular rights..."

Dabney's contention was not that the civil courts would never have to adjudicate over interpretations of ecclesiastical constitutions and dispositions of church property. Indeed the hard fought litigation among Irish Presbyterians over the bequest of Martha Maria Magee around that same time is a famous example of such intervention. And just over a hundred years previously a fierce property dispute with the Free Church of Scotland reached the House of Lords.

"But", says Dabney, "the court's jurisdiction over such questions reaches only to the secular rights of a party in the premises, and may not be extended to meddle with his spiritual rights, duties or opinions. This, the established doctrine of the British courts, and the prevalent one of American courts, was overruled by the majority of the Supreme Court of the United States."

The courts, in essence, have to have regard for continuity of purpose.

Dabney then proceeds to review the leading English and Scottish authorities on the disputed point with a panache that indicates he would have made a formidable lawyer. After this technical *tour de force* lasting for thirty pages, he concludes with a majestic peroration:

"The least perspicacious may see the bearing of this new law upon the rights and existence of the Southern Presbyterian Church. Its consistent application would rob us of every endowment, every printing-house, church, manse, burying-ground and school, and every missionary or evangelistic fund held in the name of the church... It is to be presumed that the Supreme Court means to be consistent. The Northern assembly, then, has only to extend an enactment precisely identical to all our other churches, and they must expect to see their property follow the fate of the Walnut Street Church. the only tenure by which southern Presbyterians hold the possessions, bought with Southern labor and money, bestowed by the piety of our sainted Southern ancestors, for the purpose of upholding the doctrines and principles which we still maintain, but which the Northern Assembly has in part discarded and now assails, is the optionary forbearance, or timidity, or policy of that hostile and accusing body. Does one say, 'They do not dream of wielding that power'? For their own credit we hope they do not. But this solace is dashed by two thoughts. The first is, whether a free people can be content to hold fights so clear and dear by the mere sufferance of another association? the second is the pertinent enquiry, For what end and use did the Northern Assembly so eagerly engross this law of tyranny in its own code, and for what purpose is it now retained there? To promote 'fraternal relations'?"

There is a quality about Dabney's writing, a pungency, astringency, intensity, which makes it cleansing to the palate. Before we depart from legal territory I have to quote from a lovely essay of Dabney's on the morality of the legal profession:

"Many years ago, an advocate, distinguished for his eloquence and high social character, successfully defended a vile assassin, and, by his tact, boldness and pathos, secured a verdict of acquittal. When the accused was released, he descended into the crowd of the court house, to receive the congratulations of his degraded companions, and, almost wild with elation, advanced to his advocate, offering his hand, with profuse expressions of admiration and gratitude. The dignified lawyer sternly joined his own hands behind his back and turned away, saying 'I touch no man's hand that is foul with murder.' But in what light did this advocate learn that this criminal was too base to be recognized as a fellow man? The court had pronounced him innocent! It was only by the light of his private judgment—a private judgment formed not only in advance of, but in the teeth of, the authorized verdict. Where,

now, were all the quibbles by which this honourable gentleman had persuaded himself to lend his professional skill to protect from a righteous doom a wretch too vile to touch his hand? As that, 'the lawyer is not the judge; that he is not authorized to decide the merits of the case'? Doubtless, this lawyer's understanding spoke now, clear enough, in some such terms as these: 'my hand is my own; it is a purely personal question to myself whether I shall give it to this murderer; and, in deciding that personal question, I have a right to be guided by my own personal opinion of him. In claiming this, I infringe no legal right to life, liberty or possessions, which the constituted authorities have restored to him.' But, was not his tongue his own, in the same sense with his hand? Was not the question, whether he could answer it to his God for having used his tongue to prevent the punishment of crime, as much a private, personal, individual matter, to be decided by his own private judgment, as the question whether he should shake hands with a felon?

"We conclude, therefore, that the only moral theory of the legal profession is that which makes conscience preside over every official word and act in precisely the same mode as over the private, individual life. It does not appear how the virtuous man can consistently go one inch further, in the advocacy of a client's cause, than his own honest private judgment decides the judge and jury out to go, or justify in the bar anything which he would not candidly justify in his own private circle; or seek for any client anything more than he in his soul believes righteousness demands... It might follow, also, that he who undertook to practice the law on this Christian theory would find that he had a narrow and arduous road along which to walk. We, at least, should not lament, should Christian young men conclude so. Then, perhaps, the holy claims of the gospel ministry might command the hearts of some who are now seduced....by this attractive but dangerous profession."

Society

It's just possible that Dabney had some dim sense of foreboding with regard to the massive litigation factory which American society was to engender over the next century. The disease of compulsive litigation was in a sense the evil concomitant of his doctrines of constitutional freedom and limited government. But Dabney's belief system worked on the assumption that individuals would no ruthlessly pursue their own ends, but would be governed by a network of family, social, and religious obligations—responsible communities, rather than irresponsible

individuals.

An earlier passage in the same essay would suggest that Dabney had insights in this field which were possibly unique to him, and with hindsight, well-founded:

"Is {the US legal system} the best judicial administration for which civilized, Christian, free nations may hope? Then, alas for our future prospects! But it is notorious among enlightened men, that there are States, as for instance Denmark, Wurtemberg, Belgium, and even France, where the general purpose of order, security and equal rights..... are far better obtained in practice than they are among us, and that, in some cases, without our boasted trial by jury. Our system, judged by its fruits, is not even politic: it is a practical nuisance to the State. It may be well doubted whether, in spite of all our boasted equal rights, the practical protection this day given to life, limb, and estate, by the unmitigated military despotism of the Governor-General of Cuba, not to say, the tyrannical government of Louis Napoleon, is not more secure and prompt and equitable, than that now enjoyed in many of the United States. And the worst feature is, that as the legal profession has increased with the growth of the country, and gotten more and more control over legal transactions, these defects of judicial administration have increased."

Dabney is so opinionated about so much that, even in an extended article such as this, I feel one can barely scratch the surface of his world view. His polemics on the pernicious effects of state schooling would merit being singled out for discussion in a future issue of *Church & State*. I certainly haven't space to do justice to them here.

Darwinianism

I'd like to say something now about his response to the Darwinian furore that would have erupted in Dabney's experience just around the same time as the Civil War, in his early forties. The 1860s was a tumultuous decade in the life of America all round. I was surprised to find out from the second volume of the history of Princeton Seminary by David B. Colhoun the extent to which the great conservative theologians—men like Charles Hodge and James McCosh—were open to Darwin's theories. Even where they disagreed, they tended not to draw a line in the sand. They extracted so much as they found useful and rejected the rest, the rest being the naturalistic philosophical underpinnings. Dabney, as one would expect, was much more combative. But they all took it for granted that they should be free to comment on the content of Darwinian theory itself, as well as its

theological and philosophical implications. It was as if they put evolution in the same category as theories in economics, not something dictated by the iron laws of scientific necessity. In other words, it was an interesting, if more or less pernicious, idea to toss about.

To educated contemporaries, Darwin can't have come as a great shock. One might say that, even if he hadn't existed, and the Galapagos finches had continued to lead the unexamined life, it would have been necessary to invent him. In politics, poetry and philosophy, evolutionary presuppositions had become well-established, and it was only a matter of time before they seeped into biology. In any field of inquiry it's perfectly acceptable to start off with the idea and then look around for corroborative evidence. In the absence of the pre-existing culture, this particular idea might not have surfaced. That it did was largely due to that culture.

A *locus classicus* in the neo-Darwinian narrative is the Huxley-Wilberforce Debate at Oxford's Natural History Museum in the summer of 1860. However, as with other famous events, it made more of an impact on future generations than it did at the time. John Lennox (*God's Undertaker: Has Science Buried God?*) quotes a contemporary, John Brooke:

"It is a significant fact that the famous clash between Huxley and the Bishop was not reported by a single London newspaper at the time. Indeed there are no official records of the meeting; and most of the reports come from Huxley's friends."

However frayed tempers were later to become in this debate, back in the 1860s this was not something that churchmen on either side of the Atlantic were going to die in the last ditch over. They were getting much more worked up, in the British Isles anyway, over issues such as the dis-Establishment of the Irish Church. So Dabney's reaction was not typical. Here is a small example of it, for what it's worth:

"The whole posture and tone of this class of physicists towards revelation is hostile and depreciatory; their postulated, with their manner of making them, imply a claim of far more authority for human science than is allowed to inspiration. Thus, the attempt to restrain any corollaries, however sweeping, which they may draw by the teachings of Scripture is usually resented. But in any other field of reasoning, if two lines of seeming argument lead to contradictory conclusions, men always admit the rule that truths must be consistent among themselves, and, in obedience to it, they surrender the weaker line to the

stronger, thus removing the collision. But these physicists never dream of surrendering a deduction simply to the Biblical contradiction of it. Thus they betray very plainly whether they think human science more certain than revelation. The very attempt to bring the truth of their scientific conclusion to the test of the Bible is resisted as an 'infringement of the rights of science', an unjust restraint upon the freedom of their intellects. Now these men will scarcely claim for a man a right to argue himself into the belief of demonstrated falsehoods. The implication is, that the Scriptures really settle nothing by their own testimony; that is, that they have no true authority with these scholars. The public mind has become so habituated to this imperious attitude of physical science, that it is hard for you to take in its full significance. To enable you to measure it, I will ask you to represent to yourselves that some of us theologians should raise the corresponding outcry against the physicists: that we should be heard exclaiming, 'We resent the intrusions of physical science upon our divine science, as an infringement of the rights of theology; and we resist them wherever they contradict our inferences, as an unjust restraint upon the freedom of man's intellect, when expatiating in this the noblest of all its domains!' Realize to yourselves the astonishment with which scientific worldly men would listen to our outcry. They would deem it the extravagance of lunacy in us!"

We are back here in the world of overlapping versus non-overlapping *magisteria*. Dabney, like Dawkins, makes absolutist claims for a particular understanding of the source of ultimate reality. The theistic explanation of origins has the merit of plausibility, in that the teleology is there from the beginning and doesn't end up being smuggled in by the back door (Dawkin's blind watchmaker manages to be also purposeful). The further presuppositions of the neo-Darwinians, who seem to think cosmology is an extension of biology, are that everything in the universe is rationally explicable; secondly, that everything is understandable by us; and, thirdly, that everything will be understood by us. These are big assumptions which are not at all scientifically demonstrable. The leaps of faith of the neo-Darwinians are every bit as spectacular as those of the theists, especially as discoveries in the fields of the human genome and molecular biology open up further questions, rather than providing neat answers.

It used to be that the divide was between theism and non-theism, not science and religion. It is a certain kind

of science that has now decreed that a theistic scientist, at least one who is prepared to own up to his or her belief, is a contradiction in terms. In his rough pugnacious way, Dabney foresaw this development more clearly than the Renaissance men of Princeton.

I think I'll have to beg for space in a future issue if I'm to do justice to Dabney's dark side. For Dabney attack

wasn't just the best form of defence, it was the only form of defence; and it's in defence of slavery that he becomes most strident. The interesting thing is that we're not dealing with a crazy psychopathic individual but with a representative man who was the (at times self-conscious) flower of Southern honour, gentility, spirituality and intellect. How can these things be? I'll concentrate on that question next time.

Jack Lane

A contribution to the Evolution debate

The Culture Wars To Come

The Editor headed Sean Swan's article *The Culture Wars To Come* as a discussion article (Church & State, No. 94). This was very wise. Sean asserts some of the classic arguments of the case for Science versus Creationism (i.e. religion) on those fundamental issues of life and the meaning of it.

When I tried to figure out some of these issues in that alleged dungeon of ignorance and superstition, Vatican I Ireland, I was often reminded at a certain point that what I was trying to find out "was a bit of a mystery". I found this a bit frustrating and I put it down to the limitations of a religious way of looking at fundamental issues of life, death and so forth.

I keep trying the non-religious alternatives to these dilemmas for explanations but I find them extraordinarily similar to dead end religious explanations, albeit in a different format. Both are dogmas. I was reminded of this when reading Sean's article against the suggestion that creationism be taught in schools' science classes.

His very confident claims for science begs some nagging questions. To begin, not at the beginning, but maybe somewhere near it and at a point that is of some significance to us—how did life or consciousness originate? The views of both sides rest on an act of faith. The religious clearly so. The anti-creationists will not admit this but think that providing some ever newer conjecture or formula will suffice.

But the problem is that the origin of life or consciousness is something that is not observable or repeatable—the basic requirements in making a scientific case. So belief in how this happened is based on unverifiable assumptions or hypotheses. It cannot be otherwise, I submit. Not only do we not know how, there is even less evidence to know why this ever happened.

What follows the coming of life is then explained by the theory of evolution. Evolution is assumed to be a linear pathway of progress, going ever onward and upward to some unspecified destination: the driving mechanism being the survival of the fittest. But I have yet to see any proof of evolution separate and distinct from living things adapting to their environment. Where is the evolution in that, which is simply change and adaptation? That is simply various forms of life consolidating itself to remain what it is. A totally chance genetic element ensures the survival of one particular aspect of a life form because it happens to allow for better adaptation, the more to become itself. But why is this not simply called the survival of the luckiest that helps it to remain what it is? That would be much more accurate.

If adaptation, i.e., survival, is not possible, then extinction looms and clearly happens. Is that not devolution rather than evolution? And is not there more of that than evolution? Species are declared to be disappearing all the time but I never hear of new ones appearing. This is worrying. If there are more species disappearing than appearing is there not more devolution than evolution going on? So is devolution the norm rather than evolution?

