

Church & State

A Cultural Review Of Ireland And The World



**The Adventures
Of A Bishop**

Evolution Debate

Irish Times on Bloody Sunday

Scottish Nationalism And The Catholics

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Brendan Clifford

Irish Catholicism

It Is Time To Pronounce The Last Rites For The Roman Catholic Church In Ireland: that was the headline in an article in the London *Times* on May 29th on the subject of the Report on the abuse of children in care by some members of Catholic orders.

It is about a century and a half since the *Times* announced the end of the Celt in Ireland. It foresaw a time when a Celt would be as rare in Ireland as a Red Indian in New York. I don't pretend to know what a Celt is: but whatever he is, he is still there.

What England found obnoxious about Ireland over the centuries was that it was largely Celtic and largely Catholic—in short, that it was Irish.

By all reasonable standards it shouldn't have remained Irish. The material pressure exerted on the populace should have made it English and Protestant. Why, in defiance of all reason, did it not remake itself in adaptation to the pressures of conquest (particularly the progressive conquests of Cromwell and William), of the exemplary system of Penal Laws based on the Williamite conquest, and of the opportunity presented to the people by Providence in 1847 when it weeded them out

sufficiently to enable them to embark on an individualistic capitalist development as West Britain?

Britain failed to dispose of the Irish during all those centuries. It might be that the Irish will now dispose of themselves because the Commission on the conduct of Industrial Schools has now officially revealed to them as public fact what a great many knew all along as miscellaneous fact. But I doubt it.

There is much in the *Times* comment that is true after a fashion:

"The bitter truth is that everyone knew what was going on... The judges before whom the children appeared, dragged before the Courts and found guilty of "having a parent who does not exercise proper guardianship", knew that they were stripping them of their civil, legal and human rights as they sent them off to spend years in the gulags. The schools inspectors knew; the politicians knew, the local who depended on the schools for their livelihood knew; the citizens who sneered and jeered at the "raggy boys" and the "crocodile boys" and the "orphans" as they marched through Dublin suburbs on Sunday afternoons knew. Even the media knew and kept its silence (with a few honourable exceptions" (29.5.2009).

The honourable media exceptions which knew and did not keep silent are not mentioned. And I cannot think of any segment of the media that fits the bill.

And I do not know that there is any meaning in the statement that the media knew but kept silent. My impression of media personnel is that what they know is generally much less than what they say. Their particular aptitude is for picking up phrases of the week, the day, or the hour, and chattering about

Editorial

The Road To The Industrial Schools

The Church is now in official disgrace. It is berated by the media which not very long ago refused to engage in conflict with it. The leader of the Opposition says that, if elected, he will set out to bankrupt it. And the democracy is being encouraged to denounce it in terms which suggest that the Church existed apart from the democracy with which it was in fact closely interwoven, and that it oppressed the democracy.

We pioneered open criticism of the role of the Catholic Church in Irish society back in the 1960s when the *Irish Times* did not want to hear such things any more than the devout *Irish Independent* of those times—yes, the *Independent* was once the devout paper of Irish society. But now, with the Church in official disgrace, we feel that it is more to the point to recall some indisputable historical facts than to contribute our mite to denunciation long after the event. If the democracy feels the need to absolve itself by pretending that the Church with which it was interwoven existed over against it and oppressed it, so be it. But we feel no need to make that pretence. And we suspect that a large part of the democracy does not mislead itself in the matter either.

The abuse of children in care is not a particularly Irish or a particularly Catholic phenomenon. If it owes something to Rome it also owes much to London. London set out to destroy Catholicism in Ireland. What it destroyed after many centuries of effort was the very old and very human distinctive Catholicism of the Irish. It then facilitated the introduction of full Roman discipline into Ireland, while in Catholic States that was not allowed. And the establishment of Roman discipline was curiously inter-twined with the assertion of

Victorian values. London then sought to use this Romanised and Victorianised Church as an instrument of its rule in Ireland, and as a restraint on national political development.

When developments connected with the Great War led to the democratic assertion of Irish independence in the 1918 Election, and London continued to rule Ireland by force, and the Irish resisted by force, the Church did not support the Irish resistance or recognise the elected Irish Government as legitimate. The Irish resistance continued despite condemnations and decrees of excommunication by Bishops. When Britain offered a measure of self-government under the authority of the Crown, with the threat of unrestrained warfare if the offer was refused, and manipulated those who accepted the offer into making war on those who rejected it, the Church hierarchy threw its weight behind those who bowed to the British ultimatum. The Republicans were excommunicated by the Church and were crushed by the Treatyites using weaponry supplied by London.

The Treatyites depended heavily on the Church hierarchy during and after the so-called Civil War of 1922-3, and the Church/State combination that prevailed for many decades was established in that period.

What fell apart during the past generation was the Church/State relationship established in the 'Civil War' context when those who undertook to establish a state on the authority of the Crown were heavily dependent on the support of the Church hierarchy. There is no reason to suppose that there would have been a relationship of that kind if the elected Sinn Fein Government of 1919 had been recognised by Britain; or if Britain, having partitioned Ireland in June 1921, had submitted to the overwhelming demand for independence in the 26 Counties.

The resurgence of Republicanism in 1932 amended the Treaty State in its grosser aspects, but the damage done internally by the breaking of the Republican dynamic by the Treaty War was not easily remedied.

them, directed by a few primitive dialectical tricks. As far as the media of the modern democratic state are concerned, Socrates lost and the Sophists won hands down.

About 45 years ago I was involved in the publication of a small duplicated weekly (called *Irish Workers' News* as far as I recall). Also involved in it was Tony Dorgan, who lived near Fermoy, having spent some time abroad. He picked up on casual information about convent laundries in Cork city which seemed to him to be *de facto* labour camps for unmarried mothers. This came as a great surprise to me. I had not come across a hint of anything of the kind in Slieve Luacra, which was the only part of Ireland I knew really well, even though I had been completely out of joint with the Church all through my teens and into my twenties. One of my closest friends in that period was 'illegitimate'. I only realised this afterwards. Nothing was made of it at the time. I also realised afterwards that a couple of other youngsters I knew were illegitimate. I would say that the culture of the area covered over the particular case so that the child could be a normal part of society, without challenging the official principle.

Tony Dorgan established beyond any reasonable doubt that a very different procedure operated in the cities. The national media were, of course, urban bodies. And they did not want to know about what we wanted to tell them. There was no exception.

Determinism

In the comment of newspaper columnists on the Ryan Report there seems to be widespread agreement that responsibility for what happened in institutions lies in Church/State collusion after 1922, with some doubt as to which was the primary party and which was the collaborator. This confusion arises partly from the historical nature of the thing, and partly from the fact that the body of media commentators—those who comment for pay in the national newspapers—refused to take any part in a campaign to enact a separation of Church and State launched by this magazine in the early 1970s: and in fact condemned that campaign as unnecessary.

The classic statement of the view that a campaign to distinguish the proper spheres of Church and State, and to restrict the sphere of the Church accordingly, was made by Gene Kerrigan. He held that all of that would be sorted out by economic development. The economy was the determinant of social life, and could be relied on to bring about the condition of society that it required. To force a conflict of Church and State could only distort that process.

I hope I am not misrepresenting what he said. I do not have it to hand. That is how I remember it. I noticed it particularly at the time because it went completely against my understanding of how social development occurs. And it describes how the media intelligentsia actually behaved during the following generation—risking nothing for the purpose of putting the Church in its place, but kicking it when it became profitable to do so.

The outcome was that as the influence of the Church was eroded under a variety of external pressures no coherent body of counter-culture developed in its place—such as would have happened if it had been eroded through internal conflict. There was only the emptiness of the ephemeral fashionable chatter of each moment. And that emptiness characterises the great condemnations sparked off by the Ryan Report.

In the *Sunday Business Post*, Alison O'Connor asks: *Will The Church Pay For Its Sins?* :

"It is virtually impossible to understand the abjectly subservient attitude of the Dept. of Education, despite the dominance of the Catholic Church at the time..."

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Church & State

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The basis of understanding is history. The attitude on the part of media intellectuals a third of a century ago, which refused to engage with the Church, relying on external economic forces to subvert it, led also to the erosion of such historical understanding as existed in official Ireland thirty years ago.

Banville

In the *Irish* (formerly *Cork*) Examiner, John Banville asks: *How Could It Happen?* He begins: "Everyone knew ..." He continues by apparently accusing himself of doing nothing even though he knew. He was educated at schools run by the Christian Brothers and later by diocesan priests. He was always at the top of the class. A boy who was at the bottom of the class and had difficulty learning to read was often ridiculed by the teacher and made to sit alone. And: "I did not tell my parents about Duffy, about the humiliations that were piled on him daily in class". He continues:

"Human beings... have a remarkable ability to entertain simultaneously any number of contradictory propositions. Perfectly decent people can know a thing and at the same time not know of it. Think of Turkey and the Armenians at the beginning of the 20th century, think of Germany and the Jews in the 1940s, think of Bosnia and Rwanda in our own time.

"Ireland from 1930 to the late 1990s was a closed state ruled—the word is not too strong—by an all-powerful Catholic Church with the connivance of politicians and, indeed, the populace as a whole, with some honourable exceptions. The doctrine of original sin was ingrained in us..., and we borrowed from Protestantism the concept of the elect and the unelect."

Ireland a "closed state" for three generations—during which it had a phenomenal rate of emigration, freely to-ing and fro-ing with England, and virtually free access to the United States! And ruled by the Catholic Church in connivance with "the populace"!

Ruled in connivance with the populace—isn't that another way of saying, "democratically ruled"?

Banville was the winner of a British literary prize recently. After writing it he was commissioned to write a radio play for the BBC. He chose as a subject the visit of the Hungarian Jewish poet, Paul Celan, to the South German peasant philosopher, Martin Heidegger, at his peasant hut on Todtnauberg about thirty years after the war. It was an exotic subject. I saw it advertised, missed the broadcast, but got a recording of it. I was interested to see what the winner of a British literary prize would make of what might be regarded as the most intellectually significant event in post-

war Europe. But he never got inside the subject.

Sean O'Faolain, towards the end of his career, urged would-be Irish novelists to begin by writing on European themes as a way of becoming writers and then go on to Irish themes. I took this to signify an awareness on his part that, though Irish and a writer, he had failed to become an Irish writer. (Remember the Dickens character who, wanting to study Chinese philosophy, studied Chinese and studied philosophy?) But I could not see how an Irish writer could be European without first being Irish.

I have read only one of Banville's novels. It was about a sensational murder committed by a friend of the Attorney General, and aptly summed up by Haughey in the words Grotesque, Unbelievable, Bizarre and Unprecedented. It was skilfully enough written, in a pared-down Dostoevskian mode, but it didn't leave me wanting to read another one.

Banville also writes on European philosophy in the *Irish Times*. This means that he is a right-thinking person, and is therefore not likely to get to grips with the inner life of nationalist Ireland, any more than he can see European affairs from an Irish viewpoint. The European writers that he writes about did not make themselves in a cosmopolitan culture. It was as products of national cultures that they became European figures. O'Faolain's notion that cosmopolitan Europeanism was a way of becoming national in a European context flew in the face of experience.

In the matter of people knowing and not knowing that dreadful things were being done, Banville begins with "Turkey and the Armenians". A great issue was made of this in the British war propaganda of the Great War, especially after the Armistice with Germany. The British war on Turkey, in which Home Rule Ireland took part wholeheartedly, was not settled with an effective Peace Treaty until 1924. Republican Ireland had repudiated Britain's 1914 declarations of war, but the Republican segment that signed up for the Treaty under the threat of immediate and terrible war found to their surprise that, by placing themselves under the authority of the Crown, they had gone to war against Turkey in principle though not called on to do any fighting.

When Britain declared war on Turkey Greece declared neutrality. It resisted British pressure for a couple of years. Eventually Britain lost patience with it, invaded, and set up a puppet Government which joined Britain in the war. In reward for this Greece was awarded a slice of Turkey. Following the Armistice the Greeks were urged to go and take

their reward. Supported by Britain they invaded Asia Minor and set about the ethnic cleansing of Turks. A strong Turkish resistance developed in Anatolia, which defeated the Greeks and their British instigators. The British then left the Greeks in the lurch and made a settlement with the resurgent Turks, which the Treaty of Dail was required to ratify.

The intensive propaganda about the Armenian massacres was launched in conjunction with the attempted Greek conquest of Asia Minor, during which there were undoubtedly Greek massacres of Turks.

"Holocaust denial" has been made a crime in Europe. The large-scale massacre of Jews has thus been removed from the sphere of historical fact and been made an unquestionable Article of Faith. Even a questioning of numbers, which does not deny that there was a very large-scale massacre, is classified as Holocaust Denial.

In Turkey, with regard to the Armenians, the crime is Holocaust assertion.

War was declared on Turkey by Russia late in 1914, followed by Britain and France. The Russian object was to seize Constantinople. Britain and France agreed to this. And they were to share out the Middle East between them. The Tsar, waging Holy War against the infidel, called on the Armenians to arise. It seems that they did so, that the Turkish Government decided to transfer them out of the frontier area, and that many of them died on the march, or were killed by Kurdish tribes.

The Turkish state asserts that there was no genocide, and it rules the issue out of order as a legitimate subject of discussion—just as European states do with regard to the massacres of Jews.

Banville says that the Turks were guilty of knowing and not knowing. I would guess that there were rather pre-occupied with the war of destruction and conquest being waged on them by three powerful Empires.

The "Armenian genocide" is the first in the democratic Western list of genocides. If we go back any earlier than that, then we become the enactors of the genocide. The British Concentration Camps, in which 26,000 Boer women and children died, was only 13 years earlier—and Erskine Childers defended it in his contribution to the *Times* history of the Boer War. And, not many years

Palestine

An account of a visit to the West Bank can be viewed at

www.robinthewestbank.blogspot.com/

The report of what was found at Hebron makes chilling reading.

before that, we come to the final acts of the long American genocide, and the British genocide in Australia—literal genocides which either exterminate or broke these peoples.

With regard to "*Germany and the Jews*", the systematic massacre of Jews went on for about four years, in the hinterland of the war in Russia. It was conducted outside Germany, with the active assistance of some East European nationalities, by the SS, which was determined that the general population of Germany should know nothing about it. For much of that short period German cities were subjected to area bombing in which, on principle, no distinction was made between military and civilian personnel.

I would say that in these circumstances elements of the German populace who might suspect that dreadful things were being done by their state in Eastern Europe, had these suspicions relegated to a distant perspective by the dreadful things that were being done to them at home.

In August 1945 the city of Hiroshima was wiped out by a nuclear bomb. It was not a military target. Nor did it have the option of making a surrender to the American Army, which was hundreds of miles away. A civilian population was deliberately targeted by the weapon of mass destruction in order to put pressure on the Japanese Government to surrender unconditionally.

The situation of the American populace bore no resemblance to that of the Turks in 1915 or the Germans in 1942-44. The United States was not under attack. In 1941 it had sought to strangle Japanese capitalism, and Japan had responded by bombing an American fleet a thousand miles off the American coast. Japan was being defeated in 1945. There was no reasonable doubt about US victory. The purpose of the nuclear bombing was to save American military lives at the cost of Japanese civilian lives. The American democracy was informed of what had been done, and viewed it with complacency. And then it was done again at Nagasaki. The operative threat was that, in order to avoid the cost of an American military assault on Japan, the civilian population of Japan would be exterminated city by city until the Government made an unconditional surrender.

And yet we still have the effrontery to say that the targeting of civilians is a war-crime, regardless of circumstances.

It is ridiculous that these things should come up in connection with the conduct of conduct of industrial schools in Ireland. But our media intelligentsia have brought them up.

These events happened long ago, but

Bosnia and Rwanda are events of our time and Banville ought to know better about them, but doesn't. He knows and doesn't know that the European Union decided that Yugoslavia was an inappropriate state after the end of the Cold War, having served the West in the Cold War era, and would have to go. It instigated nationalist antagonisms for the purpose of breaking it up, and it recognised Bosnia, which was the area of three mutually hostile nationalisms, as a nation-state and, turning a blind eye to actual circumstances, it demonised the Serbs for the purpose of sanctifying the Croats and Muslims.

In Rwanda an invasion force of the Tutsi minority invaded from a base in Uganda, destroying villages along the line of the invasion, while the Government was destabilised by the assassination of the President. The Hutu majority, lacking the concentrated militarism of the Tutsis to defend their regime, set about attacking the Tutsi population within as a Fifth Column of the invasion force. The outcome was an authoritarian regime of the militaristic Tutsi minority, and the mass incarceration of Hutus under a flimsy pretext of law, in circumstances that would have been described as genocidal by the English-speaking world if it had not been serving its purpose. The whole mess was basically the result of abysmal Belgian government of the region over generations. The immediate cause was an Anglophone attempt to shrink the Francophone sphere. We are not concerned about the activity of Uganda, a kind of Anglophone neo-colony, because we have become accustomed to hearing the world through Anglophone ears.

Business Post

Tom McGurk, in the *Sunday Business Post* article on the Industrial Schools, begins with a few paragraphs about the discovery of the Nazi Concentration Camps by the Eastern and Western Allies in the early months of 1945. He describes how the Western Allies rounded up German villagers in the locality of the Camps and made them go and look. This established "*the importance of bearing witness and the supremacy of truth*" (24.5.09), he says.

Did it? Within months the Western Allies who rubbed German noses in the Camps obliterated the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and nobody called "*Genocide*". In the same year France—the French Resistance Government, not Vichy France—engaged in the random bombardment of Algerian cities to make them understand that the great Liberation of 1945 was not for them. And a few years later France launched a long terrorist war against the Algerian national movement. And Britain went to work

against Malayan nationalism with Concentration Camps and massive shifts of population of a kind which, when they happened in a much smaller scale in Kosovo, were called ethnic cleansing when the demonised Serbs did it in response to NATO bombing. And, in the 1950s, Britain defended the White Ascendancy in Kenya (established only a generation earlier) with a reign of terror in which hundreds of thousands were killed.

The comparison of the Industrial Schools with any of those things is outlandish. What is interesting about it is the constricted frame of reference of our media intellectuals when they search their minds for comparisons.

McGurk concedes that "*The scale of the brutality and inhumanity in the concentration camps cannot, of course, be compared to what was uncovered last week*". This is said at a point when he *has* made the comparison.

"But there is one important link: just as the death camps neighbours saw for themselves in 1945 what had been going on inside the often huge compounds, the report of 2009 has allowed us to see for ourselves what our society inflicted on the children of the nation... For more than 60 years, some 8,000 religious were involved in the maltreatment of 35,000 children in 261 institutions..."

This he describes as "*forced slave labour*", among other things:

"If post-independence Ireland unleashed a social-climbing competition, institutionalised children seem to have functioned for some as the lowest step on the ladder. These little ones were to be hated, apparently, because they had committed the new crime of having nothing.

"Class prejudice, and the deep dysfunctionality of the post-colonial era when the Catholic Church took over as the dominant establishment, sealed their fate. These children were the flotsam and jetsam of societal failure in the state's first half century..."

Sentimental egalitarianism flourishes with Communist implications are all very well in a suitable rhetorical environment, even when disconnected from any organised effort to do anything about it, but a paper called the *Business Post* is hardly the place for them. And the moment when the Irish Labour Party has given up pretence of socialism and declared itself to be a business party of the new middle class is hardly the time for it.

And the "*crime of having nothing*" is hardly "*new*". If not quite as old as the hills, it is at any rate as old as the Irish Parliament established by the English colony 400 years ago with the purpose

of putting an end to the social life of the clans and making us live right.

The "flotsam and jetsam of societal failure" in a competitive system is a hallmark of progress, is it not? The sight of the flotsam and jetsam of those who did not compete successfully is the stimulus to others to intensify their efforts, is it not?

Belief & Control

T.P. O'Mahony (*Having Seen, Can We Still Believe?*, Ir. Exam. May 25) says that Rome won't lose a wink of sleep over the Ryan Report: "...it is the Irish Catholic Church itself, and in particular the religious orders... who bear the paramount responsibility".

Diarmuid Ferriter (*Why Us...And Why Here?* Ir. Indep. May 30) writes:

"Unlike in England, the Irish Catholic Church demanded and retained exception control over the running of institutions for Irish children... There was no... appetite for reform in Ireland and the Church would not countenance any surrender of power. The State was a willing partner in... attempts to hide and deny... Souls, not bodies, were the intense preoccupation and this became overwhelming in a small Catholic country with little tradition of Church oppositions..."

"Historically, all societies have gone through fits of "moral panic" and have sought to condemn, hide and punish those whom they regarded as socially unacceptable. The Irish moral panic was more pronounced and more long lasting than elsewhere. The preferred solutions—to increasingly rely on incarceration without supervision, when such an approach was being abandoned elsewhere—suited far too many who were obsessed with the viability of those whose behaviour or existence challenged the notion of the Irish as more chaste, pious and respectable than people elsewhere.

"The continued reliance on institutions in Ireland after the creation of the Free State in 1922 was extraordinary... The existence of so many institutions was ironic given the social aims of the war of independence. Rhetoric based on improving the manner in which children were treated was an important part of the Irish revolution, with Sinn Fein promising it would make amends for the harshness of Victorian British oppressors. But many of this revolutionary generation betrayed this piety even before independence had been achieved..."

(With regard to the last remark Ferriter cites a letter from W.T. Cosgrave, creator of the Free State as a

routinely functioning body, when he was a Minister in the Dail Government of 1919-21, that it would be a good thing if people reared in Workhouses emigrated.)

Ferriter has a status approaching that of official historian. His book on De Valera was distributed free by the Government to all schools, and RTE entered into an agreement with the publisher to promote it (on a commercial basis). His comment therefore is understandably evasive, as is his book on 20th century Ireland published a few years ago.

The best comment on the Report that I have seen is that of Bruce Arnold, an English Protestant columnist on the *Irish Independent*. On May 25th he said that the Report let the State off the hook: it sought to maintain—

"a scale of balance between the Roman Catholic Church and the State, with the two hugely powerful institutions flipping and flopping this way and that in terms of who was most to blame. Inevitably from any reading of the account published, the Church carries the great share of the blame. This, in fact, is wrong and misguided... It was the duty of the Commissioners to investigate... the political dimension of what happened. It has failed to do so."

A New Catholicism

The media intelligentsia, which would not take issue with the Church a generation ago when it was powerful, now makes amends by kicking it when it is down.

Seeing what is now being said about the Church on all sides, a letter-writer to the *Irish Times* asks whether in retrospect Catholic Emancipation still seems a good thing. It is a reasonable question in terms of the insular discourse of the moment. But, insofar as it carries the implication that Catholicism carries with it a bias towards cruelty to children, it is absurd.

If there had been great child abuse scandals in the Catholic countries of Europe, where Catholicism was at home, so to speak, I never came across them, and they have not been mentioned by commentators on the Report.

From what I have read about Europe, and from superficial observation of life in parts of Spain, Italy, Germany and

Switzerland, I got the impression that Catholicism was child-friendly. And in France too, which did not cease to be a country largely shaped by Catholicism when it was secularised.

The historical criticism of Catholicism by the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland was that it was interwoven with idolatry, backwardness and superstition, which were all childish things. Children were indulged, instead of being knocked into shape. They grew up imitatively, and of their own accord they made themselves participants in the traditional culture.

I grew up at a point of interface between tradition and progress. I might have gone either way. The progressive side of things never attracted me. The maxim of child rearing on the traditional side was *Mol an oige agus tíochofaidh se*—which means something like *Flatter the youth and he'll flourish* (literally: Praise the youth and he'll come). Not all families put it into effect—the serpent of progress had bitten—but most of them did.

If traditional Irish culture was child-friendly, and Roman Catholicism in its homelands was likewise so, how did it come about that Catholic Ireland produced these fearsome Industrial Schools for the flotsam and jetsam of capitalist society?

The short answer is that Irish society was broken by the conquest of the Glorious Revolution and the long Penal Law system founded on the conquest. The Penal Law system failed to make it Protestant, but undermined the distinctive form of Catholicism in which it had lived for many centuries. When a mass national movement was generated out of the abundant ruins of the old Ireland by O'Connell's harangues, it was not a restoration of the old Ireland—as the old Poland was renewing itself for 19th century life under the influence of Mickiewicz's verse around the same time. O'Connell's outlook was that of an English Whig radical utilitarian capitalist. When he came to Ireland in the late 1790s he was a nominal Catholic by family origin, but his culture was that of an English Deist utilitarian, and he operated for a number of years as part of the Protestant Ascendancy. About a dozen years after coming to Ireland he became a Roman Catholic in devotional practice while in general outlook

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by Brendan Clifford.

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remaining that of a Whig radical.

When he decided to break with Young Ireland in the mid 1840s, he made the famous remark that Old Ireland was good enough for him. It was a meaningless sound bite. He was a destroyer of traditional Ireland. He might have flattered it in his harangues at monster meetings, but his purpose was to set things up on new grounds, in a new language and a new culture.

I recently heard Professor John A. Murphy, on Radio Eireann, criticise some new book on O'Connell for failing to credit him with founding the first democratic party in Europe. But he was a demagogue rather than a democrat. And his following was not a party. When the Young Irelanders tried to give it the viability of a party structure he drove them out. The history of parties in nationalist Ireland begins amongst the expelled Young Irelanders.

Church And State

When O'Connell died his following fell into confusion. There was Famine in Ireland, and Revolution was brewing in Europe, and the national development connected with Young Ireland was contemplating a revolutionary attempt. That was when O'Connell's friend, Cardinal Cullen, came from Rome to take the Church in Ireland in hand. Rome was under pressure from Young Italy and Cullen took it as his business to prevent the growth of political associations in Ireland. Westminster had the same purpose in Ireland. The substantial interweaving of Church and State was founded on that coincidence of interest.

Britain was still very much a Protestant State. British Protestantism was very seriously divided within itself. Its point of unity was anti-Catholicism. Its idea of Catholicism was priestcraft which controlled populations by keeping them ignorant, superstitious and deferential. British state institutions had failed to elicit in Ireland the degree of deference that they did in England. It was to be the business of the new hierarchical discipline established by Cullen to make Ireland content under the British state by operating some of its institutions. Roman Catholic priestcraft was therefore both deplored and depended upon.

Britain misunderstood Catholicism. It was necessary to it to misunderstand it in its own affairs. Priestcraft failed to perform the function allocated to it by the British state. (And, since it was a necessary article of English Protestant belief that the priests had their ignorant congregations in thrall, it followed logically that when the congregations rebelled, it had to be at the instigation of the priests.)

When Ferriter says, "*The continued*

reliance on institutions in Ireland after the creation of the Free State in 1922 was extraordinary", one can only describe that remark as extraordinary. Modern Ireland had been governed by the British State in large part through the instrumentality of the Catholic Church, for over half a century before independence. In 1922 a subordinate Irish state was set up under British supervision, on British 'Treaty' terms. The Treaty State, while still in the process of formation under Whitehall hegemony, was given an ultimatum to make war on the major part of the IRA which rejected the Treaty. The Free State came into being during that war, and it carried over institutions from the British administration instead of abolishing them. And *that* was extraordinary!!

In fact the Free State did abolish some institutions—the institutions established by the Republic of 1919-21. Britain's purpose in establishing the Free State was to destroy the Republican body politic which had stood firm against its Black-and-Tan methods for three years.

The Free State was established by British arms and Roman Catholic anathemas.

Perhaps Cosgrave and his colleagues submitted to the Treaty ultimatum in order to ward off an all-out British reconquest. They failed to carry their party with them, or the Army that had brought Britain to the negotiating table. In order to carry through their Treaty obligations to the bitter end, they needed the active support of forces that had not supported them when they were constructing the Republic—Whitehall and Maynooth.

The Hierarchy as a body had not recognised the elected Republic as a legitimate sovereign body, but it now recognised the Treaty as the legitimate source of authority. The Treatyites, in order to carry through their project, made themselves dependent on the influence of the Hierarchy on their flocks. Those who opposed the Treaty were those who had the will to stand out against the excommunications uttered by the Bishops.

There were some who were persuaded by Collins to support the Treaty as a "*stepping stone*" to future action against Britain when the opportunity arose, but they were soon swamped as elements which had never supported the Republic flocked around the Treaty.

The enactment of the Treaty under close British supervision in 1922 made certain that the combination of Church and State established under the British administration continued in the Free State. But the relation of the elements had changed. For the British state in Ireland, the Catholic Hierarchy as re-

shaped by Cardinal Cullen was an instrument. But the Free State bears no comparison as a state with the British State. While it would not be accurate to say that there was a reversal of instrumentality, and the Free State was an instrument of the Church, that would be a mistake on the right side.

"It is virtually impossible to understand the abjectly subservient attitude of the Dept. of Education, despite the dominance of the Catholic Church at the time" (Ferriter). Is it? The State was subservient because it was dependent on the Church for support against the Republic.

Ferriter finds it "*extraordinary*" that the Free State relied on institutions of the British administration. He finds "*the existence of so many institutions ironic given the social aims of the Irish war of independence*".

It is the fashion to treat the 1918 Election and the Civil War as things of no social consequence, and to focus instead on the Rising and the War of Independence. But what were the social aims of the War of Independence? To enable the independent Government elected in 1918 to function, despite British efforts to make the country ungovernable.

And what the Treaty War did was to break up the body politic that had sustained the Republic for three years.

And the Free State—what was it in 1922? Take away the credible British threat of immediate and terrible war, the constructing of a Treatyite Army with British support, and the herding of susceptible elements of the populace by Bishops, and the Free State becomes hard to see. It was not there as a free-standing State relative to Britain and to the Catholic Hierarchy, deliberating on what its relationship with them should be. It is more realistically conceived as their joint creation. And the Church availed of the opportunity to make itself a *de facto* power behind the State.

Ten years later the Anti-Treatyites came to office. But states are not constructions with Lego blocks that can be dismantled and reassembled. They have a kind of organic life. And the organic life of the 26 County state was set in motion by Britain and Maynooth in 1922. And an electoral system designed to produce weak government was built in it.

The Democracy

In all the comment on the Industrial Schools, two things are overlooked by the media. They are the media, and the fact that the state was a democracy.

Democracy was defined by Lincoln as "*government of the people, for the people, by the people*". It might be a

false definition, but it is not often challenged. If we take it in earnest, we must take it that responsibility for the Industrial Schools lies squarely with the people.

Although Lincoln is the secular democratic saint, I have never had much time for him. The only place I know where the people might be said to have governed themselves is Switzerland, with its sovereign cantons, and half-cantons, and communes. Rousseau, who was Swiss by origin and therefore knew what democracy was, was of the opinion that democracy could not operate through representative institutions. Burke, though he hated Rousseau, was essentially of the same opinion. But what we call *democracy* is a system of representative government by parties elected on the basis of a general adult franchise. In this system the people do not govern. The most that can be said of it is that it elicits the consent of the governed. It gives them their day out at the election and that keeps them quiet for a few years.

The system of representative government by parties was first established in Britain, on a very limited franchise at first. Under that system there is a necessary distance between the government and the governed. In Britain the system is designed to maximise the freedom of the elected party to govern. The system that Britain designed for Ireland had the purpose of minimising the freedom of the Government relative to the electorate.

Banville describes Ireland as "*a closed state ruled by an all-powerful Catholic Church with the connivance of politicians and, indeed, the populace as a whole*".

The problem then is the populace. And if the populace connived at the Industrial School system, what element was there in the democratic state which might have reprimanded it, exposed it, and shamed it into mending its ways?

Not the politicians. The populace constituted into the ruling body does not take kindly to being chastised by its elected representatives and subjected to instruction by them.

As I recall, Sean Moylan did not kow-tow to the populace. He had expectations of the electorate and if they lived up to those expectations by electing him he would represent them. But his position, and that of his colleagues, was exceptional. They were founders of the State. They had stood with De Valera in 1922

on the position that there were situations in which the people had no right to be wrong. And the people, after a moment of weakness under the Imperial threat of immediate and terrible war, had come round to their way of thinking on the issue in question. But an attitude that the founders of the state might get away with on occasion was not a viable attitude for politicians of a later generation who had to function within the democracy of the state, which kept representatives under tight popular supervision.

A representative who set out to reprove, and improve, his electors was very likely to be rejected by them the next time round. Edmund Burke's homily on the duty of the representative to act as he sees fit according to his own understanding of public affairs has no practical relevance here. It was not the general populace that elected Burke, and Burke did not think that his principles of conduct would be viable with a democratic electorate.

In a democracy—and especially in the ultra democracy of multi-member constituencies with the transferable vote—if the people are to be berated and instructed, it is not the business of their elected representatives, whom they chose and dismiss at will, to do it. If it is anybody's business, it is the business of the Fourth Estate—the guardians of the guardians: the watchdogs of the people. Or, in this case, the watchdogs over the people.

The Editor of the *Irish Times*, recently, at a press conference, laid claim to the historic pretensions of the Fourth Estate, now generally known as *the media*. And who else is there in the Republic who might realistically lay claim to them?

She is a failed politician, and because of failure she is freed from the democratic constraints of representation. And she is Editor of a newspaper which is securely based on the support of a wealthy minority which over the generations has stood apart from the body politic of the democracy, and has influential foreign connections. The *Irish Times* therefore might have berated the democracy, revealed it to itself, and instructed it.

But that is not what it did. It only berates Governments that were elected by the populace and could not act independently of it. But the *Irish Times* could always act independently of the populace. It was not subject to the will of the people. It was free, subject to no law, but a law of libel that was heavily biased in its favour.

(Kevin Myers has revealed that when he came from England to be a journalist in Ireland and got a job with the *Irish Times* he wrote an article exposing the

Industrial Schools. The paper refused to print it on the excuse that the Christian Brothers would sue the pants off it. That is a very improbable excuse. The more likely reason is that the paper was attempting to increase its readership amongst the native population for anti-Government purposes and did not want to affront public opinion on issues that were marginal to its purpose.)

The Fourth Estate, at the time when the term was invented, could claim that it berated the Government on behalf of the people. The electorate was then a small fraction of the people. The press, therefore, could claim to act on behalf of the disfranchised populace. The support of the populace, in the form of buying papers, gave it independence of the ruling stratum. It could claim, without fear of conclusive contradiction, that the Government was betraying the people, because the people were not consulted in the matter at elections.

Things are rather different now. And, when Fianna Fail was re-elected last year despite the exposés of the *Irish Times*, the Editor asked; *What kind of people are we at all?*—it being understood that the "we" was a euphemism for "you".

The Fourth Estate in the pre-democratic era could speak for the majority against the ruling body. But the ruling body to be chastised today is the populace. The position of independence which would enable a newspaper to campaign against the systematic deficiencies of the ruling body can not now be the support of the populace.

The *Irish Times* was founded on the support of a wealthy minority that never merged itself with the populace, but remained distanced from it. But it declined to play the part in Irish life which its semi-alienated social position made possible.

In its long campaign to unseat the Government which the people repeatedly elected, it continued to use the language of a by-gone era in which the Government did not represent the people. (It continued to use language appropriate to the era of its origin, 150 ago, and to about half of the period since then, but which of course it did not use in those times when it was itself part of the Ascendancy/Imperial system.)

It might have addressed the people over the decades about the clerical (and other) abuse that went on in their midst, berated them for tolerating it, and sought to shame them into acting to stop it. The fact that it was not widely read around the country would not have rendered that campaign futile. The top people of the representative system were always sensitive to *Irish Times* criticism,

The Origin Of Irish Catholic-Nationalism, Selections From Walter Cox's *Irish Magazine*: 1807-1815.

Introduced and Edited
by *Brendan Clifford*.

136pp. Illus. Index. ISBN 0 85034 053 5.
Athol Books, 1992. €12, £9.

and were aware that it had some influence on how Ireland was seen abroad. And the Editors of the native papers might have been shamed into taking up the issue themselves. There is certainly a Fourth Estate role for a securely-based elite newspaper in a democracy. The *Irish Times* chose not to play that role in Ireland.

It was left to others to make an issue of clerical abuse. The *Irish Times* only jumped on the bandwagon. And its most effective intervention was on the marginal issue of Fr. Smyth which it used as a lever for breaking up the Fianna Fail Coalition with Labour and bringing Fine Gael to office without an election. But, when an election was held, Fianna Fail was returned and it has been in office ever since.

The over-riding concern of the *Irish Times* in recent decades has been to destroy the majority status of Fianna Fail, with Charles Haughey as the central demon figure. The reason for this is not hard to see. A native business class has been developing strongly under the aegis of Fianna Fail since the 1960s, displacing the Anglo-Irish business institutions which continued to monopolise nodal points in economic life for generations after the overt Ascendancy institutions fell. And Haughey was both a central participant in, and the outstanding political representative of, that development.

What the *Irish Times* was on the lookout for was not ways of improving Irish life by chastising it, but ways of damaging Fianna Fail. For this purpose it set out to extend its circulation throughout the country in order to gain increased purchase on public opinion. It sought to gain the ear of the public in order to bend opinion against Fianna Fail. And that was incompatible with the telling of salutary home truths.

Papal Power

On the occasion of the great Papal jamboree of 1979 I entered the most discordant note that I could with a pamphlet called *The Rise Of Papal Power In Ireland*. To the extent that it was noticed, it was resented. The only published notice of it was a curt dismissal in *Books Ireland*.

I told the papacy I had its measure. When you are going entirely against the stream there is no point in not being arrogant. But it so happened that I did have its measure. And it seemed from the Pope's instinctive response to the vulgar acclamation at Maynooth that he sensed that he was in an unsound building. And now, only thirty years later, it is all in runs.