Evolution may not be one-way traffic, if it depends on adapting to the environment. The environment can be

ALBERT EINSTEIN

"The most beautiful thing we can experience is the mysterious. It is the source of all true art and all science. He to whom this emotion is a stranger, who can no longer pause to wonder and stand rapt in awe, is as good as dead: his eyes are closed."

quite revolutionary by comparison. For example, it is quite credible that the dinosaurs were stopped in their tracks by a huge meteorite—that created the Gulf of Mexico—snuffing out most of the light and oxygen in the planet for some period of time. Apparently what evolved from the remnants of the dinosaurs as a result of this disaster (for them) is the present-day chicken. This is totally credible if one observes a featherless, well fed chicken prancing around a farmyard. Is this evolution or devolution and could chickens be possibly re-evolving back to what they really are—dinosaurs? It must be feasible now that they are over the effects of the meteorite. But how can we know? Is such a thing subject to human observation? Did the dinosaurs exist to evolve so that we could have chicken and egg sandwiches? If we cannot observe a process going on how do we know it exists?

Apparently, at least one form of life survived the disaster that wiped out the dinosaurs—cockroaches—and they will also survive a nuclear holocaust as well. They seem able to do this intact with little or no need for adaptation. Surely this is a great illustration of the survival of the luckiest as they could not possibly have prepared themselves for either eventuality so quickly. Or could they?

There are other problems. If adapting to one's environment is the basic thing that shapes forms of life, what happens if we create an environment we cannot adapt to? The dinosaurs did not create their own destruction but the signs for a humanly-created disaster for man are somewhat ominous. We are consuming energy at an ever growing rate and the fossil fuel sources may run out (so the scientists warn us) and the only realistic alternative, nuclear power, creates problems in the form of war or waste that seem likely to endanger the human species in the short or long term—a meaningless distinction in evolutionary terms. If we end up not being able to survive an environment we have created are we evolving or devolving?

Could evolution destroy us in other more mundane ways? Take the case, as one example, the MRSA bug. It is evolving because of the antibiotics that have been and are being flung at it and its ancestors, weakening our resistance and strengthening theirs—in order, quite naturally, to adapt to their changing environment. The evolution principle points to a possible survival of the fittest between humans and bugs. If the bugs win, is it evolution or devolution? It does not matter of course to anyone except whichever survives.

There are all sort of other problematic issues with evolution—why are there still apes if we evolved from them? Are we just a more adaptable ape, nothing more and nothing less? Maybe we are we just a freak genetic mutation that will do more harm than good to the world in the long run? The evidence is strong for this.

The religious accept a benign (for the most part) god intervening to direct his creation and the scientists accept an intervening principle of evolution (benign for the most part) to direct its concept of things. Both seem to me to be the creation of comfort zones in the face of the infinite void of reality (the true meaning of Marx's description of religion as the 'opium of the people' was not pejorative, opium being a pain killer).

Both are convinced they are on a

path, a destination. There is a road map for both, to use a fashionable term. The religious are honest and straight about this and they created theirs first. The scientific dogmatists are imitators by comparison.

The problem is that both can kill natural curiosity and wonder, which are the keys to discovering anything. I think Vatican I Ireland had it right in looking at these things in the undogmatic way of regarding them as being mysterious. At least it keeps you curious in an open-ended way. I get the distinct feeling that Sean Swan and others are curious only to do down the creationists and if one stays locked into that kind of fight the proponents get even more like each other. They become each others' environment and adapt accordingly to it. Is that not the way of evolution?

Gwydion M. Williams

How Professor Dawkins misunderstands both religion and the distinctiveness of human biology

The Phenomenon Of Mum

A remarkable tangle of truth and ideology has been bundled together as '*Darwinism*'. Darwin himself knew nothing of genes, ignored Mendel's pioneering work and believed in the '*inheritance of acquired characteristics*'. He also fully shared the prejudices of his day—men superior to women, the White Race superior to the rest.

Even with these faults removed, modern '*Darwinism*' is much less rational than it claims. Contrary to the impression given by writers like Richard Dawkins, science gives no reason to distinguish between the tiger, the tapeworm and the daffodil as examples of Natural Selection in action.

Among the three, the tiger is definitely the weakest link, and not just because of human pressure. The rule for mammals since the death of the dinosaurs has been that any animal larger than a fox has no long-term future. Successive waves of fierce carnivores and robust herbivores get bigger and bigger and then go extinct. It is from the lesser animals, fox-size or less, that the future winners will emerge. Big fierce animals are losers, from the perspective of millions of years. Biological history is a '*triumph of the mediocre*'.

But surely life is not just about survival? *Human* life isn't, I'd agree. But *natural selection* is just that. It is not about being a big fierce and triumphant winner, or only incidentally. In human terms, genetic success is measured in how many grandchildren

an individual leaves behind.

Options

Human life includes other options. Newton left behind no children or grandchildren, but his actual legacy is immense. He was also highly religious. The same was true of pioneering chemist Robert Boyle, and also Blaise Pascal who was a mathematician, physicist and dissident theologian. All three were religious and childless and also unorthodox in their religious beliefs. Newton believed that the Christian doctrine of the Trinity was wrong and had included a forged passage inserted into the Bible, which was an unacceptable notion to most Christians. Pascal was a Jansenist, a branch of Roman Catholic belief that was condemned by the Pope. Pascal cleverly ridiculed the dishonest logic-chopping of '*casuistry*' in his *Provincial Letters*, but you can't ridicule casuistry without undermining conventional Christian thinking.

Conventional Christian thinking has lost its grip most of the intelligent and original minds in the West. Marxism flourished as one alternative, and I've argued elsewhere that it *did* partly remake the world according to its ideas, establishing values of social equality, racial equality and sexual equality as a new norm in a way that conservatives used to oppose and liberals tended to evade. [D] But Marxism in Europe has

run out of steam. Various forms of socialism are still flourishing, but so too are religions. Buddhism has a wide appeal and Tibetan Buddhism with its overtones of mystery. A reputation not justified by its rather squalid and ignorant reality, as I shall detail in a pamphlet I am working on.

You can't combat bad religion without having some idea of the alternatives. I've noted the noisy anti-God writings from Dawkins, and from Daniel Dennet and Christopher Hitchens, as a wave of protest as the New Right consensus fragments and religious extremism rises in the USA and also among Muslims. Dawkins wants a name for a new counter-movement: I'd suggest that the *Campaign for Ineffective Atheism* would suit them nicely. Religion rises when secular society fails to meet human needs, as has happened in the Muslim world after the West managed to discredit secular nationalists like Nasser in Egypt. Religion rises in a rich society where the pressures and uncertainties are too high, as is true in the USA, though not in Europe where we have centuries of solid tradition to fall back on.

Dawkins, Dennet and Hitchens denounce religion as dreadful, instead of denouncing the excesses of the 'Fundamentalists', some of which can be shown to be against their own scriptures. But they tend also to denounce the functional alternatives, Communism and some varieties of socialism. Hitchens the ex-Trotskyist still fails to understand that there was no serious prospect of Iraq functioning as a secular state without Saddam running it, or someone very much like Saddam.

Ideas

The doctrine of the 'Selfish Gene' has fitted very well with the New Right outlook. It is actually an emotionally-loaded term that is not justified even by Dawkins's own views on how genes work. You can't be selfish without a sense of self and some ability to plan. You'd be very surprised if your television weather-person said "today we've got some very bad-tempered thunderstorms sweeping in from the west". But to think of thunderstorms as bad-tempered is a better predictor of actual behaviour than to think of genes as *selfish*. The behaviour of actual genes in actual animals shows no sign of the kind of shrewd cold calculation that the typical selfish person can manage. Natural selection has led successive waves of land animals into an evolutionary dead-end: enormous size which brings short-term gains, but guarantees extinction in the longer run.

Dawkins doesn't ponder such things, he is supremely confident that he alone

is a tough-minded rationalist. 'There is no God and I'm his prophet'. A large part of wisdom is being aware of where you are ignorant, and Dawkins does not know when to stop. His doctrine of 'memes' is a half-arsed theory of culture—some of our ideas drift in as if they were mindless replicators, but not many. The idea of mental replicators is also much older than Dawkins:

"Historically, the notion of a unit of social evolution, and a similar term (from Greek *mneme*, meaning "memory"), first appeared in 1904 in a work by the German evolutionary biologist Richard Semon... According to the OED [Oxford English Dictionary], the word *mneme* appears in English in 1921 in L. Simon's translation of Semon's book: *The Mneme*". [A]

Dawkins's view of religion is that it is a collection of 'memes' with an uncanny ability to propagate. These get in the way of 'rational thought', understood as current Western ideas of the world. He fails to notice that Western ideas of the world are almost totally built upon Latin-Christian historic foundations. The first scientists in Europe were Christians, often quite devout—Galileo was a serious believer and he got into trouble precisely because he wanted to convince the Catholic Church to accept the truths he had discovered about the universe. And Galileo did not stand alone: Europe produced a network of scientists communicating in Latin and initially accepting the Latin-Christian framework of thought. Other cultures had inventors and some individual scientists, but no comparable social network.

The Latin-Christian tradition also had three clear merits, three key ideas:

- a) All knowledge should be available to the educated class, those who knew Latin.
- b) There is dignity in manual work. (St Paul was a tent-maker, St Peter a fisherman and Jesus a carpenter. The religious tradition never scored manual labour, as happened in most other times and places.)
- c) Theology allowed for novelties, the upsetting of tradition.

Europeans from a Latin-Christian background had inherited these ideas, along with several centuries of speculative theology that had been begun in mediaeval times in an effort to make sense of the creed. Some key advances were made—Thomas Aquinas made the key distinction between *natural* and *supernatural*, allowing God to be exulted but also walled off from the ordinary world. I don't think any such split ever existed in Islamic thought or Chinese

thought, and definitely not in Hindu thought. Theology within the Latin-Christian creed provided a basis on which other non-religious systems of thought could be built.

Credos

A replacement creed is still needed. Dawkins does not have it. He does not even have a plausible explanation for many aspects of the world as we find it.

In discussing evolution, Dawkins and others get baffled by the existence of homosexuality, which seems to have a genetic component, and yet how could Natural Selection permit behaviour that diminished or blocked the chances of producing children and grand-children? None of them seem to have the same problem with the existence of celibacy, or married couples who choose not to have children, or married couples who would like children but are unable to have any. Since Latin-Christian culture does not define these last three options as wrong or sinful, geneticists who've grown up within the culture fail to notice the problem. Darwinism has become a substitute for religion, and a rather weak substitute. It is much less rational than it supposes itself to be.

Dawkins and similar characters—let's call them the Dawkindred to be short—think in too narrow a sense. Consider the case of the Russian composer Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky, musical genius and committed homosexual. Interestingly, his brother Modest Ilyich Tchaikovsky was also homosexual and also a talented musician, suggesting a genetic element. Now imagine similar individuals born among the hunter-gatherers of the Palaeolithic, the time when ape-people became modern humans. Humans then lived as relatively small bands, and freely moved between them. And they must have liked music, since all modern humans like it. So a gifted musician who happens also to be homosexual will father no children but will raise the status of the kin-group, attracting more fertile females and maybe also gifted hunters who can keep more people alive in bad times. A gene that favours both homosexuality and musical talent will be favoured within the kin-group.

Of course it's also not true that people of a homosexual disposition will always fail to reproduce. Oscar Wilde ruined himself by flaunting his homosexual passions at a time when England was definitely not ready to accept such things. Interestingly, he also had a lesbian niece, Dorothy Wilde, who was regarded as gifted but achieved nothing and died of drug abuse. But he also fathered two sons: one was killed in World War One, but the other had a son who in turn had a son, so his genetic legacy is still

potentially part of the mix.[T] The same is true of Gene Robinson, the openly gay bishop of New Hampshire, who was formerly married and had two daughters: he currently has two granddaughters and there could well be more.

There's a lot of anecdotal evidence that there are a disproportionate number of bisexuals and homosexuals among people with musical talent, and also talents for science and literature. We are the also the only land mammal that sings and maybe the only animal that dances, that translates music into movement and vice versa:

"So natural is our capacity for rhythm that most of us take it for granted: when we hear music, we tap our feet to the beat or rock and sway, often unaware that we are even moving. But this instinct is, for all intents and purposes, an evolutionary novelty among humans. Nothing comparable occurs in other mammals nor probably elsewhere in the animal kingdom. Our talent for unconscious entrainment lies at the core of dance, a confluence of movement, rhythm and gestural representation. By far the most synchronized group practice, dance demands a type of interpersonal coordination in space and time that is almost nonexistent in other social contexts.

"Even though dance is a fundamental form of human expression, neuroscientists have given it relatively little consideration. (*Neuroscience of Dance*, Scientific American July 2008." [B])

The *actual* path of human development seems to be quite different from what people think of as Darwinism. A full study is needed, as I've suggested elsewhere.[C] We're an unstable species and need definite creeds to stabilise our nature and ensure that the potentially gifted can actually develop. We need to feather-bed ourselves, because that's the context within which interesting thinking develops. Encouraging competition, the ideal of Thatcher and Reagan and the New Right, turns out to produce unhappy and not-very-talented people.

Atheism without a positive vision easily becomes a shallow admiration of violence and money. Shaw in his play *Major Barbara* has a man who espouses a creed of 'money and gunpowder'. Updated as *money and gun-power*, it is very much the modern creed of the USA. The less educated portion of the population also garnishes this creed with a version of Christianity. But though it claims to be Fundamentalist, it finds ways to bend the Bible to suit the dominant creed of money and gun-power. Guns and God if you don't have money to make you happy: Obama had that sort of person summed up, though

since he needs their votes he had to back off from calling them what they were.

Money and gun-power have a great variety of different expressions. Most of the "*Campaign for Ineffective Atheism* are on the side of US global power, Dennet and Dawkins implicitly and Hitchens explicitly.

Part 2, Next Issue: Bat Feathers

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Nick Folley

Mandate For A Rebellion?

Revisionists are a funny lot. In their view the 1916 Rebellion was illegitimate because the rebels had no democratic mandate. Therefore presumably if they had had a mandate, the rebellion would have been acceptable? Yet when the 'rebels' actually do obtain a democratic mandate, as in 1918, then somehow that's not acceptable either. Nor does one generally hear them question the validity and democracy of the decision to take the whole populations of Britain and Ireland to war against Germany despite the fact that War was declared four years after the Election which brought that Government into being—and presumably had not stood on a platform of going to war with Germany. Revisionists might with some justification point to the widespread jingoism and enthusiasm with which the War was greeted—at least until the deaths began to pile up. But, when it comes to the Irish electorate voting 'to have done' with the UK, suddenly it becomes time to apply much more stringent standards of democracy. Since this line of argument keeps popping up in revisionist circles, it is helpful to look at Steven King's *Irish Examiner* column of 3rd December 2008, as it summarises many of the main points.

King attempts to dismiss the results of the 1918 General Election on several grounds. First he brings up the issue of the 25 uncontested seats which Sinn Fein obtained. Had he thoroughly read the book on *Coolacrease*,* which he supposedly reviewed in the *Sunday Business Post* (30 November 08), he would have discovered that this represented the least number of uncontested seats in a General Election since 1892. In the previous Election of 1906 and in the two of 1910 there were 74, 55 and 53 uncontested seats respectively—at least twice the number of 1918. King generously admits that Sinn Fein obtained almost half the total vote cast. By contrast, unionist candidates succeeded in obtaining only a fifth. If this fifth of the vote entitled

them to enforce partition, as King seems to imply, then surely Sinn Fein's overwhelming half of the vote, not counting the uncontested seats, entitled the people who voted for it to expect an independent Ireland.

He tries to give the impression that some of Sinn Fein's success was due to intimidation by same. Like most revisionists, he conveniently 'forgets' to mention that most of the intimidation that occurred came from the side of the British authorities. From even before the time of the trumped-up 'German Plot' of May 1918, Sinn Fein operated under police (RIC) harassment—public meetings broken up by police batons, premises raided, nationalist newspapers suppressed. By December 1918 over one hundred Sinn Fein activists were in jail and the organisation itself had been declared illegal by the British authorities since the previous July.** The year following the 1918 Election gives some idea of the scale of Westminster's reaction to the Irish vote for self-determination: 7 murders by occupation (Crown) forces, 382 armed assaults on civilians, 12,589 raids on private houses, 963 arrests, 777 sentences, 364 proclamations and prohibitions, 26 newspapers suppressed.*** Cork was burned to the ground by Crown forces almost two years on from that Election. All of this was happening while Britain was blocking Ireland's representation to the Versailles Conference.

Neither was the conscription crisis such a major issue, since the diminishing threat had passed definitively with the November Armistice. The 1918 Election came a month later. Finally King tries to discredit the mandate received by republicans by stating in effect that the electorate had not signed up to war. He admits the Sinn Fein manifesto did state "*by use of every and any means*", but fails to finish the quotation which goes on to say "...*by military force or otherwise*". His most glaring omission though is to 'overlook' the very obvious

and well-known fact that, in the popular public mind of 1918, Sinn Fein was heavily associated with the 1916 Rebellion—which was of course, a very real act of war against Britain. Despite this—or more likely, because of it—the Irish voted overwhelmingly for Sinn Fein.

Yet war was not inevitable. Britain could have respected the democratic wish of the majority Irish electorate to go its own way and that would have been that. After all, these were the reasons it had given to encourage Irish support in World War One—'democracy' 'freedom of small nations' and so on. What Britain did instead was to ignore the result and try to crush the fledgling republican Government and its institutions militarily. It ensured Sinn Fein's delegation was blocked from getting a hearing at the Versailles Conference of 1919, shutting off an avenue of peaceful advance to implement the electoral mandate. Revisionists seem to come at these facts as if the Irish electorate had no real grasp of the events that were unfolding around them, as if awareness of current and world affairs were the privilege of 'moderns'.

Furthermore, by the time of the 1920 local elections, the War of Independence was well underway and people had had plenty of time to be familiarised with what was meant by "*use of every and any means*". The result was yet another major victory for Sinn Fein. We can therefore suppose that at this point at least the electorate had given their sanction to the rebellion. Nor could Dail Eireann, the Republican Courts, nor the IRA have lasted more than a few months without massive popular support. Revisionists ignore such indicators as much as the several election results.

King quotes Serjeant AM O'Sullivan on the 1918 Election "*many murderers were elected but they had not stood as murderers*". The innuendo is that these election candidates engaged in some form of duplicity, in hiding their real nature from an unsuspecting electorate. But, if King paused to think about the phrase itself, another reality might emerge. The candidates had not stood as 'murderers' because at the time they stood most were not 'murderers', having never killed anyone. British and unionist intransigence in the face of a major democratic mandate forced a situation which forced many of these men into take up the gun.

King then asks how Sinn Fein expected to coerce unionists into a united Ireland. But he does not ask how unionists expected to coerce 400,000

northern nationalists into a partitioned statelet. Indeed in the 1920 local elections two Ulster counties—Fermanagh and Tyrone—returned a Sinn Fein majority. Unionists scuttled an earlier moderate measure of Home Rule in which they could still have played a major parliamentary role, through armed rebellion in 1912. Nothing short of total dominance would satisfy them. Their original ambition had been to keep the whole of the island of Ireland within the UK but, when this proved unfeasible, they settled for a large chunk of Ulster instead. Unionists had no compunctions about trying to coerce the majority of the people on this island into maintaining a state of union with the UK. As it was they were quite comfortable with the idea of coercing 400,000 mainly nationalist Catholics into a northern statelet, once their own dominance was guaranteed.

As an aside, the use of the term 'murderer' is obviously highly loaded and implies a moral judgement from the outset. As a label it also suggests a certain kind of undesirable inherent character. In the circumstances of the time this is generally most unjust. If we are to consider the Irish Volunteers / IRA as murderers because they killed, we must also hold to account the politicians in Westminster who forced them into that position when another, peaceful, option was so open to them. Perhaps their culpability is even greater—a person may choose to become, or not, a killer. But when he is forced into that position, those who force him (or her) also have the responsibility of creating a killer where otherwise none might exist. A obvious example is someone obliged to fight lethally for their life against an assailant whom they might otherwise have no dealings with. On a more macrocosmic level it is the situation that followed in Ireland when a foreign power tried to suppress the democratic wishes of the majority by forceful means.

Furthermore, we would have to extend the use of the term to the politicians who initiated the First World War, as well as the whole of the British Army, the RIC and Black & Tans who engaged in killing. The objective moral use of the term 'murder' in such a context is virtually meaningless, other than having some civic sense. Therefore its use in relation to the Irish Volunteers and IRA is designed both to give them an unsavoury appearance and undermine the legitimacy of their struggle from a civil perspective. If murder is taken to be "unlawful killing" in the sense of relating to non-state sanctioned killing, then, when acting legitimately in defence of the State (founded on the democratic

mandate of 1918 which in turn is based in the sovereignty of the people) against aggression or treason, the IRA could not be described as having engaged in murder, whereas by the same token, every killing by British Crown forces was in fact 'murder' in the civil sense. This is one of the reasons why revisionists who disparage the whole project of establishing an independent Irish State feel obliged to somehow discredit the 1918 Election on which it was initially based. Though he may not have written the header himself, this is summed up by the title of King's article, "*1918 mandate can be consigned to the dustbin of history*". Not so. The 1998 Agreement quoted by King was a mandate from the people of Ireland to seek a new way forward through consent and without utilizing violence (which King seems to suggest came from the Republican side only, though even a cursory glance over the pages of 20th century history are sufficient to dispel this myth) and recognize the peculiar situation obtaining in the northern area of the country. It was not a mandate for reunion with the UK, a mandate for rejection of Ireland's existing status as a republic, or even a rejection of a possible re-unification of the island as a republic. The only mandate was that this last condition would have to come about with consent. The 1918 Election, as the basis for the foundation of this State, still has validity.

December 2008

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Empire Preference

"AT AN ANTI-HOME Rule meeting held at Killadoon, the home of the Protestant County Kildare landowner Henry Clements, great annoyance was caused when the local Church of Ireland clergyman made a speech hostile to Catholics; the situation was saved by the principal speaker, Bernard Shaw's kinsman Sir Frederick Shaw of Bushy Park, who stood up and said that the Catholic and Protestant Churches were like two billiard balls; you could hit whichever one you liked and get as far with either." (*Twilight of the Ascendancy*, Mark Bence-Jones, Constable, 1987).

Seán McGouran

Part One of a biographical series on the life and times of a crucial figure in Irish Parliamentary politics

Wee Joe Devlin: Ulster Organiser

Joe Devlin's first entry into politics was the founding of a Debating Society, named after the Labour-leaning Home Ruler, Thomas Sexton, who became MP for West Belfast in 1886. Devlin was fifteen at the time—most of the other members were of a similar age. The Society's motto was Thomas Davis's '*educate that you may be free*'. Members helped with the canvassing in 1885, when Sexton lost by 35 votes and in 1886, when Sexton won by 108 votes. In 1892 Devlin brought Michael Davitt to Belfast in the hope that his Labour reputation would help get working class Protestants to vote Home Rule. Sexton lost.

By 1890 Devlin was on the Committee of the Belfast Branch of the Irish National League. By mid-1891 he was Secretary of John Dillon's Irish National Federation in the city. He spent a great deal of effort during the following decade fighting 'factionists' in Ulster. In 1895 he was invited onto a committee set up by Bishop Henry. This was to take advantage of the proposal by the Corporation to extend the city boundaries. There were no Catholics on the Corporation. There had only been three prior to then, two Liberals (one of whom was 'Barney' Hughes—of the famous bakery) and a Conservative. In early 1896 Devlin put forward the Committee's proposals to a meeting of Catholic ratepayers in St. Mary's Hall. The proposals were a four-ward city, based on the parliamentary constituencies, each electing 15 Councillors and four Aldermen. These were to be elected by a 'cumulative vote' (more or less a single transferable vote). This system would have maximised Catholic representation.

It was decided to put this matter into the hands of Vesey-Knox, the Protestant MP for Londonderry. Vesey-Knox was part of Tim Healy's faction (despite its being noisily Catholic). He had voted against Dillon as leader of the Parliamentary party. Devlin, engaging, surely, in a piece of 'factionalism' himself, wanted John Dillon to handle the matter. Dillon led the largest group in the 'Irish Party'. In March 1896 the Catholic Committee voted thanks to Vesey-Knox. It rejected Devlin's amendment to vote thanks thanks to Dillon and the Party as a whole. Most

other members of the Belfast INF resigned from the Committee. Devlin remained a member. He rejected a suggestion from Dillon that he become MP for South Louth. He thought the situation in Belfast needed all of his attention. The Bishop opposed Devlin being sent to London to give evidence to a parliamentary committee.

In May the Committee accepted a 'compromise' from the Corporation that the Falls and Smithfield wards be so drawn that Catholics would have a permanent majority. They had three Councillors and one Alderman each. This was ghettoisation. Devlin and the INF found it objectionable. But they did not want to stir up even more trouble for the committee. They were probably somewhat in fear of the Bishop's power. He controlled the main paper of the community, the *Irish News*, and employed some of them as teachers. There were loud sectarian noises from the Orange side of politics in Belfast and the North of Ireland.

There are times when readers could be forgiven for assuming that the Unionists were merely acted-upon by their opponents. William Johnston (of Ballykilbeg) MP claimed, in the House of Commons, 22nd June 1896, that the boundaries of the two wards "*were pencilled out by a Roman Catholic priest*".

Devlin used most of the Summer to help finance an Irish Race Convention in Dublin. (These were gatherings of Home Rule supporters from around the globe—mostly America—held to boost morale in Ireland. And to intimidate the UK Government.) He found a certain amount of hostility in rural Ulster to the up-coming Convention, which many priests denounced as 'unrepresentative'.

In late September 1896 Bishop Henry convened a public meeting at which a constitution for a Catholic {Representation} Association (CRA) was announced. Devlin suggested that the Association take no part in "*municipal or national*" politics. Devlin, and other INF members were not allowed to speak, and left the meeting. Devlin allegedly shouted "*We will fight it at the November elections*". The local Parnellites agreed with the INF stand and a joint committee

was set up to contest the elections. At a selection of candidates (09.07.1897) Devlin claimed that their "*...sole aim was the upholding... of a broadminded nationality...*". And "*the safeguarding and promotion of Catholic interests*". He must surely have realised that the two matters were somewhat contradictory?