Then I decided to find out in detail how Ireland came to have the extra-

ordinary and unsound relationship with Rome that no Catholic State in the world had. In the course of doing so, in *The Veto Controversy*, I discovered the literature of Jacobite Catholicism that went under when the form of Catholic Emancipation decided on by Britain placed the Church in Ireland in a position of unmediated subordination to Rome. That book was widely distributed for review but was found so offensive that it did not get a single notice.

The unmediated relationship between Ireland and Rome, established in the mid-19th century, which eroded the Irish Catholicism that was grounded in a

thousand years of history, was bad for both sides. That, and the fact that so many institutions of Irish life were made by the Victorian English State, explains the conduct of the Industrial Schools that is now being described, absurdly, in Holocaust and Gulag terms.

Rome has not collapsed, and is not going to. And I cannot see the Church disappearing from social life in Ireland. But, in between the two, the media intelligentsia which refused to engage with the Church a generation ago when it was powerful, relying on the external force of global capitalism to diminish it, has rendered itself incapable of coherent thought.

Wilson John Haire

Review: *In The Shadows Of Giants—A Social History Of The Belfast Shipyards* by Kevin Johnston

Gill & MacMillan of Dublin. ISBN: 978-0-7171-4435-8
361 pages (including Index and Bibliography) Price €24.99 / £19.99

Some Ulster Social History

This is a hefty hardback tome of 361 pages. It had me wondering if there was enough social history of the two shipyards (Harland & Wolff and Workman Clark) to fill it. Then, on beginning to read it, I became aware that it was also going to become a history of North-East Ireland beginning with the Kingdom of Ulaidh. It then moves on rapidly to the Normans and the psychotic and murderous Earl of Essex. The killing of the Protestant settlers in 1641 by the native Irish is interpreted as Catholic murdering Protestant by the author. No word at all of settler vengeance that meant the slaughter of the native Irish for many years afterwards.

This killing of a number of settlers still manages to raise the hackles of sections of the loyalist population even today and has me wondering how many of them see themselves as still living on conquered land.

The settler issue, to me, is the Dance of the Seven Veils but without any final revelation except the delivery of many many native Irish heads on a platter.

The Famine is dealt with as a North-East Ireland issue and here there are some good revelations of which I was ignorant. As a Catholic I attended a rural Protestant school where English history was taught which had practically nothing to do with the Six Counties, not even Protestant history was taught. The area in which I lived, Carryduff, Mid-Down, was an important staging post for the Saintfield battle in the 1798 Rebellion. There was still a historical building or two around connected with that period,

yet I knew nothing of them, even when passing them every day on my way to school. But I could give you an account of the coalfields of England and the various raw materials plundered from the colonies.

If my mother spoke of the Famine I was inclined to think she was talking about the Siege of Derry in the 17th Century when rats and mice were on the menu of the Protestant defenders. She often quoted the saying: 'You will eat a rat before you die.' I thought that came for the Derry siege. Stormont spin-doctoring was successful in pushing the Famine south of the border.

The *Northern Whig* and the *News-letter* newspaper, even back then in the 19th Century, ignored what was happening on their own doorstep to concentrate on the south and west of Ireland

The establishment of the first shipyard in the Lagan Valley is dealt with in detail. You have got to marvel at the technical advancements made in 19th Century Belfast, but a book review cannot possibly do justice to the hard work of research done by the author on this particular subject.

The expulsion of Catholics from the two shipyards was a regular business throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. These expulsions occurred when, as the saying goes: 'Protestant blood was up'. It could occur when sectarian rioting was on the boil in the city, and Protestant fears were at their worse when Catholics managed to defend their enclave successfully against yet another attempted

pogrom. Nevertheless Catholic workers always seemed to make their way back to the yards. Staying away wouldn't resolve the sectarian problem. It was everywhere in North Eastern Ireland. Sometimes it was a vote by the Protestant workers that allowed them back in. Sometimes it was the management who threatened the sack if the Catholics weren't allowed back for there were times when they needed the labour especially the skilled labour. The management of these yards did have the power of making these decisions. Mostly they turned a blind eye.

It should be understood that the Protestant population wasn't a monolithic force but had many contradictions within it. This also went for the shipyard workers—still a handy scapegoat for the nationalist population. There was always a radical left force among these heavy industry workers. But a similarly-minded Catholic worker in the Yard would be disappointed if he thought his fellow Protestant worker would opt for an united Ireland because of his socialist outlook. After partition, and before partition, socialist ideas would only be applied to the mainly Protestant North-East. But the Catholic would have other compensations—that Protestant would not be an Orangeman nor a Freemason. He would also want equality for Catholics.

The author, in his research, found that during a period in the 19th Century when pogroms were rife in the workplace 10,000 Catholics had been expelled from shipyards, mills, engineering works and factories. A quarter of these expulsions were radical Protestants who refused to take an oath of loyalty. These people were called 'rotten Prods'. The headquarters of the Irish Labour Party was also burnt down in Belfast during one of these expulsions. The author doesn't mention mixed marriages but a Protestant father with Catholic children, for example, is hardly likely to take part in expulsions. Many Protestants also had Catholic uncles or Catholic grandmothers, cousins, even sisters or brothers.

Though the author has done a magnificent job in collating the history of shipbuilding in Belfast he has not bothered getting verbatim reports from former shipyard workers to any extent.

During my own period in the shipyard from the 1940s to the 1950s there was a lot of leftist activity among the finishing trades like joiners and electrician. A Catholic, who normally kept his head down, could enter into conversation with these Protestant radical groups and declare his identity without fear. The main loyalist thrust came from the iron trades, or black squads—like platers,

welders, riveters and caulkers. Post-mortems were still going on about the 1920s pogroms when I was there and the radical Protestants would speak of their regret about this happening and gave vivid pictures of scenes they had witnessed. Some members of the black squads constantly declared that the next people to go over the side of the ship would be the rotten Prods—the socialist/communists and mixed marriage halyons.

Something not mentioned in the book—though the author is most likely unaware of it—is the arming of some of the radical Protestant shop stewards in the shipyard during the 1970s. It hasn't been revealed who gave them the arms but apparently the shipyard management approved of this act. Each man had a handgun in a shoulder holster for his own protection.

The management had decided this time that there would be no expulsion of Catholic workers on the pain of being sacked. One Catholic worker was shot dead on a ship he was working on in the 1970s. The killer didn't work in the Yard but information about the victim's whereabouts must have been given by someone working there.

Not mentioned is Joe Cahill a senior republican who worked as a joiner in the shipyard over a number of years. In May 2004 he was awarded £30,000 after catching asbestosis while being employed by Harland & Wolff. He died aged 84 on 24th July 2004.

The Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, with a Protestant and communist leadership, sent many Catholic joiners into the shipyard and into many Protestant-dominated building companies. Employers had to accept them or risk industrial action.

Protestant blood would be up around the 12th of July (Orangeman's Day) in the Yard and a few workbenches would be decorated with orange lilies and miniature Union Jacks. A plater's shed might put up banners for a time so it was best for Catholic worker's to keep quiet (as well as Protestant radicals). A Catholic worker jeering at this loyalist outburst could, when putting on his coat, find a round of .303 ammo in the pocket with a note saying: 'Watch yourself or else next time this will be in you not on you!' Only B-Specials at the time had access to this type of rifle ammunition and there were plenty of them working in the shipyard. With the 12th over and a week's holiday finished Protestant blood cooled down again.

An interesting fact coming out of the book: The Ulster Special Constabulary (A-Specials, B-Specials and C-Specials) was not set up by a Protestant Govern-

ment in Stormont but by Dublin Castle before partition. The A-Specials were a full-time auxiliary police force; the B-Specials were part-time but were allowed a rifle at home, the C-Specials was the reserve.

This book is so concentrated with facts about life in North-East Ireland that it would take another book to be written in order to challenge some of the subject matter.

There is a very long chapter on WW1 called The Great War. This has indeed been researched to such a degree that not only dates but days of the week and precise times are given when the Ulster Division (made up mainly from the Ulster Volunteers Force) is being slowly turned into dog meat by the grinder of the German army.

When I started in the shipyard at 14, in 1946, many of these survivors from that war were still only around fifty years old or even younger. They worked at various trades. You could hear the odd clump of the old-fashioned heavy steel false leg on the woodblock floor of the workshop. Sometimes it could be like a freak-show when a number of these veterans got together for a chat. You might glimpse a man who still had the imprint of a horse's hoof obliterating his face or a man who appeared to have no abdomen with a waist of no more than twenty-two inches due to shrapnel wounds. One or two had healed wounds you could fit your fist into. Mostly they were broken men, sweating constantly, and scared. How they survived in that condition to do a day's work was beyond me. I knew where their beliefs had led them but I felt sorry for them just the same. Most of them were kind and marvelled at our young uninjured bodies.

The author seems to think Britain entered WW1 because of Germany's rapidly developing navy. There is no awareness that the social progress of Germany was outpacing Britain with its better educated workers and its advanced heavy industry. Britain decided the country had to be destroyed with the help of the US.

The author, in writing of the Ulster Division in such detail, is maybe remembering that British Army historians rarely mentioned these men in that war. He therefore carefully breaks down the division into their battalion names like the Mid-Antrim Battalion of the 108th Brigade or the North Belfast Battalion, and so on. There was a lot of personal tragedy within these brigades. There could be an entire grown-up male section of an extended family in a brigade. A cousin might see a cousin or even brother decapitated by shell shrapnel. Or in hand-to-hand fighting a nephew might see his

uncle die from a German bayonet. The Northern Irish contingents were notably strong family members and such scenes must have caused severe psychological problems. I know for a fact that a mental hospital near Belfast, once known as the Purdysburn Lunatic Asylum, still had patients from WW1 right into the 1950s.

Before setting out for the Somme there was a bizarre parade in Omagh of a section of the Ulster Volunteers, the Irish Volunteers and the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers. It is noted by the author that they saluted one another respectfully. I didn't feel he was being cynical. He seems desperate to bring Catholic and Protestant together at any cost.

Six thousand men left the shipyards to join the slaughter on the Western Front. Not many were able to come back to take up their former jobs.

After WW2 the ex-service men were again coming back into the shipyard. They had had their fill of war and for a time they joined the radical Protestant groups. The WW1 survivors despised them, thinking they had had it easy compared to them.

A chapter is headed: *Birth Pains of a New State*. This is meant to be Northern Ireland which is neither a state or a separate country but a road-kill. It has been long without the British political democracy that exists in Scotland, Wales or England and it is aimed in a malignant fashion at the Irish Republic by Whitehall. But it seems a bit late in the day now for introducing the British parties into the Six Counties. There is nothing there that would be attractive to the Nationalist population now that the social democratic party of British Labour no longer exists. The main British parties like the Liberals and Conservatives did operate there in the 19th Century but they only attracted the Protestant population.

There is quite a bit on the attempt to introduce a mild home rule to Ireland from the 19th Century onwards to the great Protestant protest in 1912 and to the final end of it all in 1914 when WW1 began. The UVF for their penance in resisting Whitehall went to the chopping boards on the Somme. Home Rule would have strengthened the British Empire and gave Britain a better hold on Ireland. But Protestants had been becoming paranoid since the mid 19th Century.

The author notes that there was a fear that the number of RIC Catholics from the south and west of Ireland in Belfast and the rural areas was some sort of a plot by Dublin Castle to enforce Home Rule. RIC police barracks in Belfast were attacked on a number of occasions by Protestant mobs. The RIC

usually fired from their besieged positions and killed a number of them. Dublin Castle was cursed as a nest of home rulers. Even before partition there was struggle to get permission for the North-East to have control of its own security. Although Ulster at that time had the full nine Counties three of these Counties were already being ignored by the Belfast Protestant authorities.

Some of these old RIC men—now incorporated into the RUC—were still around Belfast when I was a boy. In the 1940s several of them were accused of only using the baton on loyalist football supporters when riots broke out between Belfast Celtic and Linfield (the Blues) a Protestant team. They had broad southern accents and were usually massive at over 6 feet in height and weighing about 18 stone. They would not usually be sent to Protestant areas and would be found mostly in the city-centre.

With the loss of most heavy industry in the Six Counties the service industries have taken over. A once-vibrant shipbuilding city has been reduced to a whimper. Part of Queens Island where shipbuilding was based is now being turned into a theme park for the ill-fated Titanic.

A section of it is called the Titanic Quarter. High rise buildings and expensive houses and flats have been built. The enquiry address for further development has a Dublin address.

No one mentioned the Titanic in the post-WW2 shipyard. One or two men who were pointed out as having worked on her remained silent or else raised their caps as a mark of respect. With daily death in the shipyard from accidents it was thought to be a taboo subject. It had become a jinx ship like one or two under refurbishment that had accumulated a number of deaths through accidents. Harland & Wolff was once the biggest shipyard in the world. Now Belfast glory is resting on a wreck lying thousands of feet beneath the Atlantic. But it will still develop its virtual Titanic tourist business while the English-speaking world remains attracted to this tragic ship. The book gives a good account of the building of the Titanic and its death plus details of its sister ship the Olympia, a highly successful ship.

The writer, a Catholic schoolteacher from Derry, gave me the impression that it was the Irish who got themselves into this mess. He writes of Irish tribalism. The British get off lightly.

The Queen of England is given a good kow-towing. She is said to have united Catholic and Protestant during her coronation on 2nd June 1953. This sickly sweet passage surprised me. He

seems unaware that during the coronation up to 200 suspected republicans throughout the Six Counties had had their doors smashed in before being carried off to prison under the Special Powers Act. This also happened each time royalty visited Belfast. They were held for two weeks.

Many lost their jobs during their imprisonment.

I happened to be working in Belfast's biggest dancehall The Plaza at the time. It was during the big band era and to celebrate the coronation the following Saturday the band would play: God Save the Queen on the hour. People would stop dancing and stand to attention. Those dancers who were Catholics stood at the first hour but, when the band played that tune again on the next hour, they refused to stand to attention again and sat down. This led to fights when the Protestant dancers tried to pull them to their feet. Finally there was a stand-off as lorry-loads of the RUC and military police waited outside in the street for the order to swamp the building. The band conductor announced there would be no more playing of The Queen so things settled down with a slow soothing waltz.

A few additional points: The author begins by calling Protestant places of worship churches and Catholic places of worship as chapels, which is a downgrading of the Catholic church. Later he recovers and calls both places of worship churches. Chapel is a common name for a Catholic church in the Six Counties and even Catholics will use this term without being aware of its slight.

This is not in the book: Why do Catholics follow the loyalists in spelling the illiterate and derogatory word for Catholics as Taig instead of the proper spelling of Teague?

Also not in the book: When will people, especially Catholics, get around once more to pronouncing the town of Holywood, in County Down, as Hollywood instead of Hollywood. Holywood is thus called by the Protestant population because it was once the site of a large Catholic monastery. The name of a local estate reminds you of this with names like Monk's Close or Abbot's Way.

Something well dealt with in the book is the killings of Catholics in 1849 in the small village of Dolly's Brae near Castlewelling in County Down. On that fatal afternoon the Orange lodges met on the estate of Lord Roden. Supplying the 1,500 Orangemen with whiskey, he urged them to do their duty as loyal Protestant men. About 500 Catholics defenders waited in Dolly's Brae armed with muskets and pikes. The military and constabulary made no attempt to

stop the Orangemen. Ten houses and the Catholic Church was burnt down. Five Catholics were killed including an 85 year old woman who was bayoneted and a ten-year old boy who died from gunshot wounds. Nine others were badly wounded. Thirty-five Catholics were arrested but no Protestants. One Protestant was killed.

An Orange song called *Dolly's Brae* later became the signature tune of many Orange lodges and it is played triumphantly and gleefully to this day. The official words—which are bad enough—can be seen on the Internet but the words that are really sung is a different matter. One of the unofficial lines tells of being: *'Up to our knees in fenian blood'*.

Another line goes: *'Slitter slaughter, holy water'*. When listening to *Dolly's Brae* being played and sung on the 12th of July you get the image that thousands of Catholics died that day and that this will have to happen again.

In the Bibliography, among the 17 names which supplied some of the research are the names of Paul Bew and Gordon Gillespie authors of: *Northern Ireland: A Chronology of the Troubles 1968-1999*, Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1999.

Also mentioned: R.F.Foster: *Modern Ireland 1600-1972*. Harmondsworth (Middx: Penguin 1989) This is a health warning for the intellect. But I am still glad I read this book.

Which I said that I would—while his garments would last.

Then he bade me go talk unto Bidy,
my wife,
About ribbons, and cotton, and Protestant
life,
And to ask her, with dear Mrs. Stiggins'
regards,
What stuff would convert her, and how
many yards?

I hurried to Bidy—she shrieked with
affright,
She laughed and she cried at the comical
sight;
She called me an asal, a rogue and a
fool,
And fell combing my head with a three-
legged stool.

She pitched me right out, and she bolted
the door,
I knocked and I shouted, I cursed and I
swore:
But soon I grew meek, and I made up
my mind,
I could fare very well leaving Bidy
behind.

From town unto town have I travelled
since then,
Giving good British scripture to women
and men,
And indulging at times in a bit of a
freak,
But sure Stiggins himself knows the flesh
is but weak.

Well, my clothes are supplied, and secure
is my pay,
But my wages are settled at so much per
day,
And I boldly contend that no man has a
right
To heed what a souper may do after
night.

T.D. Sullivan *on the Workings of Divine Grace*

Timothy Daniel Sullivan (1827 - 1914, post-Split-anti-Parnellite)
Nationalist MP, wrote the well-known song "God Save Ireland" in 1867.
Brother of A.M. Sullivan, also a journalist and poet.
The item below is his satire on "taking the soup"

Sullivan's Soup

RIGGED OUT

I'm a brand from the burning, a genuine
saint,
Newly purged and set free from Papist-
ical taint;
Yea, I'm one of that holy, that sanctified
troop
Whose souls have been chastened by
flannel and soup.

I'll tell how so blessed a change came
about:-
I always was lazy, a slouch, and a lout;
I never was willing to delve or to dig,
But I looked for support to my wife and
the pig.

My spirit was never confused or perplexed
By the talk in this world about things in
the next;
But I felt I'd be certain of one life of
bliss
If some one would feed me for nothing
in this.

And so by a ditch near my cabin I lay,
With my front to the sun, on a hot
summer day,
When the Reverend Oliver Stiggins
came by,
And attracted my gaze by the white of
his eye.

He spoke, and he said—"I perceive by
your face,
Wretched man, that you're much
unaccustomed with grace."

"Very true, sir," said I, "sure I scarce
know the taste
Of the broth or the flesh of a four-footed
baste."

Then he bade me arise and proceed with
him home
Till he'd give me some proofs of the
errors of Rome:
I went, and the clinchers that Oliver
chose
Were a full and complete suit of second-
hand clothes.

I felt at the moment the breeches went
on
That half of my ancient religion was
gone;
Much was done by a vest buttoned up to
the throat,
But the grand hit of all was a rusty black
coat.