As the *Irish News* (on which Devlin had worked between 1891 and '93—going on to work for the Dublin-based *Freeman's Journal*) took the Bishop's side, a weekly newspaper, *The Northern Star* was set up. There was an echo of the United Irish paper—the centenary of the Rising was not too far away. (There was a certain Northern thriftiness in the naming of the publication). The journal was edited by Tim McCarthy, from Cork, which provided a connection with William O'Brien. Despite a (possibly too hard-fought) campaign, with many bitter articles in the *NS*, and the help of Dillon and Davitt, the CRA swept the board in Falls and Smithfield.

The local Parnellites fused with Devlin's branch of the Federation (the Parnellite organisation was the Irish National League). The Devlinites withdrew, or were thrown out of the Central Catholic Club (an initiative of Bishop Henry), and set up the National Club. Both were purposely in city centre streets and not deep inside Catholic areas. Devlin drew some comfort from the fact that, in Belfast of all places, 'Catholic' and 'Nationalist' were no longer that easily run together. That had no effect on Orange extremists like Johnston of Ballykilbegs. And, while Devlin, and others, whose speeches were reported in the *NS* constantly claimed they were faithful Catholics, the Bishop's men accused them of being anti-clerical.

This dispute continued for many years. Devlin tried to keep the CRA out of the '98 Centenary celebrations: Devlin's flying squad of canvassers (or strong-arm men) dated from this period. They had been involved in the '98 commemoration events and were largely National School teachers. Being involved in the Commemoration events consolidated the union of the Dillonite Irish National Federation and the Parnellite Irish National League. This 'split' was healed in Belfast before the setting up of the United Irish League, with Redmond as Chairman in 1900. Redmond rejected the CRA's attempt to join the new organisation, writing to them that the (now six) Belfast branches of the UIL were the representative 'National' body in Belfast (and Ulster—Devlin had turned most of the Clubs set up to commemorate the 1798 Rising, into branches of the UIL). Joe Devlin

had a capacity to raise money. His Ulster organisation was constantly called on to raise cash.

His personal finances were problematical. He spent nearly all his money on politics—paying his own fares travelling around Ulster, the rest of Ireland, and Scotland—he had friends and political allies in Glasgow.

His mentor the (Protestant) Home Rule MP Samuel Young was not happy with Devlin's uncompromising approach to the CRA. He felt it was pushing them towards Tim Healy's faction. Young was Devlin's employer, as manager of a 'spirit store' (an off-licence, in modern parlance). Devlin had been an efficient manager, but Young had allowed him plenty of free time to pursue their joint political endeavours—Joe had organised canvassing in Young's East Cavan constituency. Devlin thought of moving to Glasgow to set himself up as a publican. At this point Redmond asked him to go with William Redmond, to North America on a fund-raising expedition and to organise the UIL in America).

Devlin and Redmond landed in the USA on 10th February 1902. In the meantime the UIL in North Kilkenny selected him as a parliamentary candidate. On February 26th he was returned unopposed, as had become the norm outside of Ulster. It speaks volumes for the attitude of the Irish Party to Westminster that Joe remained in the USA until June. Almost incidentally, Devlin took his parliamentary seat on 22nd July 1902. Willie Redmond and Joe Devlin claimed that they had raised £3,000 and formed 184 branches of the UIL. The US President, Teddy Roosevelt, Cardinal Gibbons, and lesser American dignitaries were anxious to make their acquaintance. Possibly they saw the UIL as a counterweight to the revolutionary Clan na Gael—with whose leadership Devlin had fruitless discussions. He complained about their journals publishing untruths about the UIL.

John Redmond, Davitt and Dillon went to the USA for the first Convention of the UIL. Devlin was summoned to America to work his magic in terms of organisation and money-raising. After seven months he had raised about \$70,000, and set up branches of the UIL in unpromising places. He felt the West Coast was very hard work. He did a whirlwind tour of the South. Despite UIL members in the North suggesting it might be rather futile, he was very pleased at the results. In terms of fund-raising he thought that semi-private

meetings were better than large public ones. In January 1903 he had discussions with the AOH (Ancient Order of Hibernians) and Clan na Gael. The AOH was quite happy to extend support to him, at least, if not the UIL. The Clan was less forthcoming.

He went to Canada quite early on, in December 1903, and there he made his first 'imperialist' speech. This was partly to do with the fact that the Irish in Canada were not particularly anti-Empire. The Confederation of Canada (like the Commonwealth of Australia) was something of a Young Ireland construct. There is a statue of Young Irelander James D'Arcy Magee at the entrance to Canada's parliament building. The Catholic Irish had supplied many ministers, and even Prime Ministers, at provincial and federal level. Devlin referred to Home Rule (and implicitly Dominion status) as a way of binding the Irish to the Empire.

While he was in America Devlin had been given the job of Secretary of the United Irish League, Great Britain. The organisation in Great Britain had been enfeebled by the factionalism of the 1890s. Devlin commenced work in July 1903 (while he was in North America), and was very successful in reviving the organisation (which had been a formidable force in Parnell's day. But the Irish in Scotland and Wales and the north of England were already moving into the Labour Party—taking their Irish nationalism with them).

Devlin was recalled to Belfast in October 1904 to help organise a by-election. This was caused by the resignation of the sitting MP. (He had to stand for re-election due to his being brought into the Cabinet.) Devlin suggested that Bishop Henry might like to take the chair. Dr. Henry declined the invitation. The UIL's candidate, chosen at a convention which no priest attended, was Patrick Dempsey, whose brother James was a CRA Alderman. The by-election was lost. The UIL blamed the CRA—which had an updated register of voters, but refused to hand it over to the Nationalists. The CRA also again swept the board in Falls and Smithfield, in 1904, but with smaller majorities.

It had had a momentary fillip in January 1903, when an All-Ireland Catholic Association was set up in Dublin. This group was backed by fifteen bishops (but not by the Hierarchy as a whole—and Walsh, the Archbishop of Dublin, was hostile). Apart from anything else the All-Ireland Catholic Association was 'non-political'—but

accepted the affiliation of the Belfast group—which alarmed many bishops. They did not want to have the same problems that Dr. Henry had (to an extent brought on himself): his attitude to the 'National' organisations was always quite arrogant. When Devlin attempted a rapprochement in 1900 Henry insisted on him and other UIL members signing and publishing a letter couched in the most servile terms. Devlin and his colleagues had to refuse.

There were further local elections in 1905 won by the CRA (the Catholics in other wards helped elect Labour Councillors and Aldermen, for which the UIL and *Northern Star* thought they should be more grateful). Most local Labourites remained strongly Unionist in their politics. Dr. Henry was quite intemperate about the UIL opposing the CRA, calling them '*Rebels of Lucifer*'. He was coming under pressure from the priests of the diocese. The Hierarchy was demanding a Catholic University, and decided to use the UIL in Parliament to further this project. Dr. Henry was in a quandary. He required the CRA to collect for the Parliamentary Fund (which paid the Irish Party's expenses, including Joe Devlin's salary as (now) the Secretary General of the UIL, based in Dublin). Some parochial priests refused to send their contributions by way of the CRA. Some sent them directly to Devlin at the UIL's Dublin address.

A cheque for £100 from the CRA was returned to Dr. Henry, with a courteous letter signed by John Redmond, but drawn up by Joe Devlin. It reiterated the fact that there already was a 'National' organisation in Belfast. Devlin then put in train a process of arbitration. In May 1905 the CRA effectively agreed to become an auxiliary part of the UIL. Henry wasn't having it. He unilaterally wound up the Association. This led to the formation of a National Registration Union of Belfast. The CRA was dead.

There was an attempt to set up a branch of the Catholic Defence Society in Belfast. This was founded in Dublin in August 1905, and backed by important members of the Hierarchy. It did not flourish despite that. A major element in the demise of the Catholic Association and the consolidation of the United Irish League in Belfast was Joe Devlin's General Election victory in West Belfast.

Next issue:

Devlin in Britain and Australia, an imperialist evolution

Anti-Semitism And British War Aims In 1939

The idea that Britain's war between 1939 and 1945 was of a nobler kind than the one they fought in 1914-1918 is based upon the dubious belief that their second world war was embarked upon as a conscious battle against the evil of Fascism and Anti-Semitism.

It is true that a mere 25 years after it embarked on its first world war adventure, British civil society was once more prepared to risk all to save itself and the world from the forces of evil. However, it would be a mistake to presume that it viewed Fascism as synonymous with the evil it was now pitching itself against. With some exceptions, the vast majority of civil society did not view Fascism as the enemy. Churchill himself had expressed sympathy with Fascism and stated the belief that, if it was not for the fact that different circumstances prevailed in Britain, he would have been active in attempting to have it adopted there. Also, Britain had already shown where its sympathies lay when it refused to assist the Republican Government against Franco during the earlier Spanish Civil War.

As far as British civil society was concerned, the enemy was not Fascism, the enemy was the old evil of "*German militarism*". It was a mere coincidence that the regime under which German militarism was finding expression happened to be Fascist. When Britain declared war in 1939 it was not a war declared against Fascism, if it was then Franco's Spain would not have been left out of the equation, or indeed Italy which was not depicted as part of the enemy in Chamberlain's radio speech declaring war on the 3rd September 1939. Indeed, nowhere in Chamberlain's speech are the words Fascism or Nazi even mentioned.

Nor was the War depicted at the time as a war against anti-Semitism. The British were aware of the plight of the Jews well before the start of the War. In fact the plight of the Jews in Europe was exacerbated by British strategy during the First World War. At the end of the War one of the Versailles Treaty obligations which the Allied powers forced upon Central European states was the Minorities Treaty under which they were obliged to guarantee the rights of their respective country's minorities. In reality, this was a completely unworkable obligation placed upon the newly emerging states. The British policy of

stirring up nationalist passions in Central Europe during the First World War (as part of its strategy to destroy the Austria-Hungarian Empire) was bound to create the seeds of anti-Semitism in those countries where the Jewish minority had been performing the role of a cross-national middle class. The resultant re-organization of Central Europe left each state with a significant minority problem and, with raw nationalism given free play, these minorities were bound to become victims. So Britain, eager to keep the thing at arms length, invested great energy in ensuring that responsibility was devolved to the League of Nations to oversee the resolution of any inter-state conflict. The USA, foreseeing the likely problems that would ensue, decided against joining the League. Despite some initial successes, the organisation soon found itself unable to solve most of the conflicts arising from the problem of minorities.

The Polish Minorities

Although Poland was not as such, a component of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, part of it (Western Galicia) had been and it was not immune to the shock-waves unleashed in the process of its breakup. Poland, in order to gain international recognition at the end of the War, was obliged to honour the terms of the Minorities Treaty. The subsequent 1921 Polish Constitution included the stipulations required by the Minorities Treaty. In 1921 the census showed that the country's minorities constituted over 30% of its population. This was broken down as 15% Ukrainians/Ruthenians, 8% Jews, 4% Belorussians, and 3% Germans. Poland was the country, more than any other, which was likely to show the European fault-lines between an energetic and assertive nationalism and the competing minorities which its redrawn borders embraced. Under its 1921 Constitution, each minority, irrespective of race, nationality or creed was entitled to equality under the law as Polish citizens. In effect this meant nothing. The reality was that the Polish authorities turned a blind eye to many infringements of the rights of the minorities and in other circumstances officially initiated and sanctioned such infringements. From the outset, despite a brief flirtation with a federalist approach, the Government quickly became assimilationist and by the 1930s was launching pacification actions

against the Ukrainian minority in the Eastern regions. Also, it embarked on policies of colonization and grants of land to Polish First World War veterans (much of which had previously been owned by Polish landlords) in the eastern territories, while the indigenous Belorussians and Ukrainians felt that this was their land. Simultaneously, the Government adopted a policy of Polonization of the public school system and the systematic closing of ethnic schools.

In September 1934 the Foreign Minister, Josef Beck used the pretext of the admission of the Soviet Union to the League of Nations to renounce the Minorities Treaty arguing that no such obligation was being placed on the Soviet Union or Germany. However, as has been seen, the commitment to minority rights was already, to a large extent, merely a paper commitment, with the situation on the ground very different.

Pilsudski died in May 1935 and in his report the Warsaw correspondent of *The Times* observed:

"The great task now confronting the Government is to harness the youth of the nation. The Russian youth have been steered into Communism and the German into National-Socialism. The spirit of nationalism is rampant among Polish youth, but it finds its main expression in a virulent anti-Semitism" (13 May 1936).

After his death the Polish Government ceased to have the same coherence. The country was effectively ruled by a triumvirate consisting of Josef Beck, Marshall Edward Rydz-Smigly, and President Ignacy Moscicki. This situation allowed the dynamics of Polish nationalism to gather momentum. The attacks on national minorities increased, as instanced by the following letter to the Editor of *The Times* on 26th September 1938:-

"Vandalism in Poland.

Sir,—In March 1935, when the rumour was noised abroad that the Moscow authorities planned the destruction of a historic church in Kiev, the alarm of the civilized world was voiced in several letters to *The Times* from distinguished Englishmen. May I be allowed to call attention to the fact that churches of rare historic and artistic worth are now being systematically destroyed in the professedly Christian Polish State?

Perhaps in this time of widespread persecutions it would be rashly optimistic to expect a great response to yet another appeal to humanitarian sentiment. Yet surely those who were roused to protest in 1935 should be moved by this aesthetic tragedy? I will cite only one instance from a list too numerous to quote. In May, 1938, there appeared in the Polish

Press an account of the demolition of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Our Lady's Dormition at Szezbreszyn, near Zamosc. This little edifice was one of the first Christian churches of those parts, erected between 1184 and 1194 by Duke Andrew of Horka, a vassal of the Grand Duchy of Kiev, who was entombed near by. In a recent Pastoral, Mgr. Sheptysky, Primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Poland, wrote as follows:-

Approximately 100 churches have been taken apart and demolished. Many have been closed. Some have been burnt by the hands of unknown malefactors. Among the ruined churches were many ancient monuments of ecclesiastical architecture.

The work proceeds apace. Is it too much to hope that British opinion will take note that these buildings are representative of the art of the twelfth, sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries? The ruined churches are, alas, quite irreplaceable, but it is still possible that the hand of the Philistine may be stayed.

Your obedient servant,
V.K. Kisilewsky."

27, Grosvenor Place, SW1, Sept. 23.

By 1938 the growing nationalist sentiment in the country had already come up against, what it saw as, the Jewish problem because of the disproportionate influence that community had over its internal affairs. A new emerging middle class was fighting for dominance. Among the early official actions by the Polish Government was the withdrawal of Polish citizenship to those who had been living abroad for any length of time. While this included a small number of non-Jews those affected were overwhelmingly Jewish.

Germany & the Polish Jews

In October 1938, Germany, in response to the threatened withdrawal of Polish citizenship from its indigenous Polish Jews suddenly began the process of their forced repatriation to Poland. The following reports, all from *The Times*, provide a chronology of events as they unfolded:-

29th October 1938:

*"POLISH JEWS EXPELLED.
ROUND UP IN GERMANY.*

From our Correspondent
Berlin, Oct. 28.

Some thousands of Polish citizens, mainly Jews, were arrested in Germany last night and taken today by police to the Polish frontier. The action is still in progress, but it may be cancelled as a result of negotiations now proceeding between the Reich and Polish Governments.

Polish circles estimate the total number so far expelled at 4,000. The Polish citizens selected for expulsion, mostly small tradesmen, were visited in their homes last night by the police and informed that they must return to Poland within 24 hours and might take only 10 marks with them. To ensure their departure the men were arrested and held overnight, and this morning police put them on trains and escorted them to the frontier. In Berlin there seems to have been no compulsion on the women and children to leave immediately, but many followed their men today. They made a distressed and destitute picture as they crowded into the Schlesischer station seeking trains to Poland. In Dusseldorf and in one or two other districts whole families are understood to have been expelled. In Brunswick about 100 non-Jewish Polish labourers were among those arrested.

German Explanation.

The reasons for the German Government's action are explained as follows:-

Some time ago the Polish Government ordered that Polish citizens abroad must have a special visa stamped on their passports by the Polish Consulates. Without that visa they might be refused re-entry into Poland so that the Reich would no longer be in a position to expel them should the necessity arise. The Polish order comes into force tomorrow, after which day, it is explained, the Reich "could not be certain that burdensome Polish nationals expelled from the Reich would be readmitted to Poland." Accordingly measures were taken this morning to "diminish the number of Polish nationals in the Reich, who would probably not receive the special Polish visa." That it to say, "some thousands of Polish citizens regarded by the German authorities as undesirable" were taken to the frontier.

It is explained in official circles that the Reich some time ago made proposals to the Polish Government, which would have obviated the necessity for this drastic action, but they were not accepted. Presumably the Reich will be ready at least to modify its actions if it is given an assurance that Polish Jews will be able to return to their own country at any later date.

There are, it is estimated, 150,000 Polish nationals in the Reich, 50,000 of whom may be Jews."

31st October 1938:

"POLISH JEWS IN GERMANY.

Exodus Suspended.

From our correspondent
Berlin, Oct. 30.

The many Polish citizens, most of them Jews—a reliable estimate of their number is 20,000—who were arrested in all parts of the Reich on Thursday night

and Friday and dispatched to the Polish frontier for compulsory repatriation are now awaiting anxiously the result of negotiations which will begin between the German and Polish Governments in Warsaw on Tuesday.

It is understood that about 8,000 of these persons had been actually put across the Polish frontier when, by agreement with the Government in Warsaw, the German authorities yesterday suspended their measures of expulsion. Most of the remainder had reached the frontier, and are now being sent back to their homes in Germany; but those who had crossed will remain in Poland pending the result of the negotiations.

The expulsions have not been confined to one side. As soon as they heard of the German decision the Polish authorities proceeded to expel German citizens from Poland. The number of those affected in this case was much smaller, but the prompt action seems to have had its effect here."

31st October 1938:

"MANY EXILES REACH POLAND.

Families divided by Frontier.

From our own correspondent.
Warsaw, Oct. 30.

The first batch of Polish Jews expelled from Germany have begun to arrive by train in Warsaw. Other batches are on their way to other Polish towns, and are being directed as far as possible to places where they have friends or relatives; but a large proportion of the thousands sent across the German border yesterday are still in the frontier zones, some in barracks, others in railway trucks.

They are mostly in deep distress, without money or food, but the Polish Red Cross and the Jewish organization "Joint" have come to their aid. They are being sorted out, for families have been broken up in the process of expulsion. In some cases parents have lost their children, husbands their wives; and, as the expulsion has been suspended now, some families appear to be divided by the frontier.

Today it is stated that a few hundred German citizens in Warsaw, Lodz, Lwow, and elsewhere had been arrested as a counter-measure, but before they could be transported to the frontier an agreement was reached between Warsaw and Berlin to suspend expulsions in both directions, and the Germans have nearly all been freed."

2nd November 1938:

"POLISH JEWS' PLIGHT.

Shelter in Barns and Sties.

Today's Conference.

From our own correspondent.

Warsaw, Nov. 1.

M. Josef Lipski, the Polish Ambassador to Berlin, who came to Warsaw a

few days ago in connexion with the expulsion of Polish Jews from Germany, has returned to Berlin, and the conference between representatives of the Polish and German governments will begin there tomorrow.

The total number of Polish Jews who will be affected by the decisions of the conference is variously given, but the most trustworthy estimate appears to be approximately 50,000. This figure includes those already deported into Poland who number 10,000 to 12,000. About half of them have reached the interior of Poland, but the stream from Zbonszyn (a frontier station west of Poznan) was checked yesterday. Some 5,000 or 6,000 are now waiting in that district. Nearly all of them wish to return to their homes and belongings in Germany, many having been born there and scarcely any of them having prospects of a livelihood in Poland, where, but for their passports, they are strangers.

The Jews' plight is being relieved in some measure today by the arrival of tents sent by the Polish Government and other supplies. Officials of the Jewish organization "Joint" which is doing its utmost in conjunction with the Polish authorities to relieve the distress, say today that hundreds have been given shelter in barns, stables, and sties. These must consider themselves relatively lucky, as tents are but poor shelter from the November damp and cold. Several of the deportees around Zbonszyn are said to have lost their reason.

In Warsaw it is hoped that the Polish delegates will succeed in persuading the Germans to allow at least the 5,000 or 6,000 near Zbonszyn to return to their homes in Germany with little delay."

3rd November 1938:

"POLISH JEWS' EXPULSION. REFUGEES DESPOILED IN GERMANY.

The Outbreak of Disease.

From our own correspondent.
Warsaw, Nov. 2.

The two conferences in Germany today—that in Berlin concerning the recent expulsion of Polish Jews and that in Vienna to arbitrate the Czechoslovak-Hungarian question—have absorbed the chief political interest in Warsaw since this morning. Directly and indirectly both affect Polish-German relations, unpleasantly ruffled since last week.

It is felt in Warsaw that the greatest iniquity in the forced exodus of Jews is that the 10,000 or 12,000 sent back to Poland are all now penniless paupers, whereas a week ago they were self-supporting and some relatively wealthy. Poland has no objection, it is argued, to taking back these citizens if they are allowed to bring their capital and other possessions with them. As it is they have

been despoiled of everything and not allowed to take more than a nominal sum of marks. And they cannot change these paper marks in Poland. A special relief committee formed in Poland is endeavouring today to get permission to realize these notes.

The deportees include more than 2,000 children. The first train at Chojnice was simply driven to the Polish frontier station and left there. The officials at the station were asleep, as no train was expected at that time of night. Among those who crossed at Zbonszyn is an 82 year old whose oft-repeated request is that he may be allowed to die in his bed. This batch was expelled from the train on the German side of the frontier and compelled to make the last four miles on foot. They declare that they were driven by soldiers with a machine-gun, which now and then fired a few rounds into the air to make the crowd hurry. Disease has broken out among them, especially among the children, but medical aid from Warsaw today is relieving the distress. Poles as well as Jews have joined in the relief work, especially at Katowice.

Gratitude to Poland.

The Union of Polish Rabbis decided today to organize a thanksgiving celebration in connexion with the twentieth anniversary of the Polish Republic, calling upon Jews to express their thanks to the Polish State for giving Jews equal rights of citizenship, in contrast with the treatment Jews receive elsewhere. It is expected in Warsaw that if Germany will not allow the deportees to return the Polish negotiators in Berlin will press for a restitution of their possessions, as deep resentment is felt here, not only at the inhuman treatment of the deportees, but also at having this army of destitute unemployed forced upon the Republic of Poland."

4th November 1938:

"EXPULLED POLISH JEWS. NEGOTIATIONS BEGUN IN BERLIN.

From our correspondent.
Berlin, Nov. 3.

Officials of the German Foreign Office and Ministry of the Interior today discussed with a Polish delegation the question raised by the mass expulsion of Polish Jews from Germany at the end of last week. So far the proceedings, which are expected to last for some days, have been confined to general statements by representatives of both sides.

The expulsions from Germany were stopped on threats of reprisals against Germans living in Poland. The Poles are understood to have demanded that the Reich shall take back some thousands of expelled Jews on the ground that they are not Polish citizens, but persons who have become stateless by reason of long absence from Poland. On the German

side assurances are desired that Jews who are at present citizens of Poland but live in Germany will not be deprived of the possibility of returning to Poland by denationalizing measures on the part of the Polish Government."

30th January 1939:

"POLISH JEWS RETURN TO GERMANY.

TERMS OF AGREEMENT.

From our own correspondent.
Warsaw, Jan. 29.

According to the agreement signed by the representatives of Poland and Germany to settle the question of the Polish Jews expelled from Germany at the end of November, these Jews are to be allowed to return to Germany in trainloads of about 1,000, and remain there for a certain period to regulate their affairs.

They will be allowed to take with them small articles of personal jewelry and trinkets, but sums of money obtained by the liquidation of effects and businesses will be paid into a bank in Germany with a view to their eventual transfer to Poland in accordance with a sort of clearing system.

By a second agreement signed at the same time both sides undertake to desist from the practice of expelling members of each other's nationality from the frontier zones, and to reconsider the cases of those already expelled. This agreement appears to apply particularly to Poles, mostly Polish priests, in German Silesia, many of whom have recently been deported to other parts of Germany."

Poland and its Jews

At this point, it appeared that some agreement had been reached between the German and Polish governments on the issue of Polish Jews in Germany. The agreement was signed at the end of November but the first notice of this that I could find was in *The Times* on the 30th January 1939 (above). This, however, was viewed in Poland as a side-show to the main Jewish problem which still needed to be addressed. By this time the growing anti-Semitic sentiment in Poland was becoming more vocal in its demand for Government action.

5th December 1938:

"ANTI-JEWISH FEELING IN POLAND.

DEMAND FOR EMIGRATION.

From our own correspondent.
Warsaw, Dec. 4.

The Jewish question is very much to the fore in Warsaw today. Passers-by in all the main thoroughfares have had leaflets handed to them pointing out that Jews are the enemies of Poland, that their fate in Poland is sealed, that Poland

must be cleared of Jews. These leaflets are signed "Committee of Radical Nationalists" and are distributed by groups of young people openly without let or hindrance. The Warsaw University, which was closed a few days ago in consequence of anti-Jewish excesses, is to remain closed until after Christmas.

Though the problem of what to do with the Jews of Poland where they are approximately one in 10 of the population, is an old one, it has been forced into fresh prominence by the talks in London about the possibilities of Jewish emigration. The opinion is frequently heard that no relief can be expected from the countries which treat their Jews well. This dangerous argument would gather strength less rapidly here, it is thought, if London showed some sympathetic understanding for Poland's Jewish emigration claims.

In the Sejm yesterday General Skwarczynski, leader of the Ozon (National Unity Camp), the majority on which the Government depend, called for a larger, bolder policy by the States in possession of sparsely populated territories. Although he declared that for economic and cultural reasons Poland must get rid of her surplus Jews by helping them somehow to emigrate, he abjured anything in the nature of "anarchical treatment" of the Jews, as this would be "alien to the Polish knightly spirit."

The Jews expelled last month from Germany to Poland are still mostly in a sorry plight. There were about 15,000 of whom 2,000 were under 17. About 6,000 are still stranded in a small area around Zbonszyn, on the frontier. What is to be done with them eventually nobody knows, and the authorities will not allow them to penetrate haphazard into Poland."

23rd December 1938:

*"EMIGRATION OF JEWS
FROM POLAND.*

VIOLENT METHODS OPPOSED.

From our own correspondent.
Warsaw, Dec. 22.

General Skwarczynski, president of the National Unity Camp (Ozon), and 15 members of Ozon have presented a formal interpellation in the Sejm requiring information on the Government's attitude and intentions in the problem of the Jews.