The hat was convincing, as one might
expect,
The necktie itself had a certain effect;
Then to pluck away error right out from
the roots,
He covered my croobs with a new pair
of boots.

Then he raised up his hands and his
eyes, and began
To declare, through his nose, I'd "put
off the Old Man;"
And he hoped to my newly found faith
I'd hold fast—

"This country is not pro-American.
It is United States property."
Juan Bosch,
President of the Dominican Republic
(*New York Times*, 6 June 1975)

In 1965, the US invaded the Dominican Republic to prevent the displacement of Donald Reid Cabral by Bosch's constitutionally-elected Government.

"You know your country is dying when you have to make a distinction between what is moral and ethical, and what is legal."—**John De Armond**

"It is dangerous to be right when the government is wrong."
Voltaire
(François Marie Arouet, 1694-1778)

V
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Fr. Bohan
Jewish Mystery
C of I Grows
Raphael Siev
Many Are Called

P
A
T

Fr. Bohan

"Something went crazily wrong in a short period of time. The price of land reached crazy levels. Financial outfits were throwing money at people and at the end of the day, who has it caught? The families that have now massive mortgages tied around their necks. This is a recession that was caused by pure, naked, and utterly reckless greed.

"Everyone is saying that this recession will be over in a year or two. But what are we fighting for? Are we fighting for the kind of thing that has collapsed? Or are we fighting for a different kind of society?

"The current system has collapsed and we have now to move into a whole new type of societal organisation. It's called by an old name—community." (Fr Harry Bohan is director of pastoral planning in the Diocese of Killaloe and PP in Sixmilebridge, Co Clare. He is a founder of the Céifin Centre for Values-Led Change.).

Jewish Mystery

A mystery body was exhumed from a grave in a Jewish cemetery in Dublin on 14th January 2009, at the request of the local community.

The graveyard at Aughavannagh Road in Dolphin's Barn was cordoned off by gardai as a casket was removed from the grave.

Permission for the exhumation was granted by Justice Minister Dermot Ahern under the Coroner's Act. It followed the discovery of an unexplained casket in a grave which was being readied for another burial early last year. Most exhumations occur when there is a subsequent dispute over the cause of an individual's death.

Gardai believe the casket may have been placed in the wrong grave by mistake and could have been there for years.

Under Jewish law, only one body may be buried in a grave.

"Dublin criminals have used a Jewish cemetery in the past to conceal weapons. In one high profile case a member of John Gilligan's gang, Brian Meehan, used an old Jewish plot on Oldcourt

Road in Tallaght to hide a stash of the gang's weapons and ammunition in 1996.

"One of the weapons buried in the plot was the gun used to target rival criminal Martin 'The Viper' Foley. Bullets recovered from the Oldcourt Road grave also matched those found in journalist Veronica Guerin's car after her murder in 1996." (*Evening Herald*, Dublin, 14.1.2009).

C of I Grows

The Church of Ireland population in the Republic has grown by 38,000 since 1991, a rise of 46 per cent.

The figures are revealed in a new book written by social statistician Malcolm Macourt—*Counting the People of God; the Census of Population and the Church of Ireland* launched on February 13, 2009.

Mr. Macourt's comparison of the 1991 and 2006 census returns showed a growth in the Church's population in the Republic from 82,840 to 121,229.

"The decline of the Church of Ireland, and of the other traditional Protestant denominations, in the Republic appears to have been halted and reversed between 1991 and 2002, and confirmed by the 2006 census," he said.

This followed a decline from every census since 1861, when the total was almost 360,000. It also occurred during a 15-year period when the State's population rose by 20 per cent to over 4.2 million.

The author said an understanding of the "new Irish" among the Church of Ireland, as well as the detail of census returns, was crucial to understanding the extent of the reversal.

Extensive inward migration has made the separate identity of Church of Ireland people more difficult to quantify, he said. "The 'ethnic group' which the Church of Ireland in the Republic appeared to be from the 1920s to the 1990s can no longer be easily measured using the religion inquiry."

In responding to the first ethnicity question in the Republic in 2006, one in 20 of those who ticked the "Church of Ireland" box, or were allocated to the

Church of Ireland by the Central Statistics Office, indicated they were not "white".

Of these, 3,147 ticked the "African" or "any other black background" boxes related to the ethnicity question; 306 ticked the "Chinese" box and 426 ticked the "any other Asian background" box. Meanwhile, 2,415 ticked the "other including mixed background" box.

Mr. Macourt said anecdotal evidence suggested some people appeared to have attached themselves to the Church of Ireland since arriving to Ireland.

"This may only be in particular locations where the church has made an effort to make contact. However, it may be because of the ethos of schools under its control, rather than the social and cultural position of the church in society that people have been attracted."

From 1926 until 1991, while the total urban population was steadily increasing, fewer and fewer people were enumerated as Church of Ireland in the State's cities and towns.

However, the increase of those recorded as Church of Ireland in several towns between 1991 and 2006 has been "quite remarkable", according to Mr. Macourt.

In those 15 years, the Church of Ireland population in Ennis increased from 68 to 400, in Navan from 111 to 541 and in Newbridge from 91 to 402.

A similar trend was recorded in smaller towns. In Tuam, the numbers increased from 10 to 121, in Kildare from 32 to 177 and in Carrick-on-Suir from 16 to 122.

Mr. Macourt said a substantial part of the increase in the Church of Ireland urban population may relate to those who have moved into the Republic in recent years.

Raphael Siev, who has died aged 73, was a former diplomat and the curator of the Irish Jewish Museum. Following his retirement from the diplomatic service he threw himself wholeheartedly into developing the museum.

In 1968 he became legal assistant in the Land Registry. Two years later he joined the Department of Foreign Affairs, and began work on the legal documents connected with Ireland's accession to membership of the European Economic Community.

In 1972 as an Irish delegate to the Council of Europe in Strasbourg he was appointed to various legal committees.

His work took him far and wide: in New York he attended the United Nations General Assembly; in Montreal he dealt with civil aviation law; in Vienna he worked on diplomatic law; in Washington he negotiated diplomatic privileges; and in Brussels and Jamaica

he attended meetings of the International Seabed Authority.

"Conscious of the decline in numbers of the Jewish community in Ireland, he lamented the fact that few Jews were allowed into Ireland during and immediately after the second World War.

"We could've taken in the best brains in Europe... We really don't know the damage we did ourselves. They would've turned the country around. It was a tragedy" (Irish Times, 7.2.2009)

Raphael Victor Siev was born March 13th, 1935 and died January 28th, 2009.

Many Are Called

... Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter : they were all there when the remains of Reverend Grattan Bannister were borne to the graveside at St. Matthias' Church, Ballydehob on 18th December 2008. Members of the Gabriel Rangers G.A.A. club formed a guard of honour.

"Who else but he could be president

of Gabriel Rangers' GAA club while at the same time being chaplain to the Masons?" (*Southern Star*, 27.12.2008).

"As far as he was concerned there was no contradiction, as both organisations were charitable foundations in their own unique way.

"Highly literate, his reports of Gabriel Rangers games in the Schull Notes in former years were very different from the run-of-the-mill match reports. One avid reader suggested that the column should be included on the prescribed English prose course for Honours Leaving Cert." (ibid.).

A native of Dublin, Grattan was priest-in-charge of Holy Trinity Church, Schull, for a period in the early 1970s. He passed away on 15th December 2008.

He was a man of eclectic interests which included among others his beloved Church of Ireland, Schull Community Care Association, Astronomy Association of Ireland, Freemasons, and the GAA.

Ar dheis de go raibh a anam.

of him as one whom I knew ; for I often asked my father to tell me about him. I regarded him with an affection which was blended with awe. But when I came, in later years, to reflect upon his way of bringing up his family, I could not but consider it a grievance that he had not given sons a better chance. One indeed was called to the bar, another got a commission in the Navy, a third became a clergyman. My father was intended for the Army, and was, in his childhood, promised a commission by the great Duke of Wellington. The letter conveying the fulfilment of this promise lies before me as I write. But it came too late, for, by that time, my grandfather was dead, and my father found himself facing the world with very slender resources and quite unable to provide the purchase money.

Having married happily and wisely, but not wealthily, he soon found it necessary to find some means of livelihood. An official opening offered in Dublin, and this decided the course of his life. Possessed by a strong sense of duty and ever anxious to provide for his wife and family, he would take no risks, and toiled patiently, for more than forty years, at the humdrum labours of a task in which he took no delight, but which he performed with a noble conscientiousness that never failed. I have always looked back on this long life of self-denying work with wonder and admiration. He never complained, never gave utterance to those deeper longings which were ever in his heart. [He was Assistant Cashier with the Great Southern & Western Railway Co.]

... The D'Arcy family was one of the first in Ireland to feel the influence of the Oxford movement. The older members, two brothers and two sisters especially, uncles and aunts of mine, were devoted adherents of Dr. Maturin, Rector of All Saints, Grangegorman. He was a man of strong character, wide learning, and remarkable eloquence. In Dublin, he occupied a position which was quite his own, though he had a strong supporter in Dr. Lee, Archdeacon of Dublin and Archbishop King's Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin.

Few in numbers but strong in learning and weight of character, this High Church party had against it almost the whole body of the clergy and laity of the Church of Ireland. For the Church of Ireland was strongly evangelical, to use the term which was employed to emphasise positively and negatively the position of the majority. The term Low Church, though admitted by some, was not generally acceptable, as not truly representing the attitude of the evangelical party towards the Body of Christ...

It was a time when religion was intensively alive. There was a vividness of

Bishop Charles Frederick D'Arcy

Extracts from the Memoirs of an Archbishp of Armagh (Church of Ireland)
published in 1934 by Hodder & Stoughton

The Adventures Of A Bishop

[Introductory Note: Charles Frederick D'Arcy, 1859-1938, a Protestant clergyman, was born in Dublin but spent most of his professional life in Ulster. He was a curate in Belfast (1884-90), Vicar in Billy, North Antrim (1890-93), and in Ballymena (1893-1900), Vicar of Belfast and Dean of the Chapter (1900-1907), Bishop of Ossory, Ferns & Leighlin (1907-1911), Bishop of Conor and Dromore (1911-1919), Archbishop of Dublin (1919) and Archbishop of Armagh (1920-1938). He was a figure of some influence in his time. We give below some extracts from his memoirs, published in London in 1934 under the title, *The Adventures Of A Bishop*.]

My grandfather, John D'Arcy of Hyde Park, in the county of Westmeath, was born in the year 1767. He was a squire of the old school, intensely conservative. He was senior magistrate of two counties in his later years, a dignity much regarded in the age in which he lived. Nor was he without cultivation, for he had taken his degree in Trinity College, Dublin, in 1789, and he had a library full of good old editions of the classics ; and he seems to have had a nice taste in the silver and glass which eighteenth-century Ireland produced in such perfection. He was not wealthy, but comfortably off, and the lands which he owned were a portion of those granted

to his ancestor, Sir John D'Arcy, Justiciar of Ireland, by King Edward III in 1332, " for services rendered to the King and his Father." So ran the terms of the old grant, which may still be read by the antiquarian. Hyde Park was not the original home of his ancestors. For some centuries the family had resided at Platten, and then at Dunmoe, places which formed parts of another barony, further east, and in the County of Meath, which were also a part of the original royal grant. It is interesting and curious that these lands formed part of the Irish estates of Mortimer, paramour of Queen Isabella. They were forfeited and granted by King Edward III to those who had served him faithfully. Here seems to be the explanation of the phrase, "Services rendered to the King and his Father."

My grandfather was twice married. When very young he had married an heiress ; and when she died a few months after the marriage, he gave back her fortune to her people. This showed a nice sense of honour, for, as the law then was, he might have kept it. Later in life, at the age of forty-eight, he married Mary Anne Cary, by whom he acquired a considerable fortune and had eleven children—six sons and five daughters. Of the sons, my father was the fourth...

To me, my grandfather was an almost mythical figure. Though he died many years before I was born, I always think

faith and a wealth of spiritual experience far surpassing any other phase of modern religion with I an acquainted A succession of great preachers shook the community to its centre...

1870 AND AFTER

The year 1870 is an epoch in history. In that year the Franco-Prussian War changed the face of Europe and altered the course of human things. With breathless interest, we watched the rapid events of that amazing campaign. In Dublin there was a huge demonstration in favour of France. For this, religious partisanship was mainly responsible. The Second Empire was regarded as the great support of Papal authority. Its triumph over Prussia was thought to be absolutely certain. The demonstration was like a thanksgiving for a victory already won. It took place on the great sands at Sandymount, and was a sight that I have never forgotten. The memory of it emphasised the news, which reached us so soon, of one Prussian victory after another, until the overwhelming triumph of Sedan. It is strange to think how completely the tide of sympathy turned, for most of us in these islands, between 1870 and 1914.

Another great event of the year 1870 was the Vatican Council at which the dogma of the Infallibility of the Pope was imposed with authority upon all subjects of the Roman obedience. In point of time, this event preceded the war. Very naturally, all good Protestants regarded the destruction of the power which stood forth as the main support of the Papacy as a Divine response to the impious presumption of the Vatican Council. Also the fact that, on the day when the dogma of Papal Infallibility was officially proclaimed, a great thunderstorm broke out upon Rome, was much commented on... [The Papacy as a State was abolished as a consequence of the defeat of France in its war of aggression on Prussia.]

The year 1870 was the turning-point in the recent history of Ireland. The attack on the Church was the first step in the great change. Religious interests loomed very large. Political revolution, though anticipated by some discerning minds, was all in the future. The landed interests of Ireland seemed so safe that the disestablished Church invested nearly all the money it received in its earlier years in mortgages on Irish land. Home Rule, when Isaac Butt began to demand it, was laughed out of court as utterly impossible. Yet these things followed inevitably when the Church was disestablished. Mr. Gladstone's "upas-tree" was indeed the symbol and shelter of the old system in Ireland. Nor was that old system the evil thing that prejudice has represented it. The old Ireland, as it

existed in my childhood, had far more colour, variety, charm and geniality than the Ireland of to-day. Dublin, as I remember it, when the first Duke of Abercorn—"Old Splendid" as he was called—was Lord Lieutenant, was a brilliant capital. Things were done on a grand scale. Exhibition after exhibition flourished in Earlsfort Terrace. Magnificent loan collections of art were opened to the public from time to time. Great public functions were frequent occurrences. I recollect especially the visit of the Prince of Wales, as he then was, with his lovely Princess Alexandra. The Prince was made a Knight of St. Patrick at a splendid function in St. Patrick's Cathedral...

And, as it was in Dublin, so throughout the country. Wealthy landlords gave employment on a great scale, and spent their incomes freely in a manner which provided a market for the produce of the farmer...

The truth is that the Irish Church of those days has a very fine record of social as well as of religious service. But it was when disestablishment came that the true quality of her clergy and laity appeared. They faced that tremendous change with a courage and self-sacrifice which are wonderful in the retrospect to those who can recall the events of that time. The Act of Disestablishment preserved the life-interests of the clergy who were then in possession of benefices. It also secured the small incomes of the then licensed curates. In both cases, the continuance of these provisions depended on a continuance of service. Thus no clergyman in the service of the Church at that time was deprived of his income. But for the future there was absolutely no provision. It was, however, possible to capitalise the value of these life interests and to transfer this money to the newly created Representative Church Body, with the condition that this body of trustees would become responsible for the payment of all the old incomes as long as the clergy then in office, 'or any of them, survived. But one great obstacle to this arrangement stood in the way. Would the clergy exchange the absolute security of the State for the very doubtful security offered by this new untried body, which would receive the capital, invest it, and then become responsible for the payment of all incomes? To their eternal honour, the clergy, with very few exceptions, took this tremendous risk, and so founded the financial system of the disestablished Church.

The effect of all this upon the minds of those who were then at an impressionable age may be easily imagined. The critical year 1870 remains very vivid and fresh in my mind. I was then eleven years old. The great issues of the time

were always present to thought and imagination. Wherever people met together, these problems were discussed. This was especially true of "Church-people," as we called ourselves, for the building up of our Church had to be taken in hand...

TRINITY COLLEGE

At the time when I entered Trinity College, Dublin, the university probably stood at the very highest point in its history, both intellectually and as a focus of Irish life. Humphrey Lloyd was Provost. Salmon, of world-wide fame for his researches in higher mathematics, was Regius Professor of Divinity; Townsend, another mathematician of wide fame, was professor in his own department; Mahaffy, Tyrrell, and Palmer were making their names widely known in the realm of classical scholarship. Jellett, Lee, Ingram, T.K. Abbott were notable figures and scholars of great attainments. Ingram and Abbott were remarkable for the range of their scholarship, as great in classics as in science and philosophy...

Salmon gave three courses of lectures. In the first term, he dealt with *Introduction to the New Testament*, criticising with tremendous force the theories of Baur, Strauss, Renan, and other writers of the extreme school. The lectures were afterwards published and formed for many years a textbook of great value. It has been superseded by later works, and partly in consequence of Salmon's own further research, as appears by a work of his which was published posthumously.

In the second term he dealt with the Roman controversy. A large portion of this series of lectures was published under the title, *The Infallibility of the Church*. The force and penetration of the argument of this work are amazing. It has never been answered, and it is not too much to say that it is unanswerable. It appeared in print about the time when Dr. Salmon became Provost. Just then, happening to be in the Library of Trinity College, I met the newly appointed Provost, and while venturing to congratulate him, mentioned that I was delighted to have his lectures in permanent form. "Thank you," he said, "but perhaps I should not have done it just now."

His third course of lectures were on matters of controversy between the Anglican Communion and Nonconformity. These lectures were never published.

The one serious criticism of Salmon's teaching which I have heard is to the effect that he was always negative. He overthrew the theories of Baur and Renan, he confuted the pretensions of Rome, he showed the unsoundness of many a Nonconformist attack; but what positive teaching had he to impart? That

was often said : some may say it still. But those who say it forget that Salmon's method was the old method of the great ages of constructive belief, which consisted in overthrowing every heresy as it appeared and so defending the central fortress of the Christian faith as it is presented in Holy Scripture...

I had no wish to leave Ireland. My uncle Anthony D'Arcy, Rector of Nympsfield in Gloucestershire, offered to get me a curacy in England, I declined... His eldest son, Ralph D'Arcy of Caius College, Cambridge, got high honours in science, and was one of my closest friends. If any man could have lured me away from the Church of Ireland it was my Uncle Anthony. But I was not in the mind to go.