The interpellation declares that Ozon had no sympathy with a policy of violence and injustice, a policy inconsistent with the national honour of Poland. Some other method must, however, be found to decrease the number of Polish Jews by emigration. The Jews are an undesirable element, hampering and hindering the development of Polish national forces,

and Ozon stands for the Polonization of trade and industry as well as the emancipation of the cultural and social life of Poland from Jewish influence. Ozon, therefore, desires to know whether the Government intend to undertake anything for the purpose of reducing the number of Jews by emigration. For this purpose Poland should have at her disposal suitable regions and international funds.

Ozon, which has a large majority in the Sejm, is the organization from which the authority of the Government springs. It may therefore be assumed that the Government intend in the near future to make an important statement on the question of Polish Jews."

Britain and the Polish Jews.

By the Spring of 1939, the Polish Government had come up with a proposal to solve its Jewish problem. This, to all intents and purposes was similar to the one worked out some months earlier between the German and Polish Governments in dealing with the expatriated Polish Jews from Germany. One additional element was the desire to induce Britain to be a major element in the solution. Its large Empire and the fact that it had control of Palestine—which it had promised during the First World War to allocate as a new Jewish homeland—was the Great Power saviour that the Polish Government presumed would be critical in solving its Jewish problem. Prime Minister Chamberlain had already, on the 31st March 1939, in a speech to the House of Commons, given unconditional support to Poland in any dispute with Germany. Josef Beck, Polish Foreign Minister, visited London in response to that speech and the following report in *The Times* provides an outline of what he hoped to discuss with Chamberlain as a means of solving his domestic Jewish problem:-

4th April 1939:

"THE JEWS OF POLAND.

A SCHEME OF DISPERSAL.

From Our Warsaw correspondent.

Apart from questions of war and peace which have recently arisen, the chief subject which Colonel Beck, Foreign Minister of Poland, hopes to discuss during his visit to London is that of emigration, especially that of Poland's Jews. It is expected that he will not merely ask for space and facilities for the settlement of emigrants in the British Empire, but that he will present comprehensive suggestions and a plan of his own.

Many plans have been under consideration in Warsaw directed towards "unloading" Poland of her surplus Jews by mutual consent and

arrangement among the parties concerned, without turning the outcasts into the world destitute. One of these is an ingenious plan to enable the emigrants to have a large part of the benefits of their capital when abroad without the inconvenience to Poland which would follow if they were allowed to take it with them.

The dislocation which would ensue if the removal of capital were unrestricted may be indicated by the fact that Jews are the chief owners of urban real estate in Poland. There are 3,200,000 of them, and, though they comprise only 9.8 per cent of the total population, they account for 62 per cent of those engaged in commerce, 40 per cent of craftsmen, 23.5 per cent of those employed in industry, 53 per cent of doctors, and 75 per cent of lawyers.

Bonds for Property.

The plan envisages a "public utility company" to be set up in Warsaw. Wealthy Jews desirous of emigrating are to surrender their property into the safe keeping of this company, by which about 80 per cent of its market value will be booked to the credit of the would-be emigrant. The remaining 20 per cent is to be sacrificed by him as the fee for his being allowed to go with his possessions and to be used chiefly to facilitate the emigration and settlement of poor Jews. He will not, however, be allowed to take out the sum booked to his credit, either in Polish or in foreign currency, but the company will issue special bonds, guaranteed by the company itself and the Bank of Poland. The scheme will, before being put into operation, have been explained to and approved by world Jewry, especially the Jewish financiers of the United States. The bonds will thus acquire a restricted negotiability outside Poland.

The emigrant is to be allowed to engage in creative enterprise abroad approved by the company and all the other parties concerned. From the profits to Poland of his traffic with the homeland he is gradually to "acquire merit", or credit, through which the company's bonds may ultimately be extinguished till he receives their equivalent in foreign currency or something else of a tangible nature abroad.

"Pioneers".

So that not merely wealthy Jews shall emigrate, but poor Jews in their hundreds of thousands, the wealthy emigrants will be in a sense "pioneers" of the movement. The enterprises they create abroad will serve as a receptacle and source of employment for destitute Polish Jews. Under the management of the company these will be assisted to go abroad to help build up the enterprise of the pioneers, who will undertake to employ

only or chiefly such labour.

To accomplish all this the company would have the territorial facilities not only in Palestine but in some of the "empty spaces" of the world. This is where the British Empire comes into the scheme—or the scheme into the British Empire. It is considered that the new economic units to be created will not disturb the economy of any country. They will rather become eventually an asset to the world as new sources not only of production but of consumption, and as centres of employment. By making this plain and gaining the support of world Jewry, including particularly the financiers of America, the promoters hope that they will persuade the British Government to help the movement by providing suitable territories from among their possessions."

It is difficult to know what was offered to Poland by Britain in terms of solving its domestic Jewish problem in return for an alliance. However, it would appear that Colonel Beck left Britain some days later a very satisfied man.

8th April 1939:

*"BRITAIN AND POLAND.
MUTUAL PLEDGES EXCHANGED.
WIDER AGREEMENT TO COME.*

From our Diplomatic correspondent.

Colonel Beck, the Foreign Minister of Poland, left London yesterday thoroughly well pleased with his discussions here. On the British side the satisfaction is no less deep. A new and important understanding has been created: a friendship made closer.

How far the understanding goes was shown by Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons on Thursday during a long statement drawn up in consultation with Colonel Beck. The two countries, as Mr. Chamberlain explained, soon found themselves in agreement of certain general principles. Therefore they had agreed to enter into an agreement of a permanent and reciprocal character to take the place of the present temporary and unilateral assurance give by Great Britain to Poland. He continued:-

Pending the completion of the permanent agreement, Colonel Beck gave his Majesty's Government an assurance that the Polish Government would consider themselves bound under an obligation to render assistance to his Majesty's Government under the same conditions as those contained in the temporary assurance already given by his Majesty's Government to Poland.

Defining "Threats".

In other words, Poland would immediately help Great Britain in resisting any clear threats to her independence. The permanent agree-

ment, as Mr. Chamberlain indicated, would be both more precise and wider in scope than the temporary; the nature of likely threats would be more accurately defined. Whereas the interim pledges—necessarily drawn up quickly—refer simply to "clear threats," the permanent agreement will be framed to cover any threat, "direct or indirect." This may be taken to mean that attacks on other States considered of vital interest to one side or the other, or to both, will be brought within the scope of the Agreement.

At the same time it is clearly understood by both sides that the Anglo-Polish Agreement does not preclude either of them from reaching agreements with other countries in the cause of consolidating peace. During his talks in London Colonel Beck declared more than once his earnest desire to continue friendly relations so far as possible with both Germany and Soviet Russia.

Late on Thursday night—after returning from Portsmouth, where he inspected warships, submarines, and aircraft-carriers—Colonel Beck called to have a final long talk with Lord Halifax on a few outstanding points and for a last review of the European reactions to the Anglo-Polish Agreement.

Col. Beck's Optimism

In conversation at his hotel afterwards Colonel Beck said that for the most part the clear declaration which Mr. Chamberlain had announced in the House, and which had been agreed on by both sides, spoke for itself.

Agreement, he added, had been made easier because of the simple fact that both sides had the same anxiety to preserve peace, and both had felt it their duty to express their ideas and the solidarity of their interests in a clear and outspoken declaration.

"I am most optimistic," he said, "about the possibilities of permanent and stable cooperation between our two Governments and countries."

Asked about Poland's relations with Germany and with other countries of Europe as a result of the agreement, Colonel Beck smilingly said that he was neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet, but he had hopes; and one thing was clear—Polish policy had been quite simple in the past; she did not conclude contradictory pacts; and now when she was enlarging her obligations she had not done anything that contradicted any previous agreement.

On Soviet Russia he said that Polish-Soviet relations had been regulated by the Pact of Non-Aggression of 1932, redefined in 1933. On Rumania he said that collaboration with her was entirely logical; as she was an ally of Poland's naturally the Polish Government would

discuss directly with her all questions of common interest.

Privately Colonel Beck said how much he had appreciated the direct manner in which the talks and all his contacts here had been conducted. In particular the character and evident purpose of both Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Halifax had clearly made a deep impression on him.

The Polish Jews.

On Thursday afternoon, while Colonel Beck was seeing the Fleet at Portsmouth, the Polish Ambassador called at the Foreign Office to settle one or two details. Afterwards it was learned that during his conversations with the British Ministers Colonel Beck had expressed his desire that any international efforts for treating the Jewish problem should be made to include Polish Jews. He hoped that Jewish emigrants from Poland would have their due share in any scheme worked out for settlement abroad. At the same time he said that he had been asked by the Rumanian Government to draw attention to their own similar problem. Colonel Beck was assured that the British Government were well aware of the Polish and Rumanian difficulties and would be ready at any time to examine proposals for a solution of them as part of the whole problem.

Mr. Oliver Hardy, representing the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Sir Alexander Cadogan were at the station when Colonel Beck left London yesterday. It is learned that he will travel direct to Warsaw.

M. Tilea, the Rumanian Minister, who went to Bucharest a fortnight ago for discussions with his Government, returned to London on Thursday evening and called at the Foreign Office yesterday."

No further public report was made on the question of Britain's role in the Polish Jewish problem. It is inconceivable however, that given the importance attached to solving the problem by the Polish Government, and the fact that it viewed Britain as a critical element in this solution, that this was not discussed in some detail at the meetings with the British. There is also a strong indication in the final element of the above report that Polish expectations on the subject were discussed and that Britain gave the impression that it was prepared to accept a critical role in any proposed solution. How else are we to understand the statement, "*Colonel Beck was assured that the British Government were well aware of the Polish and Rumanian difficulties and would be ready at any time to examine proposals for a solution of them as part of the whole problem*"? There is little doubt that Colonel Beck completed his discussions with the

British with the clear understanding that Britain would help it to solve its Jewish problem.

Of course Britain had no such intention. It had exacerbated the predicament of European Jewry through its First World War twin strategy of destroying the Austro-Hungarian Empire and offering Palestine as the Jewish homeland. This had the effect of stirring up nationalist passions in the Central European countries while at the same time loosening the ties which bound the indigenous Jewish populations to their respective national areas. It was not simply a question that by offering Palestine as a homeland it encouraged European Jewry to turn their allegiances from their domestic states towards Palestine—all thing being equal, most Jewish peoples would have preferred to remain in Europe despite their spiritual affinity with the biblical lands—it was the more critical fact that the anti-Semitic feelings generated by the overall situa-

tion now had a ready-made solution which could be couched in more humanitarian language. There was now a physical location to which they could be offloaded. Britain encouraged this sentiment when it suited its policy of building up allies against Germany but it knew all along that it was encouraging unrealistic expectations.

There is little doubt that, if Germany had acquiesced in its encirclement and had not invaded Poland, the build up of anti-Semitic sentiment in that country would have made it impossible to avoid some kind of social explosion. In many ways Germany's response to the British-Polish agreement got Britain off the hook. History could now be taught in a way which depicted Britain's role in the Second World War as a noble fight against anti-Semitism while its actual role in encouraging that anti-Semitism (in its desire to gain anti-German allies in the build up to that War) could remain hidden in the chronology.

Brendan Clifford

Coolacrease And The Sunday Business Post

The *Sunday Business Post* carried a flimsy pretence of a review of the Aubane book on Coolacrease, but soon dropped the pretence of reviewing and launched into a denunciation of *Aubane* (revealing that it had had a connection with BICO) and of me in particular. There was nothing surprising in that. The only surprise was that the SBP had been given a Review copy. When I enquired, I was told it was because it had asked for one. It doesn't seem much of a reason to me.

When Athol Books began to issue books (as distinct from pamphlets), the *Irish Times* asked for review copies. But it never reviewed the books—and it was not sensible to expect that it would. A letter was sent to the Literary Editor (James Downey as far as I remember), pointing out that it solicited books but then did not even mention them. He replied that the paper was under no obligation to review books received. That was indisputable. What he did not seem able to get his mind around was that Athol Books was under no obligation to send books to an important paper like the *Irish Times*. The idea of an Irish publisher not caring a straw about the *Irish Times* was beyond his comprehension, even though it was a fact that some of the biggest best-sellers became best sellers without the help of a single review in any of the papers—a fact which says a lot about Ireland. Anyway, the *Irish Times* had to buy these books after that,

instead of being sent them free in the absurd hope that they might review them.

The SBP joined the *Irish Times* in seeking out Aubane in order to denounce it seven or eight years ago; that being the only review the Society ever got in either. What gave offence was the inclusion of Elizabeth Bowen in the *North Cork Anthology* in Derridian form. She was present *sous erasure* which was a device invented by Derrida. We translated the term and presented her "*in deleted form*". And not one of those smart Alocs in the Dublin press recognised the distinctive device of that very influential European intellectual.

The SBP was founded by one of the Kiberd brothers, and we were denounced in it by Mary Ellen Synon, who was later obliged to take a holiday after ridiculing the Olympics for the disabled. The other Kiberd brother, who wrote a book called *Inventing Ireland*, called us "*nutters*" on Radio Eireann. He too failed to recognise how up to date we were in entering Bowen in Derridian form.

The SBP was founded to be a nationalist paper, and was sold for profit after it became a commercial success. But it remained nationalist. It was *niche* nationalist. Tom McGurk of the Belfast *People's Democracy* of the 1969 era, was associated with it, and I believe was Editor for a while.