Nor again can I define with any accuracy my position as a churchman. In part, perhaps, I took things as they came. Emotionally, I was in sympathy with the evangelical party in the Church, to which my mother and my Uncle Anthony belonged. Theologically, I felt that party to be narrow and rigid. Yet I realised that the gospel as they grasped it was really a very simple thing, and that was a great attraction. I had a passionate attachment to intellectual liberty, and any theological or ecclesiastical system which bound upon men an elaborate system of dogmatic constructions and of regulations for the religious life repelled me powerfully. I believed in the freedom of the soul face to face with God, as taught by our Lord and St. Paul. Therefore I had no real tendency in the direction of the so-called "Catholic" school. Though I had so many friends and teachers among the High Churchmen, I was never really drawn that way. My Cousin Bertram used to say, "Read Newman : his is the greatest mind of the nineteenth century." I read Newman, but he made no real impression upon me. So far as he was concerned, I had the gift of invincible ignorance—a blessed gift, for it was that passionate love of liberty which resented any influence making for spiritual bondage. Newman appeared to me to be a graceful, charming, subtle, but bewildered, reactionary. His strength lay in a depth of emotional resources, in imagination, in captivating language. But he had no message at all for the mind which had really faced the problems raised by scientific thought. He ran away from the liberal movement ; he did not dare to meet it. He ran so far that he had to forsake the *via media*. To me, fresh from Aristotle, the *via media* seemed the way of truth and wisdom. Nor could it ever be marked out with the definiteness Newman demanded.

His terror lest he should lose his soul unless he surrendered himself to the claims and threatenings of Rome seemed

to me to imply a low view of the character of God. How much nobler Luther's attitude. "Here I stand ; I can do no other !"

When, finally, Newman took refuge in the principle, "*Securus judicat orbis terrarum*," I wondered how long it took the *orbis terrarum* to make up its mind. For when beliefs are in process of formation they are always the possession of a minority. It would seem that at all times there is somewhere in the world a small minority which is nearer to truth than is the *orbis terrarum*. If the doctrine of development is true this is certainly the case.

[Newman was part of a group which set out to restore Christianity in the Anglican Church, which was part of the state. Concluding that it was a hopeless task, he joined the Catholic Church.]

FIRST YEARS OF CLERICAL LIFE

The north of Ireland was quite new to me. Its accent was strange, the manners of its people in many ways different from those of the southern among whom I had lived hitherto...

Joseph John Murphy, a retired business man... held the office of secretary to the Diocesan Synod and Council... The problem which exercised his mind most was the bearing of the Darwinian doctrine of Evolution upon the fundamental principles of Religion and Morals. While accepting the general idea of Evolution in the sense of the gradual emergence of higher forms of life, he subjected Darwin's principle of Natural Selection to a penetrating criticism which has been justified by the most recent research. Sir Arthur Keith, in his Huxley Lecture, writes: "After the publication of the Origin of Species, Mr. J.J. Murphy of Belfast cited the eye as a structure which could not be accounted for by any theory of selection then propounded. "It is probably no exaggeration to suppose," wrote Mr. Murphy, "that in order to improve such an organ as the eye at all, it must be improved in ten different ways at once, and the improbability of any complex organ being produced and brought to perfection in any such way is an improbability of the same kind and degree as that of producing a poem or a mathematical demonstration by throwing letters on a table"."

Darwin felt this criticism to be so important that he found it necessary to reply to it ; but Sir Arthur Keith, taking account of the discoveries which have been made since that time, considers Mr. Murphy's criticism sound, and writes that if Mr. Murphy had said ten thousand instead of ten, when referring to the simultaneous modification of parts of the eye, he would have been inside the mark...

I began to study the works of Lotze, of Green, and of Hegel. Also I began to

read some of the larger historical works which were then available,

My first difficulty was to find time for these studies, my second was to get the books. The first I solved by winning certain morning hours from slumber, the second by joining the excellent Linen Hall Library in Belfast. Here I found a most admirably chosen collection of philosophical and historical works as well as literature of lighter quality... [The Linen Hall was subjected to cultural revolution around 1980 and cleared of all its scholarly lumber.]

...It is quite easy to-day, to anyone who has been taught by observation and experience, to trace the history of the winning of Ulster from the savage wild, by noting the forms and limits of the little fields, and the course of the more ancient roads, which are usually narrow, deeply cut lanes following the tops of the higher ridges and so escaping the lakes and swamps which of old filled all the hollows. The Ulster of to-day belongs to the Ulsterman, because he made it.

...It is often said that Ulster is a Presbyterian country, and it is undoubtedly true that the Presbyterian section of the population is very numerous and shows wonderful power and efficiency in all practical activities, and is also marked by a deep religious conviction which is characteristic of its tradition. But the Church of Ireland section is not far behind in numbers, and, in certain areas of the country, is in a large majority. All the way from Belfast to Armagh, road and rail pass through a country in which the majority of the population is "Church," to use the common phrase. The towns along that line, as well as the country parishes, are all of this sort : Lisburn, Lurgan, Portadown, and, in adjacent areas, Hillsborough, Banbridge, Dromore are centres of populous districts in which the Church of Ireland claims the adhesion of by far the greater proportion of the population. The whole northern portion of Co. Armagh and the western parts of Co. Down, a thriving and well peopled country, forms a district in which the condition is similar.

It is very largely the population from this area which, flowing into Belfast, has given that city its many thousands of people looking to the old Church of Ireland for the ministrations of religion...

...It is a strange fact that many of those who owed their continued immunity from a change which they dreaded as a disaster, to the organised power of Orangism, yet habitually ridiculed the Orangemen. It was a common thing in Belfast to hear these men and their organisation derided by people who agreed with them in principle and benefited by their strength. To me, on the other hand, that great demonstration was a revel-

ation. Coming from the south, where the Orange order is but little known or understood, I was surprised and deeply impressed. Though I never became a member of the order, that impression was deepened by the experiences of after years. I learned too that the leaders of the Orange organisation were not responsible for the riots. These were the work of youthful hotheads on both sides...

ULSTER

The 12th of July is observed with unflinching regularity and passionate fervour every year as the commemoration of that great deliverance which saved Ulster from a tyranny whose triumph would have destroyed her. Out of a past laden with memories of desperate danger, of tragedy, of resistance, and of patient endurance crowned with victory, there comes, ever renewed, the call to watchfulness and a self-reliance which is based on an unflinching faith in Divine Providence. With what invincible courage and fortitude this little people of Ulster have held their own through three centuries!...

In the year 1912 the anniversary came at a time of real and tremendous crisis. Threatenings that seemed to point to a forcible compulsion to submit it to a Government alien to all their convictions stirred Ulstermen to the very heart. As I look back and recall the depth of feeling which was then evoked, I am filled with wonder and admiration at their splendid self-control. The critical epoch was got over with no untoward occurrence. But as the week passed, the pressure of a great clanger came to be felt more and more. All this time the Ulster leaders, feeling that no ordinary expression of political conviction would suffice, were maturing their plans. With rare insight they turned to the one man in the political world at the time who possessed the needful gifts, and, with splendid self-sacrifice, Sir Edward Carson gave up his unrivalled practice at the Bar and devoted himself heart and soul to the task of leadership. It seemed a forlorn hope.

That summer, my wife and I, staying at Wynyard, met the then Speaker of the House of Commons and other people who saw things from the central point of view. The opinion seemed universal that, whatever Ulster might feel or do, Home Rule for all Ireland would surely come. As Mr. Lowther (now Lord Ullswater) said to me "I can see nothing that can stop it."

Within a month after this, the policy developed by Sir Edward Carson in consultation with the Ulster Unionist Council, led by Lord Londonderry, Sir James Craig, Thomas Sinclair, and others, took shape and was disclosed. Ulstermen were to enter into a solemn

Covenant with one another to support one another in whatever steps might be necessary to defeat the great conspiracy which threatened their liberty. A day, September 28th, was set apart as "Ulster Day," on which the Covenant was to be signed. As it was felt by all that a truly religious conviction animated the opposition to Home Rule, it was made part of the plan that solemn religious services should be held before the signing of the Covenant.

The disclosing of this great plan came to those of us who were in positions of serious responsibility as the creation of a situation which demanded the most profound thought and consideration. The decision which had to be made involved the risking of everything. It was clear that the Covenant meant a real crossing of the Rubicon. To me, in my position as bishop of the most populous part of Ulster, the problem presented was indeed almost crushing in its burden of responsibility. Most of the clergy and very many of their people would be guided by my decision. The first step I took was to communicate with Primate Crozier. I found that he also felt the need of careful consideration before making a final decision. Then I began to think that advice from outside the circle of clerical opinion might prove illuminating. Who was the wisest and most experienced man among the laymen that I knew? Instinctively I turned to Lord Macnaghten. I wrote asking him to give me an interview, though I felt that I was asking more than he might grant, because, in his position as a Lord of Appeal in the House of Lords, he might well feel it impossible to express any opinion or take any share in the movement.

His response was one of the noblest of actions within my experience. He invited me to visit him and talk the matter over. It was a memorable interview. Quite clearly he took up the position that to deprive a community, against its will, of the citizenship and liberties into which its members were born would be a political outrage. In addition, the Constitution had been suspended* to make the outrage possible. And, he added, there is nothing so important at the present time as that we should all stick together. "We, Ulster people," he said, "are a very determined people, and if we hold together they cannot beat us. I am going to sign the Covenant."

The way now became absolutely clear... [* The Constitution suspended: Presumably the 1911 limit on the Lords' Veto is meant, C&S.]

Ulster Day and the Covenant were no mere demonstrations. The great work of a thorough organisation of the province followed. It was recognised that the real danger of the situation was that

force might be used to compel submission to a Home Rule Parliament. It was also realised that if force were employed in this way it would be met with resistance, and the result would be bloodshed without end. Therefore it was clear that only a thorough organisation could give such control to the leaders and such power to the people of Ulster that no politician, no matter how violent, could dare to use force. Further, only a thorough organisation would enable the responsible leaders to restrain excitement and prevent sporadic outbreaks. Organisation, and again organisation, became the order of the day...

The Ulster Volunteers were then enrolled. The work was done with system and thoroughness. Feeling that in this organisation was to be found the sure way to the prevention of disorder and to ultimate success in our great enterprise, I believed it a duty to help in every way that seemed to me possible in the office that I held. I therefore gave addresses at great gatherings of the Volunteers, always impressing upon them the need of complete self-control, ... When I dedicated colours for them, I took occasion to make those colours a symbol of loyalty, obedience, discipline, in relation to the service of God and the welfare of their country.

...
Colonel Seely, now Lord Mottistone, who had been Minister for War, attacked me, and called me an "Archhypocrite"; and in a later statement accused me of blessing maxim guns, the horrible nature of which weapons he described. He held it was difficult for a Christian minister to defend their use. My answer was easy. In two letters to The Times I declared that I had never seen any maxim guns, much less blessed them. What the Volunteers possessed in the way of weapons I did not know. I was not in the secrets of the Volunteer Force, having no official connexion with it. But what a preposterous thing it was to see an ex-Secretary for War holding up his hands in pious horror at anyone being so inhuman as to possess such awful things—guns which could kill a hundred men a minute! The immortal Pecksniff could hardly rival this...

AUBANE ON-LINE

<http://aubanehistoricalsociety.org/collection.php>

The above site has 15 fully searchable AHS publications mainly on the Millstreet area of Cork, thanks to Joe Keenan and Alan Brick.

It was on April 24th, 1914, that the great Ulster gun-running was carried out with amazing success and completeness. I knew nothing at all about it until it was all over, though on that night the constant passing of motors on the road close to our house filled us with anxious questioning. Then the astonishing courage and ability with which the whole adventure was organised and brought to a successful issue filled us all with that peculiar delight which is inspired by daring in a great and noble cause...

At the July celebrations of that year, it was felt that things had reached a very critical position...

A few days after, there broke out the tremendous cataclysm of the Great War..

THE YEARS OF WAR

...It seems, from many indications, that the German war lords, in making their plans, had regard to the use that might be made of Ireland. They could have hardly omitted to do so. Many stories were current as to supplies of petrol and other useful things stored at convenient spots on the coasts of Ireland for the service of submarines. There is probably real foundation for these tales.

On Easter Monday, April 24th, 1916, my wife and I went to stay with Primate and Mrs. Crozier at the Palace, Armagh,

...Rumours of strange events leaked through and finally the story of the rebellion in Dublin took shape, more or less clearly...

Inevitably and rightly all the younger men of energy and initiative among the clergy wished to give service in some form. I earnestly desired to take some part myself in almost any one of the various ways opened by the needs at the front. But I was long past my fiftieth year, and was in charge of the busiest diocese in Ireland. It soon became clear to me that it was my duty to look after the work at home, and guide to the best of my ability the younger men who sought opportunities of work with the fighting forces. I did indeed arrange to spend a few months with the army in France...

[DUBLIN AND ARMAGH]

The death of Primate Crozier placed the writer, as Archbishop of Dublin, in the position of senior among Irish bishops in standing and authority, and so it was that he was invited to represent the Church of Ireland at the enthronement of the Archbishop of Wales at St. Asaph on the 1st of June of this same year. This function was notable as the first of its kind. Wales, owing to the disestablishment of its Church, had ceased to be a part of the English Church system. It had become a separate province...

Afterwards there was a lunch, at

which brief speeches of congratulation and goodwill were made. To the writer it was appointed to speak for the Church of Ireland. Among those present both at the service and at the lunch were Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd George. In his engaging way, he also spoke and added his good wishes for the Church in Wales. But, though he showed every sign of sympathy, there were some present who could not forget his work for its disestablishment...

The close of the year 1920 was marked by some terrible events in Ireland. Most shocking of these was the murder of a number of British officers in Dublin. Sunday, November 28th, has been widely known as "Black Sunday" ever since. The houses in which these gallant young men had their lodgings were suddenly invaded, early in the morning, by men prepared and organised for massacre.

NORTHERN IRELAND

The events which led to the setting up of Northern Ireland as a distinct political entity within the United Kingdom have been set forth with great clearness and completeness of knowledge by the Rt. Hon. Ronald McNeill, now Lord Cushendun, in his striking work, *Ulster's Stand for the Union*.

It is quite unnecessary for the writer to give any account of the events there narrated. Let this, however, be said: that the people who, for purposes of political argument, derided the opposition of Ulster to Home Rule were shutting their eyes to the plainest and sternest fact in the Irish situation. As Lord Cushendun says, the reply of the Ulsterman "to those who denounced the Irish Government Act of 1920 on the ground that it set up a 'partition of Ireland,' is that the Act did not 'set up,' but only recognised the partition which history made long ago, and which wrecked all attempts to solve the problem of Irish Government that neglected to take it into account."...

The first speech was made by the Duke of Abercorn, father of the present Governor of Northern Ireland. It was a very able and powerful utterance, and ended with words, "We—will not—have—Home Rule." Each word standing by itself and ringing through the great assembly. The effect was electrical. The whole audience rose to their feet and cheered with unanimous enthusiasm... And the truth is that never were political convictions more deeply and consistently held than those of the people of Ulster. Nor is it enough to speak of convictions. Behind their determination there is a depth of experience—the experience of centuries, bred in the very marrow of their bones—which makes them hold fast to the traditions which have made

the British race what it is. With that race they feel their identity.

It is true that, in Southern Ireland also, there is a very considerable element which has this same feeling of identity with Great Britain, its race, and its traditions. The idea, fostered for political purposes, that the people of Ireland are a nation apart, having no racial affinity with the people of England, is a pure fiction. The very same racial elements which went to the making of the English people are blended in the Irish...

In June, 1921, it fell to the lot of the writer to say prayers at the opening of the Parliament of Northern Ireland and on the 22nd of that same month, there took place the State Opening by the King. On this occasion also he was called upon to say prayers. Very thankful were our hearts when this ceremony was happily concluded. For it marked the triumphant close of a long struggle, and gave to Ulstermen a position secure from the ceaseless agitations of the past and with power to live in peace, protected by their own lawful guardians, and with opportunity to devote themselves to their work without molestation.

With their own Parliament, their own police force, their trusted leaders to guide them, and depending on their own initiative, they could face the future with courage and that grim determination which has always been a mark of their character...

Sometimes it is imagined that the Ulster which has come into being as the result of the events which have been briefly outlined is too small, and too limited in population and resources, to prove an efficient political entity. But Ulster is not a community standing alone in the modern world. She does not set up as an independent nation. Her Government is concerned solely with the control and development of internal affairs. It has no army, no navy, no foreign relations. In all that concerns these things, Ulster is a part of Great Britain. For the greater national affairs, Ulster takes her share of the obligations of the United Kingdom. Her people pay the income-tax and submit to the Customs of Great Britain.

Yet it must be admitted that Ulster is developing a quality and consciousness of her own, not in opposition to Great Britain, but within the greater community. In this way it is quite possible that Ulster may add her own special contribution to the enrichment of the national genius.

...

With the history of Ulster must be connected an event which took place in November 1921. When, in 1914 and the following years, the call came for men and women to serve in the tremendous struggle of the Great War, the response

from Ulster was beyond all possible expectations. Going from church to church, as the writer has done, in the years that followed, and looking at the war memorials to be seen in every parish, there is received the impression of an immeasurable sacrifice.

An Ulster Division was formed and quickly completed. No body of men, among the millions who served, showed a more heroic spirit. On the 1st of July, 1916, in the tremendous fighting round Thiepval, these gallant men charged the enemy with such impetuous bravery that the Germans opposed to them were driven back from three lines of trenches. The other troops in the same advance not getting so far, the Ulstermen suffered terribly. It was determined in Ulster that an Ulster Memorial Tower should be erected on the site of this heroic struggle. In the outcome a very beautiful monument was set up. It is a reproduction of Helen's Tower at Clondeboy... The original Helen's Tower was built by the great Lord Dufferin as a memorial to his mother. [Dufferin conquered Burma. His mother wrote a sentimental national song, *The Emigrant's Lament*.]

...

In writing of Northern Ireland, I have kept in view strictly, so far, the six counties, Antrim, Down, Armagh, Derry, Tyrone, and Fermanagh, which were set up as a separate political entity when this area voted itself out of the arrangement by which Home Rule was granted to Ireland. But Ulster, as known to history, included three other counties Monaghan, Cavan, and Donegal. It was with deep sorrow and searching of heart that these counties were allowed to pass under the Irish Free State which was set up by the so-called Treaty...

When the boundary commission was at work there was hope in many hearts that certain areas in these counties might be added to Northern Ireland. This might indeed have been done if reason and goodwill had prevailed in Southern Ireland.

AT HOME AND ABROAD

...The charm of Italy is endless. There the pages of history seem to be opened as nowhere else. The mind passes from the great days of ancient Rome to the time of imperial splendour, and on through the wildest times of the ninth and tenth centuries to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. At every turn there are to be discerned the marks of this wonderful history. Year after year we went there, sometimes staying with our old friend Mrs. Corbett Wilson at her charming villa above the lake of Orta... Or, again, in Venice we were fortunate in seeing the King and Queen of Italy proceeding by water procession from the royal palace in St. Mark's Square to

the public gardens far down at the point where the lagoon is entered. The barges and oarsmen were all arrayed in the fashion of old times, and the whole city was a blaze of colour. We saw the procession going and returning, and seemed to be transported back through the centuries to the splendid Venice of former days.