In view of the offence that I gave to the entire spectrum of nationalism, and

to the People's Democracy in particular, with the "*two nations*" theory during the Autumn and Winter of 1969-70, it was unreasonable to expect anything but condemnation and misrepresentation of anything I was connected with. Forty years later the hurt is still felt, and the fact that if you look at the substance of the matter events happened with what I said was the case, rather than with what they said, only makes it worse. Subjectivism rules in that region, and I have always felt it was best to let it fester in peace, avert my eyes, and carry on.

The reason I take note of it in this instance is that the *exposé* of me in the SBP as a two-nationalist was written by an Ulster Ulster Unionist, Stephen King, who was David Trimble's adviser—or his co-adviser, along with Eoghan Harris, Professor the Lord Bew and Professor Patterson.

It was said by Mary Kenny in the *Independent* that I was associated with Trimble and had been an influence on him. This was repeated in a big biography of Trimble just as the Unionist Party was collapsing under his leadership. I assume that the source is Trimble himself, but there is not an atom of truth in it.

King says that I once described "*loyalism*" as "*a variant of fascism*". No doubt I did describe certain loyalist tendencies as fascist, because they were fascist, whether claiming to be so or just being so. But King's phrasing is sloppy and I suppose it is intended to mislead.

Mainstream Ulster Unionism, during the time I was in Belfast, I regarded as anything but fascist, particularly under the leadership of Faulkner and Molyneux. When a substantial fascist strain after Stormont was abolished in 1972, it was seen off by Molyneux and the Rev. Martin Smyth, largely by use of the Orange Order.

I had two meetings with Trimble, twenty years apart. He was a student at the first. We had a brief discussion, which obviously had no influence on him because a couple of years later he appeared as one of the firebrands of William Craig's Vanguard movement. I regarded Vanguard as fascist.

Twenty years later I met Trimble again. Mary McAleese brought a libel action against me for publishing an article by a solicitor saying that she had got a job in the law profession for which she was not qualified. I discovered that she had not applied for the job in the first instance, knowing that she was not qualified. Then, when nobody with the requisite qualifications applied for the job, her application was solicited, as was an application from Trimble. This procedure was in breach of the Fair Employment rules then being enforced,

but it was not she who breached them. Nevertheless, it was she who sued. I asked for a meeting with Trimble to get details for my Defence. Our discussion kept strictly to the details of that appointment.

After a number of Court hearings, McAleese dropped the action without damages or costs. Then she became President of the republic and biographies of her began to misrepresent the case. I responded by publishing the Pleadings in the action and surrounding details. And now Trimble's adviser says that McAleese is one of my "*particular hate figures*".

One thing that inclined me to give McAleese a way out short of the Trial was Trimble's nomination for a safe Unionist seat. Trimble, the passed-over law lecturer, was one thing. Trimble the Unionist MP was quite another. And then Trimble became Party leader.

At the time of his election I said in the *Irish Political Review* why his leadership was likely to be disastrous for the Party. I never wrote a word in support of him. And he never showed any sign of being influenced by me.

Here, to give the flavour, is a sample of this Unionist/Nationalist 'review' of *Coolacrease*, a book which is made up of documents and details about a particular 'incident':

"Their detractors dismissed them as "the Peking Lodge", and accused them of providing the intellectual ammunition for the UDA's guns. Think of any of the far left's pet causes in the 1970s and 1980s and BICO could be relied upon to take the opposite stance. The Birmingham Six, Sean South and Mary McAleese were some of their particular hate figures.

"And then, just as everyone else started making peace, BICO cried foul. In its Aubane guise, it decided to occupy the ideological space vacated by Fianna Fáil in about 1957. The unionists had ceased being unionist, so why should BICO/Aubane defend them?

"What others see as a new maturity in Irish nationalism, BICO interprets as a betrayal of the independence movement. The good guys now are Islamists, Sinn Féin, Robert Mugabe and Casement forgery theorists. All that remains of the old BICO is the vigour with which those who dare to disagree with them are denounced.

"Such spectacular flip-flops bring wry smiles to the lips of BICO-watchers."

Such is the refutation by the SBP of a reasoned analysis of unfounded allegations about a particular incident in the War of Independence.

I know there was an assumption amongst Unionists that anyone who

made a case for them against John Redmond on the Home Rule issue must as a matter of course disparage nationalist Ireland and be committed to rigging a case against it. I did my best to get them to understand that such was not the case with me. I published books about the history of Catholic Ireland at the same time as I did so about Protestant Ulster, allowing each its actual development.

No reciprocal effort was made from within Unionism to depict the national development of the Catholic community. And Trimble and his Queen's Young Unionists were outlandish when they tried to say something about Catholic Ireland.

That Unionist assumption was mirrored on the nationalist side. To Harris's mind, in the early seventies, I had to be either an Orange bigot or an Orange stooge in order to be able to make a defence of the Ulster Protestants. Since those days he has flipped over and become what he said I must be, but the mindset remains the same.

Unionism, in whatever slight attempt it made to understand nationalist Ireland, never got beyond the conviction that it must be evil—and that conviction was reinforced by the conversion of C.C. O'Brien and Senator Harris. It was not a conviction that I ever gave comfort to, and therefore I was never acceptable.

The Unionists clearly thought that Harris had presented them with a winner with his story of the Pearson killings. *Coolacrease* was designated as the anvil on which the Republican spirit would be broken, and its evil made clear to the world. See, for example, David Adams in the *Irish Times*. If they had asked me, who David Trimble is said to admire, I would have told them it wasn't so. But they did not ask my advice on this, any more than they ever did on anything. But, since they insisted on misunderstanding me, I can understand their resentment that I should have played a part in shattering their anvil.

The SBP passes remarks about the world of "*micro-groups*" from which BICO emerged, but its 'review' belongs to that world, with its characteristic inability to deal with a conditional statement about a particular, supported by evidence, along with its insuppressible urge towards misrepresentation in the form of wild extrapolation. For example: "*In Aubane's version of history, land was never an issue in Offaly, and Protestants per se were never troubled by the IRA*". The book does not say that land was never an issue in Offaly. No doubt it was an issue during the land war some decades before, but

no evidence could be found that the killing of the Pearsons had to do with land, rather than with their military activity in support of the Crown. And no evidence could be found that Protestants who did not act against the Army of the Republic were interfered with by it.

Refutation of the case made in the *Coolacrease* book is easy. All it needs is evidence of land-grabbing connected with Republican activity in that part of Ireland then; and evidence of Republican attacks on Protestants in *Coolacrease* who did not engage in activity against the IRA. If the SBP had evidence of either, I assume it would have published it.

Then: "*the Pearsons had crossed the IRA and deserved to die, no ifs or buts, full stop. One shudders to think what kind of programme Aubane's members themselves would produce, given the chance*". Not a programme in which old sectarianism is groundlessly stirred up, I imagine.

With regard to the legitimacy of the killings, this is an inescapable case of Either/Or. Was legitimate political power in June 1921 Imperial or Democratic? I always found it curious how Ulster Unionists felt deeply about numbers and democracy in certain directions, but those feelings switched off automatically when they looked in other directions.

The SBP says that we stopped defending unionists because "*the unionists had ceased being unionists*". It's news to me that we stopped defending them in the sense of retracting the historical case we made for them when the entire body of nationalist opinion was hostile to them. But, what need is there for a micro-group to defend them now, when nationalist Ireland has (resentfully) given in to the case that we made then?

I concluded, after about twenty years of trying to get Unionism to be British, that it was a hopeless case. It was unalterably hostile to the movement to normalise the Six Counties within the party politics of the British State. As that movement was beginning to make a strong impression, it was effectively sabotaged. Unionism was insistent on confining itself within the comfort of the Unionist family, where there is no place for Catholics. It preferred the life of communal antagonism. My purpose from the start was to find a way of displacing that antagonism with another one.

A final matter. The SBP says that I founded BICO. Lest this should pass as a statement of fact, I deny it. Insofar as

BICO can be said to have had a founder, it was Pat Murphy. I doubt that it would have been founded but for him. I knew little about Ireland apart from the self-sufficient world of Slieve Luacra. He explained it to me. And it was through his rigorous cross-examination of Desmond Greaves about the usefulness—the purpose—of careful sectarian head-counting in Northern Ireland, and Greaves's failure to outline anything like a realistic purpose, that I got a handle on the North. (That was around 1963, I reckon.)

I did not find things. I only went along with them. The only thing I ever founded was a piece of eccentricity called *A Belfast Magazine*. And now that is brought up against me by the strange Unionist/Nationalist amalgam that defends Senator Harris's *Coolcrease* broadcast in the only way it knows how.

The following was submitted to the *Sunday Business Post* in answer to an ad hominem review by Steven King of *Coolcrease, The True Story of the Pearson Executions in Co. Offaly, an Incident in the War of Independence*. It did not appear.

A response to Steven King's review of '*Coolcrease—the true story of the Pearson Executions*'

Last Week (November 30) David Trimble's former adviser, Steven King, abandoned the book he was supposed to be reviewing: '*Coolcrease—the true story of the Pearson Executions*' (Aubane 2008). A third of the way through he decided instead to attack it by writing derisively about the publisher, the Aubane Historical Society. King accused them of occupying 'ideological space' that Fianna Fail abandoned in favour of 'a new maturity... in about 1957'.

That date is apt, but not for the reason Steven King promotes. In 1957 Gollancz published '*The Indivisible Island*', by Frank Gallagher, first Editor of The Irish Press, supporter of Eamon de Valera, and author of Bertie Ahern's favourite Irish history book '*The Four Glorious Years*' (1953). During the early 1950s Gallagher had been tasked, alongside then fellow civil servant Conor Cruise O'Brien, with producing Anti-partition propaganda. 1957 marked a change from a blunderbuss approach to targeted research. Professor John Whyte of Queens University Belfast said of '*The Indivisible Island*' in 1983 that it was "still the most comprehensive attack ever published on the unionist record {in Northern Ireland}, and is

usually reliable on matters of fact".

Also in 1957 Ireland's permanent representative at the UN, Frederick Boland, wrote to O'Brien, who was by now an Irish diplomat. Just like Gallagher, Boland wondered whether it might be better to concentrate on "some particular aspect of partition on which we could make an effective showing". O'Brien suggested the allocation of local authority housing as an area that might expose unionist discrimination. The rest, as they say, is history. The exposure of such faults led to the crisis that blew up in everyone's face in 1968. Gallagher's approach was the one taken up by those who went on to form the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association in 1967. Fianna Fail became derailed in the mid-1960s by Unionist Prime Minister Terence O'Neil's promise of reform, one O'Neill did not fulfil.

Whatever of nationalist 'maturity', Northern Ireland's permanently governing Unionist Party exhibited its own brand between 1959 and 1961. It debated whether Roman Catholics should be allowed to join the exclusively Protestant party, but resolved in the end to leave the *status quo* intact. Northern Ireland's longest serving and its last Prime Ministers, Basil Brooke and Brian Faulkner, agreed. Faulkner suggested that, though most Catholics were not republicans, they were 'good nationalists'. That was bad enough for him. Papists could not openly join a party that denied them equality in jobs, houses and votes. One eccentric managed to join secretly soon afterwards though.

This brings me back to the subject, ostensibly, of Steven King's review, the *Coolcrease* book. It is about the IRA's killing two members of a small fundamentalist Protestant sect, brothers named Pearson, in Offaly in late June 1921. Frank Gallagher's equally popular and influential '*The Four Glorious Years*' noted attempts by British propagandists to pin a sectarian label on republican forces during the War of Independence. An October 2007 RTE 'Hidden History' programme on the Pearson killings, which the *Coolcrease* book challenges, was, ironically, a modern exercise in the same propaganda tradition. The *Coolcrease* book establishes that, whatever criticism may be made (over 87 years later) of the manner of the killings, they were devoid of any sectarian intent or of any fixation on Pearson farmland.

It is not as though these issues were not debated thoroughly during the 1920-22 period. It was mainly southern Protestants who rejected publicly and emphatically northern unionist assertions that southern Protestants suffered in any form the type of treatment meted out to

Catholics in Northern Ireland. The *Coolcrease* book effectively puts the case put then by southern Protestants to a modern audience. It is a reflection of the sad state of historical commentary in Ireland today that this is the truly *hidden history*. I exempt the *Sunday Business Post* television reviewer, Emmanuel Keogh. He produced by far the most intelligent evaluation of RTE's 'Hidden History' programme ('When history and hearsay collide', October 28, 2007).

King makes much of a rejection by the Broadcasting Complaints Commission of a complaint against the documentary. However, the decision was made purely in the context of broadcasting balance. The Commission felt itself incompetent and also legally barred from consideration of historical fact and interpretation. As the book reproduces the entire documentary narrative, together with original documents ignored by the RTE programme, readers may come to their own conclusions.

I understand why, in the circumstances, Steven King was unable to rise above his own brand of ideological immaturity. Once, King explained, the publishers had been friendly to the unionist cause, but not any more. I wonder why? Something I read in the magazine the 'reviewer' mentioned, *The Irish Political Review*, gives a clue. The playwright, Wilson John Haire wrote on pro-unionist meetings he attended during the 1970s, at the height of the Troubles. Speakers uttered thoughts they expected to be considered seriously. They were typically to the effect that Catholic mothers of ten were dropping babies every six months in a furious quest to out breed Northern Ireland's Protestant and therefore unionist majority. The writer concluded regretfully that such representative ideologues were not ready to be integrated into the democratic structures of the British state. I, for my part, am happy to welcome them into an Irish one, where the passage of time will demonstrate the fatuity of many unionist presumptions. In the meantime, I recommend for Christmas the book King largely ignored, '*Coolcrease, the true story of the Pearson executions*' (Aubane 2008).