In the evening, St. Mark's square was filled with a gay multitude and the music of massed bands, and the King and Queen came out on the balcony of the palace and were received with boundless enthusiasm. There seemed to be no need of any precautions to ensure their safety. And it was very pleasing to note that the Fascisti movement had not shaken at all the feeling of loyalty to the throne. Nor were the demonstrations of Fascism lacking. For the massed bands thundered

the strains of "Giovinezza," the stirring music of the new national hymn of Italy. It is indeed a splendid national hymn, with that note of sacrifice and service which Fascism has inspired:

*Giovinazza, giovinazza,
Primavera di bellezza
Della Vita nell'asprezza
Il tuo canto squillà e va !*

A free translation might run:

*Youth, youth, springtime of beauty,
Joyous thy song resounds in the hard
path of duty.*

Here surely is the secret of the wonderful success of the Fascisti movement. It has claimed and won the enthusiasm of youth for work and service, not for any selfish aim...



Jack Lane / Bishop Paul Colton

Church & State 95 carried a report on a Seminar organized by the Church of Ireland Bishop of Cork on the issue of Protestants and the War of Independence. The following is a correspondence that ensued with the The Right Reverend Paul Colton, Bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross and a commentary by Jack Lane

C of I, Aubane & War of Independence

Follow-up to the Church of Ireland Seminar organised by the Bishop of Cork

18 December 2008

Dear Bishop,

I refer you to an article in the *Sunday Independent* of December 14, 2008, in which Eoghan Harris referred to our society. He was commenting on a seminar organised by the Cork, Cloyne and Ross Diocese of the Church of Ireland on 8th December last.

It has been reported to us that Senator Eoghan Harris "declared war" on our

Society at the seminar and that he also said we were "mentally deficient". We have confirmed this detail and the information below, since publication of the article, with a number of speakers at the seminar, and with some of those who attended.

Senator Harris's were unusual sentiments, to put it mildly, expressed at an event organised by a Christian Diocesan authority.

We understand also, that a security firm patrolled the venue all day. Their representative explained that they were doing so to prevent a plan on our part to "storm and disrupt" the event.

Please rest assured that we had no intention of doing any such thing at the seminar or indeed at any other event. We publish, write, discuss and debate. Anyone who may have reported otherwise to you was bearing false witness. We would have been more than delighted to have been invited, however.

We understand that one of our published authors, the Oxford educated historian, Dr Brian Murphy of Glenstal Abbey, Co Limerick, was referred to by Senator Harris in somewhat disparaging terms. These terms referred to Dr Murphy's capacity as a Roman Catholic priest. The term "meddlesome priest" and the suggestion that priests should not "dabble in history", were, it has been reported to us, part of Senator Harris's presentation. On the other hand, Protestant clergy were encouraged to keep "their heads up" by Senator Harris.

We also wonder at the appropriateness of Senator Harris referring to a Minister of State, Dr Martin Mansergh TD, in his capacity as a member of the Church of Ireland, as a "lie down and die Protestant". This was at an event organised by your diocese as part of the Hard Gospel Project, which has the subtitle, "love your neighbour".

We find it particularly disturbing that the diocese might be seen to condone remarks that may have bordered on the sectarian. This would be unfortunate, considering the reason for setting up the Hard Gospel project was to distance the Church of Ireland from inadvertent association with the activities of the Orange Order at Drumcree Church of Ireland Parish Church. We commend generally the Hard Gospel Project's work, especially the way in which concern with sectarianism associated, however inadvertently, with the Church has been combined with a desire to oppose the twin evil of racism.

We are very interested in the subject matter of the Seminar, "Understanding our history—Protestants, the War of Independence and Civil War in County Cork" and we have published relevant material. I enclose some for your consideration.

We would welcome an opportunity to discuss the topic of the seminar with the Hard Gospel Project—under whose auspices the Seminar was held—and to explore the issues involved in this topic and to provide a basis for our mutual understanding.

We desire, at the earliest opportunity, to correct the record for all who were present at the seminar. We would like the opportunity to demonstrate that we are decent, polite and respectful individuals. Normally, we would

assume that others might assume it of us. In this case, I think you will agree that those who heard otherwise will need to see the evidence for themselves.

I am sure you will agree that there is nothing to be gained from making and/or condoning outrageous allegations about people in their absence and that everything is to be gained from dialogue, respectful discussion and reflection.

I very much look forward to hearing from you and hope you are in a position to arrange a meeting at the earliest opportunity.

We are copying this letter to the academic speakers and to representatives of the Hard Gospel Project.

Yours sincerely, **Jack Lane**

Saturday, 20th December 2008

Dear Mr Lane,

Thank you for your letter concerning our recent Diocesan 'Understanding our History' conference. As my reply might otherwise become entangled in the convolutions of the Christmas post, I hope you will excuse the informality of a reply by email.

Our conference had its origins in two impulses: first, the desire of the Hard Gospel Project to organise a Cork-based event and second, a request to facilitate a television programme about West Cork Protestants during the War of Independence and the Civil War. In consultation within the Diocese the feeling was strongly expressed that an internal process of education and reflection was needed, not least because, some of our clergy and a significant number of laity come from other parts of the Anglican Communion and know little about the subject.

To that end, what was organised was an in-house Diocesan Conference, a private meeting. We were overwhelmed by the interest in it and, therefore, because of the restriction on space were obliged, even within the Diocese, rigorously to regulate the numbers attending: hence the fact that, at my request, doormen were employed by us as stewards for the day, and arranged by the hotel, in order that my own secretary and our own office staff were not put in the awkward position of having to turn away people known to them personally. On the day in question, and because the people concerned had inconvenienced themselves to travel a great distance to attend, we did accommodate three or four people who were not from the Diocese and who had not previously registered.

The organising team went to great lengths to take advice about securing the participation of a balanced panel of speakers within the time constraints of the day. We also specifically felt it right to invite some of those who had done research within our own community. A variety of researches, again within the

limitations of the day, were presented and opposing views were articulated in several presentations. Senator Harris has previously had some very forthright observations and challenges to make to members of the Protestant communities and, on that basis, was also invited to participate so that we might hear those at first hand. One of the principal criticisms I have had, from people of differing backgrounds, is that they too were not afforded the opportunity to be part of the day; but it simply is not possible at such one-off events to include everyone who has spoken about or written on the subject.

I hope you will understand that all of the researches presented and opinions expressed were exclusively those of the speakers themselves alone and do not, nor could they through an event such as this, purport to reflect the views of the Diocese or of the Church of Ireland. I do hope that anyone, including your Society, who may wish to engage with the speakers or to clarify anything they understand may have said, would feel at liberty to do so with them individually and directly. Indeed I saw this beginning to happen on the day itself. It is also true to say that, while what speakers actually say is objective, how they are perceived, can also be very subjective. Arising from that, in my personal experience, I found some of the things said by a variety of speakers profoundly and personally challenging: hence the Hard Gospel.

In many ways, it was an uncomfortable day for many who were present for a whole variety of reasons. A good number of those present, either themselves or as descendants—like many thousands of others in Ireland—were profoundly affected by the events under debate. As I myself remarked on the day, I was conscious that we were treading on the sacred ground of different people's stories and a variety of experiences of those stories.

The most important feedback that I am receiving at this juncture is that we need now, moving forward and as of first importance, to focus on the pastoral issues that have emerged within our Diocesan community for those people. This will take time and space. Our partnership with the Hard Gospel on this matter now ends in that the current phase of the Hard Gospel Project closes at the end of this year and I understand its future shape has yet to be determined.

I am most grateful for the books and publications you have sent me. I look forward to reading them as part of my own on-going reading on the subject which I can assure you is far from one-sided. I will also pass them on, in due course, to others in the Diocese.

I take this opportunity at this special time of the year to wish you every blessing for Christmas and in 2009.

Yours sincerely, **Bishop Paul Colton**

Diocesan website:
www.cork.anglican.org

22 December 2008

Dear Bishop,

Thank you for your prompt response of 20 December via email. I agree that email is a very practical way to communicate, especially at this time of year.

I am sorry to say that I was disappointed in your response. I can quite understand why you planned this Seminar as "an in-house Diocesan Conference, a private meeting" and wished it to remain so. However, the fact is that thanks to Senator Harris, it is no longer a private matter. He either ignored your wishes for privacy or they were not made clear to him.

He has reported on it and interpreted it for the national media. I believe that it was his report that provoked another report in the current issue of *Church and State*, No. 95, Spring 2009. (I have transcribed it for your convenience below). There may be others.

Senator Harris is a legislator of the State appointed by the Taoiseach of the day and you invited him because he "has previously had some very forthright observations and challenges to make to members of the Protestant communities and, on that basis, was also invited to participate so that we might hear those at first hand."

For these reasons, what he says and what is now publicised cannot be ignored. I really think that anyone or any organisation that invites him and provides him with a platform for these views cannot wash their hands of such "challenges" proclaimed at the well attended event.

What he proposed was the exacerbation and politicising of religious differences in our society. That is a most serious matter.

I read that what he proposed specifically at your Seminar was, *inter alia*, that:

- a Catholic priest be admonished and castigated for behaving as a priest in bearing witness to the truth in his chosen field

- that a member of the Government be admonished and castigated for not making more of his Protestant religion in what can only be described as doing so in a more aggressive manner.

- that Southern Irish Protestants affirm a British identity or to recover it if they have lost one, so that the Irish state can then formally recognise it.

These are provocative and irresponsible proposals by a legislator. I think that these proposals cannot be left lie on the table by you as both the organiser of the Seminar and as the representative of the Church of Ireland in the Diocese where his "challenges to members of the Protestant communities" are primarily directed and are most relevant. They beg a clear response and I have no doubt that the

media would facilitate you in doing so.

Unfortunately, I think that silence could speak volumes in a situation such as this. As Edmund Burke put it so well: "All that is necessary for evil to succeed is that good men do nothing."

Yours sincerely, **Jack Lane**

23 December 2008

Dear Mr Lane,

Thank you for your further comments in response to my reply to your letter concerning our conference.

I really have nothing to add to the detailed explanation I have given concerning our thinking behind our Diocesan day. Again I emphasise that we believe we arranged for a representative array of views to be expressed, and that those views, as at any event of this nature, are inevitably those of the speakers alone. My only other comment would be that I had not seen the report which you kindly appended to your email; however I am disappointed to see that it contains many inaccuracies and distorted insinuations.

In any event, as I said in my last email to you, there can never be a tidy outcome to a day conference on this subject and there will always be more work to be done: our primary concern now is to direct our energies at a human level to unresolved pastoral issues. From your work on the history of the period, I am sure you will agree that the people who carry the memories are deserving of that pastoral care, as our first priority.

With all good wishes once again for your Christmas celebrations,

Bishop Paul Colton

24 December 2008

Dear Bishop,

You have made it quite clear that you are not prepared to engage on the issues raised by your Seminar and as reported and interpreted by Senator Harris in the national media.

As you apparently find nothing to criticise in Senator Harris's report—but do so in the case of the only other report available—it can be assumed that Senator Harris reflects your views of the matter.

You therefore make yourself morally responsible for what he said at, and what he has written about, the Seminar.

You're sincerely, **Jack Lane**

25 December 2008

Dear Mr Lane,

Needless to say I do not agree with your inference/conclusion in your email of yesterday evening.

Nonetheless, very sincerely, I wish you and yours a blessed Christmas and every blessing for 2009. **Bishop Paul Colton**

Commentary by Jack Lane

Bishop Colton made it quite clear in

these exchanges that he would not discuss the issues raised by Senator Harris at his Seminar. He made no effort whatever to distance himself from the Senator and, if he does not distance himself from him after inviting him to present his "challenges" which the Senator publicised on the back of his Seminar report, then the Bishop is condoning the Senator's views. No amount of weasel words can hide that fact. This is unfortunate.

It is doubly unfortunate if he plans pastoral work among Cork Protestants whose ancestors were killed or otherwise affected by the War of Independence without making his attitude known about Senator Harris's views. Such pastoral work is strictly his and his Church's business but when it seems likely to be based on assumptions and allegations that Senator Harris made at the Seminar and elsewhere, it, like the Seminar, becomes a matter of public concern to all citizens. There are as yet no indications that the work will be based on any other assumptions other than the Senator's.

The essence of Harris's case is that the War of Independence was a war against Protestants by Catholics. None of the academics at the Seminar endorsed this and no reputable historian does, despite the Senator's best efforts to twist their analysis, as he tries to do in his report of the Seminar. Even Peter Hart assured those at the Seminar that there was no ethnic cleansing of Protestants in Cork—confirming what he has already published in the *Irish Times*. There he states that "*I have never argued that 'ethnic cleansing' took place in Cork or elsewhere in the 1920s—in fact, quite the opposite*" (28 June 2006). And it was Mr. Hart who raised this here in the first place—under the supervision of Professor David Fitzpatrick. He nowadays acknowledges that there is simply no evidence to support the allegations which are now regularly promoted by Senator Harris.

If pastoral support is based on his thesis, then it will do untold damage to the people concerned and to the wider community as it would be based on a lie. That should surely be of primary importance to any churchman especially to the one overseeing the pastoral work.

But that is only the half of it. It would also give rise to a great pastoral need among the descendants and relatives of those Catholics who allegedly did the killings as Catholics. No self-respecting Catholic could take pride in having such an ancestor.

It would also necessitate another pastoral effort for the large number of Catholics who apparently were killed by other Catholics in a war against Protestants! Why? How would their

pastoral needs be dealt with? The mind boggles and the War of Independence would become a totally incomprehensible, obnoxious event.

One thing is certain, a whole new pastoral and counselling industry would need to be created and maybe public funding would be required. Senator Harris could be relied to 'up the ante' whenever matters might seem to be flagging. He could be employed as a resident consultant for the project. After all, there seems no end to the depth of Senator's own self-loathing for what has made him what he is.

Understanding is the key

There is no dishonour or shame in having one's predecessors honestly investigated and shown to have been wrong, mistaken or to have held failed political positions, even if they also involved military engagement. That's part and parcel of political life. Understanding the events through them and the historical context helps one understand the history of the situation better than a library of books. Lucky the person who has an IRA man, a Black and Tan, a Blueshirt, a Fianna Failer (and a Bishop of some sort) in the family history.

I suggest that a useful approach is that of Jasper Ungeod-Thomas who has just published a biography of his grandfather, *Jasper Wolfe Of Skibbereen* (The Collins Press, Cork, 2008).

The latter was about the most well-known Protestant in West Cork during the first half of the last century. He was sentenced to death three times by the IRA and it also attempted to burn down his house. By luck and various ruses he survived. On the face of it, a perfect example to make Mr. Harris's case. But his biographer grandson does not make such a case because he is objective enough to see clearly that Wolfe was targeted as a political enemy. Wolfe himself had also made this perfectly clear. Mr. Ungeod-Thomas should have been a speaker at the Bishop's seminar and let's hope the Bishop consults him before he proceeds much further.

Jasper Wolfe was the British State Prosecutor in Cork during the War of Independence defending, among other things, the RIC at the inquest into their murder of Lord Mayor Tomas Mac Curtain. His provocative role could hardly have made him a more obvious target. But, when the war was over, he bore no grudges against the IRA and neither did it against him. What was over was over. He befriended personally those who had planned to execute him and he went on to defend IRA members in court after the Treaty War when he saw that the Free State was being vindictive towards its former adversaries and endangering the *status quo*.

He was elected and re-elected a number of times as a TD for West Cork and elected onto several other public bodies over the years. Mr. Wolfe did not need pastoral help, or counselling, for the simple reason that he understood what the war was about and it was not about his religion. Understanding was the key to his success in coping with being a Protestant in the heart of West Cork and thriving for half a century. Jasper Wolfe should be the Bishop's model in his pastoral work and not Senator Harris's fantasies. The problem might be, of course, that the need for the pastoral work would then evaporate.

Experiences like that of Jasper Wolfe are very useful in that they dispel any notions about the personification of evil (or good) in politics. But every type of pastoral activity will fundamentally rely on such concepts—they will be the bottom line—and will therefore only aggravate matters for all concerned as contemplating the infinite intricacies of such abstractions is a meaningless and maddening activity.

Senator Harris lives very naturally in a world of abstractions. He was once as fanatical and idealistic a supporter of the War of Independence as he is now an opponent of it. He could be so only if both positions were fundamentally abstractions for him. The consistency is

the dedication to the abstract, untrammelled by realities. He takes up any number of positions on all sorts of issues and he can and does concoct any reality to his perfect satisfaction as he sees fit to support his positions. What is truly amazing is that so many others seem impressed by it.

The Irish War of Independence was not fought over any kind of abstract issue, good, evil or whatever. It was fought over a clear political issue, Irish political independence. Everyone concerned knew this perfectly well and that included people of every religion and none. Propagandists tried to make it otherwise and some idiots believed them then as they do now.

That war was almost unique in history, in that it was based on overwhelming electoral mandates by the electorate, before, during and after the war. That war should be a model for the conduct of other wars and if followed one thing is certain—their number would decline as a result and the world would be saved innumerable hardships. It would be an Irish solution for a world problem.

It should be incorporated into what is called "international law" and, if it was, how many of those wars that have been fought before or since would have been fought at all? Answers on the back of a postage stamp, please.

John Martin

The Evolution Debate continues

Darwin And The Origin Of Species

In my previous article in *Church & State* there was not sufficient detail on what precisely was Darwin's theory. Hopefully this article will remedy this defect.

In his classic work *The Origin Of Species* Darwin had very little to say about human beings or indeed primates. The subtitle of the book is: *The Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*. But it is clear that Darwin does not mean "race" in its modern political sense. For example he talks about the different races of cabbages. There is no mention of the white or black human races.

In Darwin's time it was widely believed that the earth was only 6,000 years old and that the various plants and animals were put on the earth by a divine power and had not evolved or changed in that time. This remains the view of the creationists.

While Darwin cannot claim originality, he synthesised the various theories in different branches of science to come

up with a radical alternative view of the world.

Firstly, he presented evidence from developments in Geology to conclude that the earth was at least 300 million years old and could be much older. This was a crucial assumption since he accepted that the evolutionary process was very slow and could not have taken place in the relatively short time span of 6,000 years.

Secondly, he noticed that most flora and fauna reproduced much more than that which survived. The question of which of the offspring survived was not an arbitrary process, or at least not an arbitrary process over a long period of time. Nature selected those which would survive on the basis of their fitness to their environment. And those plants or animals best fitted to their environment had a tendency to pass on these characteristics to future generations. Darwin contrasted natural selection with selection done by human beings. Species under

the direct dominion of man evolved on the basis of their usefulness or aesthetic appeal to man. This type of selection was often unconscious. It operated by man taking better care of animals with more meat or birds with more exotic plumage.

Thirdly, while there was a tendency for specialisation or the evolution of characteristics most adaptable to the environment, it was also the case that there is a contradictory tendency of nature to produce variety. Animals and plants must produce variety if they are to continue to evolve. This tendency can be seen in the reproductive process. For example, although plants are hermaphrodites and therefore have male and female reproductive organs they do not tend to reproduce on their own. Their seeds are spread to other plants. Among human beings there is a taboo against incest.