Niall Meehan

Author, with Brian Murphy, of '*Troubled History—a tenth anniversary critique of Peter Hart's *The IRA and its Enemies*' (Aubane 2008).*

The *Coolcrease* book costs €20 / £20 and can be obtained from the publisher (page 3) or from www.atholbooks.org

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FATHER AIDAN TROY, the priest who went to the defence of besieged Catholic schoolgirls in Belfast's Ardoyne after Loyalists attacks is moving to Paris, as a chaplain to English-speaking residents there.

Fr. Troy became a household name seven years ago during the highly-publicised Loyalist blockade of Holy Cross girls' primary school in the Catholic enclave of north Belfast.

As Chairman of the School Governors, the Wicklow-born cleric accompanied the young children to and from the school daily, sharing with them and their parents Loyalist jeers, missiles and even a blast bomb.

Fr. Troy's move to Paris was decided by his religious superiors at a top-level meeting in Larne last June of the Order of Passionist priests, of which he is a member.

Fr. Troy admitted that he would prefer to stay in his high-profile post in Belfast, but, as a religious who took the vow of obedience, he was bowing to the decision of his superiors.

"There are other priests and ministers who have to change their postings and will not end up in as beautiful a city as I am going to.

"I was seven years in Rome before I came here, and when I was asked to come to Belfast, I thought it was the maddest suggestion. It has ended up being the best seven years of my life as a priest, and I have no hesitation in saying that."

Fr. Troy last hit the headlines in January, when he publicly attacked Cardinal Desmond Connell's High Court move to prevent a government-appointed investigation into the Archdiocese of Dublin examining sensitive files on paedophile priests.

He praised the Archbishop of Dublin Diarmuid Martin for doing "*the honourable, correct and gospel thing*" by releasing the sensitive files.

Church Schools

"**THE HEAD OF** the Anglican

community in Dublin and Wicklow has said that there is a real and justified demand for schools under church patronage.

"In a strong defence of the continued role of all churches in education, the Archbishop of Dublin and Glendalough, John Neill, yesterday pleaded with the Government to maintain its financial support to Protestant and Catholic-run schools." (*Irish Independent*-15.10.2008)

"Schools under the patronage of the Christian churches would seem now to be in danger of becoming less significant in the planning of, and provision of, new schools and are less likely to be afforded the chance to develop than are other schools," the Archbishop warned.

But he stressed that the Church of Ireland was not opposed to new models of patronage that are emerging in growing suburban areas to cater for people of no religious persuasion and for the Muslim and other faith communities.

While welcoming the "encouraging" development of a new school building in Balbriggan, the Archbishop said it was very important that the choice of a Church of Ireland school remained a real option in areas which could not sustain a 16-teacher primary school.

"Like the Roman Catholic Church, the Church of Ireland is insistent that in today's Ireland, an Ireland which though pluralistic and increasingly secular, there remains a real demand for, and justification for schools under Church patronage", said Archbishop Neill.

Bible

CARDINAL SEAN BRADY has said Catholics should imitate Protestants by having a Bible in their home and read it often as a family.

The Catholic Primate of All Ireland and Archbishop of Armagh was speaking on 14th October 2008 in Rome at a world synod of Catholic bishops convened by

Pope Benedict XVI for a month-long discussion on the Bible.

"Last night, Church sources in Rome told the Irish Independent that Pope Benedict noted Dr Brady's comment, which came the day after the Archbishop of Dublin Diarmuid Martin said that the Bible was "almost alien territory" for Irish Catholics. In his inaugural address to the synod, Dr Brady said that the contribution of the Protestant tradition to Biblical scholarship had been immense." (15.10.2008)

"It may assist the healing of memory to affirm that the emphasis in the Reformation on improving access to the Scriptures was a good from which all Christians have benefited," the Irish Primate suggested.

Dr. Brady spoke of his experience at an Easter meeting with Irish Protestants when they washed each other's feet while they listened to the account of how Jesus washed the feet of his disciples at the Last Supper.

"This strong experiential ritual of 'inter-communion' in the Word took us to a new level of personal and ecclesial commitment," he said. He said he hoped the synod would come up with ways of using modern technology to convey the Church's global message. (*Irish Independent*-15.10.2008)

THE DOMINICAN SCHOLAR and activist, **Father Austin Flannery** died on October 21st, 2008.

Born at Rear Cross in Co Tipperary in 1925, Liam Flannery - Austin was the name he took in religion - was educated at St Flannan's in Ennis, where two of his contemporaries were Kevin McNamara, later archbishop of Dublin, and Tomás Mac Giolla, later president of Sinn Féin and two of its successor parties.

His vocation to the Dominicans in 1943 then led him to St Mary's, Tallaght, and onward to Blackfriars, Oxford and to the Angelicum in Rome.

He was ordained in 1950, and subsequently taught theology for two years at Glenstal Abbey. In 1957, he became editor of the Dominican journal *Doctrine and Life*.

He had been involved for many years in the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement, of which he became successively chairman and, in 1981, president. In 1983 he was involved with many others in opposition to the Criminal Justice Bill of that year, an issue which was closely linked to his constant concern for civil liberties in a number of other important areas—prisons, social justice, and the powers being given to the police.

It was an unlikely alliance, that between Dominican priest Fr Austin Flannery and the late general secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland, Michael O'Riordan.

But, in the words of Mr O'Riordan's daughter Brenda, quoted by Fr. Flannery's brother, Jimmy, at his requiem Mass in Dublin, "when nobody saw the link between true communism and true Christianity, he {Fr Flannery} and Dad {Mr O'Riordan} confounded the theorists and shared many a common platform on social justice issues."

Mr. Flannery recalled how the late trade unionist Michael Mullen had asked him "how Austin was, as he appeared to have become quiet on issues. I said, 'Austin is becoming conservative with age'. Micky's reply was, 'Austin is not changing—society is and is catching up with his thinking'."

Austin Flannery was born 10th January 1925 and died 21st October 2008

Marriage Law

THE GOVERNMENT COULD face a major legal challenge in the courts led by the Catholic Church and lay bodies, the Primate of All Ireland and Archbishop of Armagh, Cardinal Sean Brady has warned.

The prospect of the biggest Church-State clash since the ratification of the Constitution in 1937 was signalled by the Cardinal, when he threatened to mobilise church and public opposition to the most fundamental change in family law planned by a government in 81 years.

The Irish government will be making the same mistakes as Britain and the U.S. if it brings in legislation to give cohabiting couples the same rights as married couples, the Cardinal warned on November 5, 2008.

In a trenchant defence of marriage, the Archbishop of Armagh said international surveys showed children born outside of marriage are more likely to be unemployed, use drugs or get involved in crime.

Dr. Brady told the Ceifin Conference in Co Clare that the Government is undermining the will of God if it doesn't protect the special status of marriage in the Constitution.

"Ireland looks set to repeat the mistakes of societies like Britain and the U.S. by introducing legislation which will promote cohabitation, remove most incentives to marry and grant same-sex couples the same rights as marriage in all but adoption," he said.

The Government published its Civil Partnership Bill last June and it is expected to become law during 2009. However, many Fianna Fail TDs are

opposed to it.

Dr. Brady said the legislation would dissolve the special status of marriage between a man and woman enshrined in the Constitution. "If we have the good of children and of society at heart then it is also clear that we need to try and maximise the number of children being raised by a married mother and father", he added.

Any change in the current laws would signal the greatest revolution in the history of the Irish family, he told his audience. "But will it be a revolution which promotes the common good of our society?"

"Will it really help children and married couples or will it further erode marriage at a time when research and experience point to the value of marriage for children and society?"

"The priority of the family over society and over the State has to be reaffirmed."

Dr. Brady cited studies in Britain and the US that suggested that children born outside of marriage are more likely to suffer family breakdown, do worse at school, suffer poorer health and face problems of unemployment, drugs and crime.

'Woodstock' Apology:

Due to pressure of space we have been obliged to hold over Part Two of the report on Woodstock, as well as Part Three of our series on the Land War in Cork.



Conor Cruise O'Brien

Conor Cruise O'Brien wrote Anti-Partition propaganda as a civil servant in the Department of External Affairs for many years. Then he served on the Irish diplomatic mission at the United Nations and took part in General Secretary Hammarskjöld's ambitious attempt to break free of Security Council authority and maintain the integrity of the Belgian Congo when Belgium, after merely exploiting it for generations, then withdrew abruptly leaving the place in a mess, with a view to carving it up in alliance with local warlords. The Prime Minister of the discarded Belgian Congo, Patrice Lumumba, was assassinated in the local feuding manipulated by Belgium, and Hammarskjöld died in suspicious circumstances. UN orthodoxy was restored.

O'Brien then became a kind of international revolutionary in the medium of ideology. He served for a while as an academic in Dr. Nkrumah's one-party state in Ghana, where "*Consciencism*" was the official medium of thought. We have entirely forgotten what Consciencism was.

He then played some part in the international leftism associated with the Civil Rights movement in America, before returning to Ireland, joining the Labour Party, and contesting the 1969 Election under the Socialism In the Seventies slogan. He made an unfortunate remark about Ireland becoming Europe's Cuba, apparently not appreciating that, as the Irish 'peasants' had taken over the land from the landlords sixty years earlier, the Cuban analogy raised the prospect of its being taken from them by the State. In this matter everything depends who the state is taking the land away from. Land nationalisation would no doubt have been popular in 1848, but it was guaranteed to lose an election in 1969.

O'Brien then embarked on a very confused career in Irish politics. Through painful experience in the early-1960s, he grasped the important fact that the idea of the United Nations sold to the populace was bogus, and he held onto it. For the rest he was confused and confusing.

He seemed to have been outraged by the crisis brought about by Britain in the North in August 1969; but then he went around to the British Embassy to tell

them suspicious circumstances surrounding a Civil Rights office in Monaghan!

He rejected the 'two-nations' view of the North. That was understandable in view of his description of the Ulster Protestants as "*colons*" in a book that he wrote around that time. The term "*colon*" was well understood then and it carried definite implications. The colons were the French in Algeria who went into rebellion when France began to conciliate Algerian nationalism. De Gaulle broke the colon rebellion and the French settlers who would not recognise Algerian sovereignty were repatriated. There was no 'two nations' appeasement there.

In 1974 O'Brien was Coalition spokesman for the North, where there was a power-sharing Government under Sunningdale terms. A Council of Ireland was to accompany Sunningdale. The Unionists understood that there was a deal that the Constitution's claim of sovereign right over the North was to be dropped as part of the new arrangement. Kevin Boland took legal action against Sunningdale as being in breach of the Constitution. The Coalition defence was that the Constitutional claim remained in place, and that it had only agreed not to enforce it during its period in office. This statement was carried in the Unionist papers in the North, and it led to a surge of opposition to the establishment of the Council of Ireland. The Coalition then had the choice of putting the Council on the long finger, or calling a referendum to withdraw the assertion of sovereignty. The Coalition decided to do neither, and O'Brien was particularly insistent on pushing ahead with the whole Sunningdale package, even though the Unionists had a reasonable case with regard to the Council. The whole Sunningdale set-up then collapsed in the face of a Unionist General Strike against it in May.

O'Brien later explained why he had been against the calling of a referendum on the sovereignty claim. He said that only Fianna Fail could do such a thing.

This was an almost explicit recognition of Fianna Fail as the hegemonic party of the state, and of the inferior status, *de facto*, of the Opposition parties. Rationally this should have led him to seek to enhance the status of the Labour Party by making it a player on the ground

mastered by Fianna Fail. It led him instead into an incoherent and disgruntled denial of the fundamental fact which he had acknowledged in a moment of practical decision in the handling of political power. From that point on, he marginalised himself and all who followed him.

He lost his seat in 1977, and in retirement he wrote a book about Edmund Burke that was launched by President Robinson at the Aras, and declared himself a "*Burkean*". Burke's political philosophy said that the present was an ephemeral interlude between past and future in which a sense of direction was got from tradition and not from general principles. And he urged that, when reforms were required, they should be done with the purpose of keeping the inherited system functional. A Burkean politician was coming to the fore as O'Brien retired to philosophise—and O'Brien was consumed with hatred of him. Charles Haughey devised "*Irish solutions for Irish problems*". Nothing could be more Burkean than that.

Long before that, in the early seventies, when the difference was no more than a hint, Haughey had said O'Brien was on the way to an empty liberalism that was socially dysfunctional while effective liberalism did not displace tradition but modified it and kept it alive.

In his irrational hatred of Haughey, O'Brien was driven towards the abstract principles of the French Enlightenment that Burke hated and that O'Brien hated when writing about Burke and forgetting for the moment that Haughey existed.

O'Brien's achievement as Cabinet Minister was to ban traditional Republican culture from the airwaves as giving aid and comfort to the Provos. The effect of this was to confer the heritage of generations of Republican culture on the Provos.

He never looked squarely at what Northern Ireland was as a political structure and at the position in which it put the Catholic community. He hated the Provos and despised the SDLP. His policy, if he can be said to have had one, seems to have been that the Northern Catholics should be taken in hand firmly and restored to a quiet, sullen subordination.

He joined a marginal Unionist Party but was unable to toe the line. When he made some remark that was identified as Fenian by those experts on Fenianism, somebody in the leadership of Trimble's Unionist Party pointed out that that was what happened when you brought a cuckoo into the nest. *