Specialisation, or over-adaptation to the environment, will make a species extremely vulnerable if the environment changes. Also, specialisation and the elimination of variety will limit the capacity of a species to evolve.

Similarly, John Steinbeck in his *Log From The Sea Of Cortez* remarked that "over armentation" can lead to destruction among human beings. A corporate Executive with his various props (car, house or apartment surrounded by high walls, gates and security) is vulnerable if these are taken away from him, whereas a beggar who is exposed to the physical elements can respond to economic and other disasters with equanimity.

Fourthly, competition for survival is most intense within species and between species that are most closely related to each other because such species are chasing the same type of food or sustenance from nature. On the other hand species can be dependent on each other. For example, flowers need bees to spread their seeds. The laws of competition suggested to Darwin that a less evolved species could not exist for any length of time side by side with a more evolved version of the *same* species. The more evolved version would make the less evolved version extinct. So, for example, the direct descendants of *Homo Sapiens* could not exist alongside *Homo Sapiens* for any length of time. Also, it follows that, for example, the chimpanzee could not be a direct descendant of man, even if it shared a progenitor. It also follows from this that once a species becomes extinct it cannot re-emerge.

Fifthly, Darwin thought that the distinction between species and varieties of species was arbitrary. He thought a genealogical classification of plants and

animals was more meaningful than a classification purely based on physical characteristics. The job of natural scientists was to trace the origin of species. He thought that plants and animals should be classified by "genera", or their relationship with a common descendant or progenitor. He did not go into too much detail but he thought that the bat, the porpoise and human being shared a common progenitor. He observed that the bone structure of the bat's wing, the porpoise's fin and the human hand were very similar. He also noticed the fact that the embryos of various mammals were almost identical to the human embryo. It appears—although I don't think he says so explicitly—that Darwin thought that all mammals shared a common progenitor. Darwin doesn't speculate as to a possible relationship between the various "genera" in the animal and plant kingdoms. I'm not sure what the current scientific view is, but is it possible that all life evolved from a piece of protoplasm in the primeval soup?!

Sixthly, Darwin thought that plant and animal life began in the same place. The more mobile the species, the more likely that there would be similar species across the planet. Birds are more mobile than most mammals. There is greater dispersion of plants than most mammals because their seeds can be carried vast distances by birds, either in their stomachs to be later excreted or in clay, which adheres to the claws. Mammals—with the exception of human beings and flying mammals such as bats—are less dispersed. Darwin observed that apart from the above exceptions there is no single mammal common to Europe and Australia or South America. As land masses separated in a previous age, different species which shared a common progenitor evolved in different ways.

Seventhly, nature does not select which species are to survive only on the basis of the fitness of individuals within that species. The survival of a species depends on the fitness of the species as a whole rather than just individual members of it. For example, Darwin noticed that certain species of ants have a proportion of their population, which do not have the capacity to reproduce. Worker ants do not reproduce, but work for the benefit of the species as a whole allowing the remainder of the population to reproduce. The reproducing element of the species is dependent on the non-reproducing element to survive and the species as a whole is dependent on the reproducing element for its perpetuation.

Finally, Darwin did not believe in Intelligent Design or the idea that some force designed animals and plants so

that they might fit their environment. He noted that many animals had redundant body parts that might have been useful at some prior period but have since atrophied. For example there are two types of beetles in Madeira, an Island in the Atlantic with strong winds. The first type of beetle can fly, the second type cannot. Darwin concluded that strong winged beetles survived the strong winds. Mediocre beetles were blown out to sea and perished. While beetles with weak wings also survived and confined their activities to ground level. (Darwin used the analogy of shipwrecked sailors. The strong swimmers could swim to shore; the mediocre swimmers perished in the effort; while the non-swimmers stayed by the shipwreck to be rescued by a passing ship.)

The wings on the ground beetles atrophied but a residue still remained even though they had become completely useless. Darwin thought that the existence of such redundant parts could be explained by evolution rather than Intelligent Design. Another example is the ostrich, which through a process of evolution, developed the ability to fend off its predators by its strong legs rather than flying away. Like the ground beetle its wings became redundant.

Darwin and Human Beings

The temptation to apply Darwinian theory to politics has been irresistible. There is nothing incompatible between *The Origin Of The Species* and the philosophy of Marxism. A recent BBC documentary went further and suggested that Marx substituted the struggle of species with the class struggle. Darwin did influence Marx and Engels, but the extent of that influence is a moot point. However, there is absolutely no doubt about Darwin's influence on various racist and imperialist political theorists. That influence was explicit and acknowledged.

While political conclusions can be drawn from *The Origin Of The Species*, Darwin does not do so within his classic work. I have been told that in a latter work—*The Descent Of Man*—Darwin reveals some racist views about the Irish among other branches of the human race. I haven't read this book, but if this is the case I cannot agree with Darwin. My understanding is that all human beings share a common DNA structure. However, errors in his later work do not invalidate the important scientific insights contained in *The Origin Of The Species*. And those errors certainly do not justify the teaching of Creationism in the Science classroom.

Note: An error appeared in the previous article. Galileo was not burned at the stake as was stated, but was merely kept under house arrest.

Evolution debate

I agree with most of John Martin's attitude to religion, atheism and such matters. And he is right to say I am cavalier or indifferent to teaching creationism in science classes because I see this as only the current expression of the ongoing debate about evolution, origin of life, etc. It will not go away from any schoolroom for very long.

I am also sceptical of the self-proclaimed virtues of godless science simply because it is godless. The fact is that it is God-fearing scientists, whether Moslem, Jewish or Christian, that have given us the essential, useful scientific discoveries we have. If they did it for the honour and glory of their Gods I don't think we should mind as long as 'they deliver the goods'. Until the Godless ones put these achievements in the shade then they should be more modest in their claims and we should be less inclined to give them some special status because they are scientific atheists. They dominate at the moment and promise a lot more than they are delivering and that is why they need the competition of the creationists. Let the fittest survive.

I would agree that evolution is problematic, as John says. But I would say it is very, very problematic. The origin of life is unknowable, evolution is not actually observable, and what we can observe is change and development to consolidate and confirm species rather than their evolution to another.

We are forever hearing of scientists' warnings about those things that may endanger us as a species—climate change, ecological disaster, disease, asteroids, the ever-present nuclear dangers, to name but a few. And scientists' great *raison d'être* is to prevent these, improve and prolong human life. Very conservative attitudes indeed. True Darwinians should look on all these disasters with a certain amount of equanimity at least as such things are undoubtedly a driver, and maybe the main driver, of evolution as Darwinism clearly suggests.

While I am as happy as a human as any dog or cat I have known seem happy as dogs and cats, I don't understand why Darwinians are not very curious and interested in what the outcome would be of any of these disasters. And a nuclear disaster has the added attraction of the possibility of observing the evolution of new species which would be a first for human beings. While we can observe species going out of existence, apparently, we cannot so far observe them coming into existence. Therefore, Dar-

winians should surely feel very curious indeed about a nuclear holocaust as it would speed up this process enormously—but again that's still only a theory but a very likely one. To Darwinians we are, and all species are, in transition to something else are we not? A sort of scientific version of Hinduism's re-incarnation

When it gets to dealing with specifics on the origins and evolution of things, it always seems to get into a chicken and egg type of argument that begs more questions than answers. In other words, there is so much inevitable speculation, scientific and otherwise, that the jury on evolution must stay out for some time

The other reason I am sceptical of the typical scientific evolutionists is that they have brains, minds and bodies that are finite, like the rest of us, but they are supremely confident they can cope with issues that are infinite. That is like trying to put a quart into a pint bottle. A bit more modesty would be in order. They remind me of what Melbourne said of Macaulay "*I wish I was as certain about anything as he is about everything*".

A scientist not mentioned much these days is one who threw a big spanner in the works of all theories of evolution. He was the obscure, unknown, unread, devout Augustinian monk, Gregor Mendel, who never seems to have left his back garden and his peas but with them he established the laws of hereditary principles in species which are conservative not evolutionary and that ruins the evolutionists' case. A true scientist but also a devout god-fearing creationist no doubt.

John refers to Marx and Engels' views on Darwinism. I think this is a case where they have to be separated somewhat. I doubt if Charlie shared Fred's views fully on these matters. The latter was indeed very enthusiastic about evolution. However, Marx remarked that Darwin looked at nature and saw English social life. It is interesting to note that, when the real father of evolution, the Frenchman, Lamarck, looked at nature he saw a rational, positive adaptation process by living things to their environment—the organism 'decided' its future. The living thing was 'in charge' so to speak. A very French rationalist view. Darwin looked at nature and saw a negative destructive nature 'deciding' the future of the organism that entailed unremitting conflict, destruction—essentially a horror story. Lamarck saw co-operation, interdependence and adaptation. To

illustrate it at its simplest with the classic example of the giraffe and his neck. Lamarck saw the neck adapting to the needs of the environment—Darwin saw nature selecting those with the longer necks. Take your pick. I would choose Lamarck's theory any day, all things being equal, but Mendel spoils the story of both.

Today, Hollywood looks at nature and sees the Jungle Book, the Flintstones and Tom and Jerry. Absurd, but can the human mind look at the non-human in a totally objective way divorced from its humanness? I doubt it.

I am also pretty sure Marx would be very sceptical of anyone whose great Eureka moment was reading Thomas Malthus on his theory of the (alleged) struggle for existence between population growth and food supply. His theory, endorsed by all the economists of the day, was that population growth of the poor could only be curtailed by famine and starvation. Ireland was to be their laboratory and they looked forward with (vicious) glee to the proof of their theory. It was discredited, most notably by a much-neglected man, Thomas Michael Sadler, who proved that it was improvement, wealth and affluence was the surest way to curtail population growth. This was the polar opposite of Malthus and his friends—with very different implications indeed on how to handle such social problems for the people concerned. History has demonstrated conclusively the truth of Sadler's case—look at the population growth of the whole affluent western world—but it was an amazing achievement to prove it the 1820s.

Malthusianism was discredited as a theory on the subject it sought to address and it was not therefore likely to be a theory that would satisfactorily explain something it did not even address. But it was a most English theory about life and people in general—'*nasty, brutish and short!*'—as Hobbes put it. It says little for Darwin's science that he picked this rubbish theory as the basis of his science. It says a lot more about his prejudices.

In fact, I think Marx, on second thoughts, after first appreciating the force of Darwinism against the teleological approach to such matters, then saw how deficient his theory was. He said in a letter to Engels:

"I'm amused that Darwin, at whom I've been taking another look, should say that he also applies the 'Malthusian' theory to plants and animals, as though in Mr. Malthus's case the whole thing didn't lie in its not being applied to plants and animals, but only—with its geometric progression—to humans as against plants and animals. It is remarkable how Darwin rediscovers, among

the beasts and plants, the society of England with its division of labour, competition, opening up of new markets, 'inventions' and Malthusian 'struggle for existence'. It is Hobbes' *bellum omnium contra omnes* and is reminiscent of Hegel's Phenomenology, in which civil society figures as an 'intellectual animal kingdom', whereas, in Darwin, the animal kingdom figures as civil society" (18 June 1862).

To me, there is no comparison between Marx and Darwin as scientists because of Marx's absolute reliance on assessing observable facts and dealing only with what can be confirmed. Something John has developed very well in his writings on Marx.

It was very pertinent of John to introduce Jack London because he was the great example of trying to apply Darwinism to society and the class struggle. It sounded very well in his day before WWI when socialists and the working class were growing in strength and the showdown with capitalism seemed imminent. But I believe he gave up socialism around 1916, no doubt because the showdown that came was between workers and workers in the killing fields of WWI. That made no sense to him in socialist or in evolutionary terms. Neither does it to me but the fact is that that war most assuredly happened and it must be explained.

John has a rather benign view of Darwin's own view on race, suggesting that the reference to race in "*The Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection, or, The Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*" (1859) does not mean race as we understand it. He may be right, but Darwin certainly does refer to *some* 'less favoured' groups of people and that means one thing—they are done for, whether black, white, yellow or whatever. The 'less favoured' do exist and must pay the price for their existence—extinction. No hard feelings, of course, but tough shit. And it is almost humane to help them on their way as is done with an injured horse (the reasoning of which I could never understand). Hence all the genocides carried out with a very clear conscience, thanks to Darwin. I think John would have to admit that, whatever about Darwin himself, 99% of his followers are racists, consciously or unconsciously. Can they all be wrong?

And I think there is evidence that Darwin himself did understand race as we do. In his "*The Descent of Man*" (1874) he was quite specific:

"At some future period, not very distant as measured by centuries, the civilized races will almost certainly exterminate, replace, the savage races throughout the world...the break between man and his nearest allies will

then be wider, for it will intervene between man in a more civilized state, as we may hope, even than the Caucasian, and some ape as low as a baboon, instead of as now between the negro or Australian (aborigine) and the gorilla."

I think the meaning is clear.

In view of this type of thinking I find it nauseating to read the plaudits about Darwin in this anniversary year. And, as with so much in awfulness these days, Cork, I am sorry to say, can lead the way. On 13th February, the *Irish Examiner* published a piece called "*Easy hero of our species as likeable as he was brilliant*" where we are told in gushing terms that: "...he was a humane, gentle, decent man, a loving husband and father, and a loyal friend. Judging by his letters, he was also sometimes quite funny. He was, in other words, one of those rare beings, as likeable as he was impressive."

Give me a break!

Joe Keenan

A Reply to John Martin

Religion And The Descent Of Darwin

It might indeed be the case that, as John Martin puts it, science and religion are "*separate areas of human life*". Pretty much all of human life consists of separate areas of things, which somehow find themselves all jumbled up and mixed together in the higgledy piggledy mess of a thing that human life actually is. So it would probably be just as accurate to say that science and religion are different aspects of human life that overlap and intermingle and all in all are just human, all too human.

Generally speaking, the problems which science and religion address, the questions which they seek to answer, are quite distinct. Science is not for the most part interested in the ultimate questions of life, its origins and purposes and how it should best be lived. Religion as a general rule is interested in little else.

But then, in the higgledy piggledy mess that is human life, there are the, for lack of a better term, "*things that people start getting busy about at institutions of higher learning that would like to be sciences and call themselves sciences but aren't really sciences at all*". Things like economics and psychology and sociology and even history (and

politics!!!). And the great granddaddy of all those things which aspire to the name, but none of the rigorous methodology, of science is Darwinism.

Darwinism is where science, pseudo-science, religion and weird occult practices—all things which would in the best of all possible or even probable worlds most decidedly be "*separate areas of human life*"—meet and perform the intellectual equivalent of exchanging intimate bodily fluids.

Not to drag this on too long, nor to put too fine a point on it, Darwinism is the religion of the progressive movement that stands on the Left at the heart of all that is coldest and most inhuman in England's more recent centuries of attempted world domination. It is a very significant part of the cultural cement which binds the ruling class(es) of Ameranglia in a common endeavour.

Religion is not at all too strong a word for the Darwinist movement which seeks to explain the human world in terms of meanings and purposes imposed on it by an external force which realizes itself in that world through the ritual activity of its believers. In Darwin's teleology the world exists for an overwhelming purpose, which purpose is the destiny of the English Race.

A contributor who opened a debate on Darwinism in a magazine I used to edit called *The Heresiarch* refused to respond to an article in which I quoted Darwin at very great length. This was not a proper thing to have done (I didn't understand at the time but it may in fact have been blasphemous). Darwin it appears should only be paraphrased. The debate, such as it was, concluded at that point. Nonetheless, at the risk of offending the religious susceptibilities of Darwinists, what follows is Darwin entirely in his own write:

"The remarkable success of the English as colonists, compared to other European nations, has been ascribed to their "daring and persistent energy"; a result which is well illustrated by comparing the progress of the Canadians of English and French extraction; but who can say how the English gained their energy? There is apparently much truth in the belief that the wonderful progress of the United States, as well as the character of the people, are the results of natural selection; for the more energetic, restless, and courageous men from all parts of Europe have emigrated during the last ten or twelve generations to that great country, and have there succeeded best. Looking to the distant future, I do not think that the Rev. Mr. Zincke takes an exaggerated view when he says: "All other series of events—as that which resulted in the culture of mind in Greece, and that which resulted in the

empire of Rome—only appear to have purpose and value when viewed in connection with, or rather as subsidiary to... the great stream of Anglo-Saxon emigration to the west." Obscure as is the problem of the advance of civilisation, we can at least see that a nation which produced during a lengthened period the greatest number of highly intellectual, energetic, brave, patriotic, and benevolent men, would generally prevail over less favoured nations" (from Chapter V of *The Descent Of Man, On the Development of the Intellectual and Moral Faculties*)

"At some future period, not very distant as measured by centuries, the civilised races of man will almost certainly exterminate, and replace, the savage races throughout the world. At the same time the anthropomorphous apes, as Professor Schaaffhausen has remarked, will no doubt be exterminated. The break between man and his nearest allies will then be wider, for it will intervene between man in a more civilised state, as we may hope, even than the Caucasian, and some ape as low as a baboon, instead of as now between the negro or Australian and the gorilla" (from Chapter VI of *The Descent Of Man, On the Affinities and Genealogy of Man*)

"When civilised nations come into contact with barbarians the struggle is short, except where a deadly climate gives its aid to the native race. Of the causes which lead to the victory of civilised nations, some are plain and simple, others complex and obscure. We can see that the cultivation of the land will be fatal in many ways to savages, for they cannot, or will not, change their habits. New diseases and vices have in some cases proved highly destructive; and it appears that a new disease often causes much death, until those who are most susceptible to its destructive influence are gradually weeded out; and so it may be with the evil effects from spirituous liquors, as well as with the unconquerably strong taste for them shewn by so many savages. It further appears, mysterious as is the fact, that the first meeting of distinct and separated people generates disease. Mr. Sproat, who in Vancouver Island closely attended to the subject of extinction, believed that changed habits of life, consequent on the advent of Europeans, induces much ill health. He lays, also, great stress on the apparently trifling cause that the natives become "bewildered and dull by the new life around them; they lose the motives for exertion, and get no new ones in their place"...

"...When Tasmania was first colonised the natives were roughly estimated by some at 7000 and by others at 20,000. Their number was soon greatly reduced, chiefly by fighting with the

English and with each other. After the famous hunt by all the colonists, when the remaining natives delivered themselves up to the government, they consisted only of 120 individuals, who were in 1832 transported to Flinders Island. This island, situated between Tasmania and Australia, is forty miles long, and from twelve to eighteen miles broad: it seems healthy, and the natives were well treated. Nevertheless, they suffered greatly in health. In 1834 they consisted (Bonwick, p. 250) of forty-seven adult males, forty-eight adult females, and sixteen children, or in all of 111 souls. In 1835 only one hundred were left. As they continued rapidly to decrease, and as they themselves thought that they should not perish so quickly elsewhere, they were removed in 1847 to Oyster Cove in the southern part of Tasmania. They then consisted (Dec. 20th, 1847) of fourteen men, twenty-two women and ten children. But the change of site did no good. Disease and death still pursued them, and in 1864 one man (who died in 1869), and three elderly women alone survived. The infertility of the women is even a more remarkable fact than the liability of all to ill-health and death. At the time when only nine women were left at Oyster Cove, they told Mr. Bonwick (p. 386), that only two had ever borne children: and these two had together produced only three children! ...

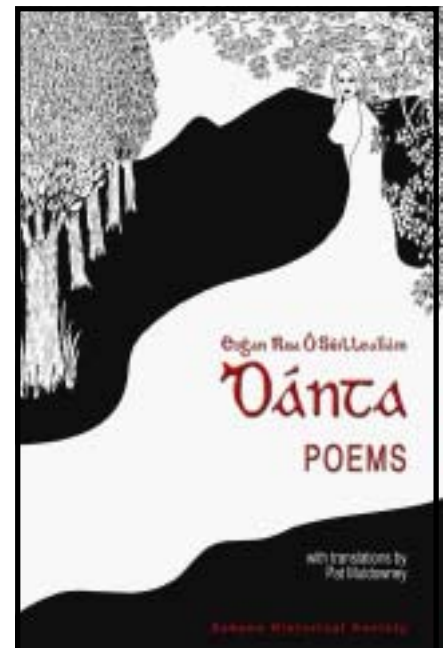
"...The cases which I have here given all relate to aborigines, who have been subjected to new conditions as the result of the immigration of civilised men. But sterility and ill-health would probably follow, if savages were compelled by any cause, such as the inroad of a conquering tribe, to desert their homes and to change their habits. It is an interesting circumstance that the chief check to wild animals becoming domesticated, which implies the power of their breeding freely when first captured, and one chief check to wild men, when brought into contact with civilisation, surviving to form a civilised race, is the same, namely, sterility from changed conditions of life.

"Finally, although the gradual decrease and ultimate extinction of the races of man is a highly complex problem, depending on many causes which differ in different places and at different times; it is the same problem as that presented by the extinction of one of the higher animals—of the fossil horse, for instance, which disappeared from South America, soon afterwards to be replaced, within the same districts, by countless troupes of the Spanish horse. The New Zealander seems conscious of this parallelism, for he compares his future fate with that of the native rat now almost exterminated by the European rat. Though the difficulty is great to our imagination, and really great, if we wish to ascertain

the precise causes and their manner of action, it ought not to be so to our reason, as long as we keep steadily in mind that the increase of each species and each race is constantly checked in various ways; so that if any new check, even a slight one, be superadded, the race will surely decrease in number; and decreasing numbers will sooner or later lead to extinction; the end, in most cases, being promptly determined by the inroads of conquering tribes" (from Chapter VII of *The Descent Of Man, On the Races of Man*)"

I hope that is sufficient to make the point that Darwinism is not about knowledge or understanding of the world but rather is an intervention in the world to realise the world's great purpose, the supremacy of the English Race. Insofar as it is a science it is a science of genocide. As a religion it seeks to inspire the moral fervour that the scientific work of extermination requires. As a science it . . .

Well . . . at this point words fail me. *The Heresiarch* debate on Darwinism can be found online at <<http://heresiarch.org/darwin/darwinindex.php>>. Should any Darwinist wish to take up the assertions of the introduction to this quotation from *The Descent Of Man*, I suspect the pages of *Church & State* will remain open to that Darwinian purpose at least.



Book Launch by Pádraig Ó Fiannachta

Friday, 7th August, 7.30 pm

Eoghan Rua Ó Súilleabháin
DÁNTA/Poems

MALTON HOTEL, KILLARNEY

Lest We Forget, No. 5

Lest We Forget No. 4 in the last issue featured Britain's *Operation Progress* to put down the Kenyan independence movement, the *Mau Mau*.

Further reports appear below

Rape, genital mutilation, amputation

—*what did you do in the British Army in Kenya, Paddy Daddy?*

by **Harry Wells**

what/morgan605.html

In Kenya's white minority Legislative Council on 7 May 1953, brutal treatment was urged to put down an uprising by the Kenya Land and Freedom Army, popularly known as the Mau Mau. By May 1953 over 100,000 Kikuyu tribespeople had been deported from their homes and transferred to tribal reserves "a place many of them hardly knew". In addition, transit camps were established without water, food or sanitation, in which thousands languished for months.

The demand was summed up by a Major Keyser:

"The Kikuyu tribe is going to suffer very greatly by the congestion that is going to take place in the reserves, by the lack of food that is going to take place in the reserves, by the amount of strife that is going to take place in the reserves, and all I can say... is that they brought it on themselves and unless they are going to suffer very considerably, they will not see the advantage of putting down this rebellion and of supporting the government."

The rebellion took place after 90% of the 1.5 million Kikuyu took an oath for land and freedom. While the military side of the rebellion was put down by 1954, it took another six years of brutality to put down the 1,000,000 Kikuyu who remained defiant. After that, Britain thought Kenya ready for independence.

Caroline Elkins in *Imperial Reckoning—the Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya* mentions... a few [perpetrators] who sound almost Irish, though I don't know how keen most Irish people would be to claim them. For instance there is the Kenyan Minister for Defense, Jack Cusack, who said approvingly of forced labour gangs: "We are slave traders and the employment of our slaves are, in this instance, by the Public Works Department".

The tribal reserves became saturated by the deportations, leading a District Commissioner, Desmond O'Hagan, to plead for a halt, a "temporary" one. He estimated that 20-30,000 had been returned to each Kikuyu district: "It is certain that the native land cannot absorb all those who have returned."

Then there is the systematic torture in the prison camps, that held thousands. This involved castration as well as amputation, together with systematic beatings of one kind or another. It went on for years and is summarised well at:

<http://www.smokebox.net/archives/>

Here is a section partly on a definite Irishman **Terence Gavaghan**, still alive and in London apparently:

"Monkey Johnson brought in one Terence Gavaghan, a young district officer to work with Cowan. They implemented the Dilution Technique as part of a more calculated effort called "Operation Progress" at the camp in Mwea. Gavaghan, an Irish Kenyan settler, was nicknamed "Karuga Ndua" (Big Trouble) by the detainees. Here's Gavaghan's own description of Operation Progress at work: "A dozen or so men in their twenties and thirties were half running at the level bent-knee gait of rickshaw pullers following an elliptical path in single file around the hump in the grass. They carried galvanized iron buckets filled with mud and stones on woven grass circlets placed on their shaven heads, gripped at the rim by each hand in turn, or by both if the bucket started to slip. They were expressionless and made no attempt to cast down their buckets or run out of the ring in which they were enclosed. This was a long practiced form of punishment know as 'bucket fatigue'. It was visually brutal and degrading but was held to be both necessary and effective." Another survivor recalls the Big Troublemaker as "yelling at us as we hung by our feet to confess." Mwea indeed lived up to its reputation as "hell on earth."

"Caroline Elkins tells of Monkey Johnson visiting Terence Gavaghan in 1957, when he was hospitalized after a squash-playing accident at a whites-only hotel, and giving him a copy of Phillip Mason's "The Men Who Ruled India" as a get-well gift. *Operation Progress*, by its relentless enforcement, either killed prisoners or exacted their retractions as rebels. The authorities, much like the ones we have today, debated the parameters of the sadism they had unleashed by differentiating between "compelling force" and "punitive force." After all, Evelyn Baring himself had issued the "Governor's Directive on Beating Up" back in 1953. If all of this has a familiar ring to it, it's because this process of double-speak, legalistic mumbo-jumbo and downright lying was not invented a little over a year ago, when the Iraq prison scandal made headlines worldwide. *Operation Progress* marked the

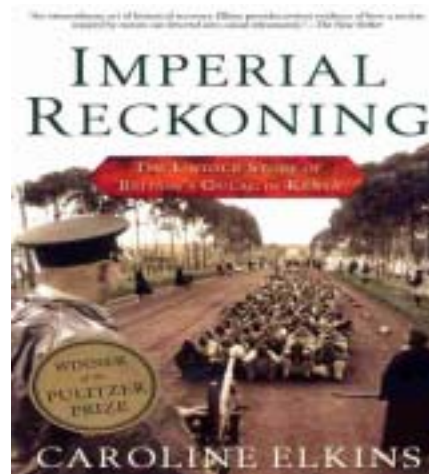
beginning of the end of the Mau Mau resistance.

"The British sought not to restore the old order necessarily, but rather to develop a new one which supported their long-term interests, one that could be perceived as different, but in fact had many of the same base characteristics and features of its predecessor. The immediate goal of the British was to break the back of the Mau Mau insurgency, fostering the belief amongst Africans that the pursuit of revolution was a doomed enterprise. Thus the brutality of the incarceration and screening processes, which were designed to spread fear and doubt amongst would-be Mau Mau adherents and to coerce those captured and already on the Mau Mau side to renege on their allegiances."

... Elkins makes the interesting point that Gavaghan's "ethnic background" might have made him "someone who, in an embarrassing situation, could be sacrificed". This made him the "perfect person" to spearhead the torture regime in Kenya. The British don't do torture, foreigners do it, on their behalf if necessary

Read:

Imperial Reckoning, by Caroline Elkins, Henry Holt and Company, 2005



(The Well, Well, Well Foundation Sat Oct 04, 2008) <http://72.232.163.18/article/89339#comment237055>

[Tim O'Sullivan has drawn our attention to Johann Hari's article in the *Independent* of 29th May, extracts from which appear below:]

"We owe it to do right by the Kenyan victims of British brutality

In a few weeks, a group of quiet, dignified elderly men and women will arrive in London to explain how the forces of the British state crushed their testicles or breasts with pliers. It was part of a deliberate policy of breaking a civilian

population who we regarded as "baboons", "barbarians" and "terrorists".

They will come bearing the story of how Britain invaded a country, stole its land, and imprisoned an entire civilian population in detention camps—and they ask only for justice, after all this time.

As a small symbol of how we as a country have not come to terms with our history, compare the bemused reaction to the arrival of these Kenyan survivors of Britain's gulags to the recent campaign supporting the Gurkhas. We have all waxed lyrical over the Nepalese soldiers who were, for two centuries, hired by the British Empire to fight its battles...

The British arrived in Kenya in the 1880s, at a time when our economic dominance was waning and new colonies were needed. The Colonial Office sent in waves of white settlers to seize the land from the local "apes" and mark it with the Union Jack. Francis Hall was the officer of the East India Company tasked with mounting armed raids against the Kikuyu—the most populous local tribe—to break their resistance. He said: "*There is only one way of improving the [Kikuyu] and that is to wipe them out; I would only be too delighted to do so but we have to depend on them for food supplies*".

The British troops stole more than 60,000 acres from the Kikuyu, and renamed the area "*the White Highlands*". But the white settlers were aristocratic dilettantes with little experience of farming, and they were soon outraged to discover that the "*primitives*" were growing food far more efficiently on the reserves into which they had been driven. So they forced the local black population to work "*their*" land, and passed a law banning local Africans from independently growing the most profitable cash crops—tea, coffee, and sisal.

The people of Kenya objected, and tried to repel the invaders. They called for *ithaka na wiyathi*—land and freedom. After peaceful protests were met with violence, they formed a group, dubbed the Mau Mau, to stop the suppression any way they could. They started killing the leaders appointed by the British, and some of the settlers too. As a result, the London press described them as "*evil savages*" and "*terrorists*" who were motivated by hatred of Christianity and civilisation. They had been "*brainwashed*" by "*Mau Mau cult leaders*", the reports shrieked. The 1.5 million Kikuyu overwhelmingly supported the Mau Mau and independence—so the British declared war on them all. A state of emergency was announced, and it began with forced removals of all Kikuyu. Anybody living outside the reserves—in any of the cities, for example—was rounded up at gunpoint, packed into lorries, and sent to "*transit camps*". There, they were "*screened*" to see if they were Mau Mau supporters. One of the people locked up this way for months was Barack Obama's grandfather.

Professor Caroline Elkins, who studied

the detention camps for five years for her remarkable book *Britain's Gulag: The Brutal End of Empire in Kenya*, explains the tactics adopted by the British to snuff out Mau Mau. "*Electric shock was widely used, as well as cigarettes and fire*", she writes. "*Bottles (often broken), gun barrels, knives, snakes, vermin and hot eggs were thrust up men's rectums and women's vaginas*". "*The screening teams whipped, shot, burned, and mutilated Mau Mau suspects*".

The people judged to be guilty of Mau Mau sympathies were transferred to torture camps. There, each detainee was given a number which they had to wear on a band on their wrist. They were then stripped naked and sent through a cattle dip, before the torture would begin again. "*Detainees were frog-marched around the compound and beaten until blood ran from their ears*", Elkins writes.

The Kikuyu survivor Pascasio Macharia describes some of the tortures he witnessed:

"The askaris [guards] brought in fire buckets full of water, and the detainees were called one by one, [my friend] Peterson first. The askaris then put his head in the bucket of water and lifted his legs high in the air so he was upside down. That's when [one of the camp commandants] started cramming sand in Peterson's anus and stuffed it in with a stick. The other askari would put water in, and then more sand. They kept doing this back and forth ... Eventually they finished with Peterson and carried him off, only to start on the next detainee in the compound."

Another favoured torment was to roll a man in barbed wire and kick him around until he bled to death. Typhoid, dysentery and lice scythed through the population. Castration was common. At least 80,000 people were locked away and subjected to torture like this.

When I reported from Kenya earlier this year, I met elderly people who still shake with fear as they talk about the gulags. William Baldwin, a British member of the Kenya Police Reserve, wrote a memoir in which he cheerfully admits to murdering Kikuyu "*baboons*" in cold blood. He bragged about how he gutted them with knives while other suspects watched. Another British officer, Tony Cross, proudly called their tactics "*Gestapo stuff*". For the civilians outside, life was only slightly better. Women and children were trapped in 800 "*sealed villages*" throughout the countryside. They were surrounded by barbed wire and armed guards, and forced at gunpoint to dig trenches that sealed them off from the world.

There was always another, honourable Britain that fought against these crimes. The Labour left—especially Barbara Castle and Nye Bevan—fought for the camps to be exposed and shut. They didn't succeed until the British imperialists were finally forced to scuttle away from the country entirely. We will never know how

many people they murdered, because the colonial administration built a bonfire of all the paperwork on their way out the door. Elkins calculates it is far more than the 11,000 claimed by the British Government, and could be as many as 300,000.

Yet in Britain today, there is a blood-encrusted blank spot about Empire. On the reality show *The Apprentice*, the contestants recently had to pick a name for their team, and they said they wanted "*something that represented the best of British*"—so they settled on "*Empire*". Nobody objected. Imagine young Germans blithely naming a team "*Reich*": it's unthinkable, because they have had to study what their fathers and grandfathers did, and expunge these barbarous instincts from their national DNA.

This failure to absorb the lessons of Empire is not only unjust to the victims; it leads us to repeat horrifying mistakes. Today, we are—with the Americans—using unmanned drones to bomb the Pakistan-Afghan borderland, as we did a few years ago in Iraq. Nobody here seems to remember that the British invented aerial counter-insurgency in this very spot—with disastrous consequences.

In 1924, Arthur "Bomber" Harris bragged that all rebellion could be stopped with this tactic. We have shown them, "*what real bombing means, in casualties and damage: they know that within 45 minutes, a full-sized village can be practically wiped out and a third of its inhabitants killed*", he said. Yet instead of "*pacifying*" them, it radically alienated the population and led to an uprising. If we knew our history, we would not be running the same script and expecting a different ending.

Gordon Brown said last year (in India, of all places) that "*the days of Britain having to apologise for its colonial history are over*". The survivors of England's blanked-out torture camps are entitled to ask: when did we start?

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<http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/commentators/johann-hari/johann-hari-we-owe-it-to-do-right-by-the-kenyan-victims-of-british-brutality-1692507.html>

UK Sued Over Kenyan Atrocities

British war crimes in Africa have occurred so recently that the victims are still around. The BBC website reports: *Kenyan Mau Mau Veterans To Sue UK*:

"Veterans of Kenya's independence struggle are launching a compensation claim against the UK for alleged atrocities by the British army.

Lawyers for Mau Mau veterans said they had documented 40 cases of torture, including castration, sexual abuse and unlawful detention.

...The UK government has said the claim is invalid because of the time that had lapsed since the alleged abuses.

...The case is being brought by the Mau Mau War Veterans' Association and

the Kenya Human Rights Commission through London law firm Leigh Day & Co.

...It is not the first compensation claim brought by Kenya's former independence fighters against the British government.

Tom Kagwe, deputy executive director of the Kenya Human Rights Commission, told Sunday's news conference in the Kenyan capital: "The actual number of Kenyans who suffered this barbaric treatment at the hands of British officers in fact runs into the thousands."

Historians say the Mau Mau movement helped Kenya achieve independence in 1963.

It started in the European-owned farmlands in the Kenyan highlands in 1952.

Mau Mau fighters launched attacks on white settlers, spreading terror through the white farming community.

The Kenya Human Rights Commission has said 90,000 Kenyans were executed, tortured or maimed during the crackdown, and 160,000 were detained in appalling conditions" (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8043442.stm>).

A Comment

It is remarkable that legal action didn't happen before now. But all the Western noise about Human Rights must have encouraged those whose cases had been forgotten.

British authorities saying "*the claim is invalid because of the time that had lapsed since the alleged abuses*" makes no sense, given that Nazi actions against Jews are still being prosecuted for as long as anyone involved can be found still alive.

The BBC also leaves out the main point—the extremely small number of white victims. The Wikipedia says "*The official number of European settlers killed was 32*".

Also the official number of Kenyans killed was estimated at 11,503 by British sources, but David Anderson places the actual number at higher than 20,000, but this again appears too low. Professor Caroline Elkins of Harvard University, whose study of the revolt *Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya* won the Pulitzer Prize in 2006, claims "*it is probably at least as high as 70,000 but more realistically it in the hundreds of thousands*". However, there have been attempts to talk down Elkins' methodology by a letter-writer in the *New York Review of Books* and *London Review of Books*, David Elstein. Elstein contends that Professor Elkins' figures are derived from an idiosyncratic reading of census figures and a tendentious interpretation of the fortified village scheme. More recently, the demographer John Blacker, in an article in *African Affairs*, has estimated the total number of African deaths at around 50,000; half were children under 10.

Blacker's article (April 2007 *Journal of African Affairs*) attempts to rebut Elkins' finding that up to 300,000 Kikuyu were "unaccounted for" at the 1962 census,

judged by comparative population growth rates for other ethnic groups since the previous 1958 census. Analysing census data, he alleges that there is no significant gap in the adult age-sex pyramids demographers use. However, Blacker was closely involved in the Kenyan censuses both before and after independence, so his objectivity can be questioned.

In estimating 50,000 "excess" deaths during the Emergency, he reveals that 26,000 were children under the age of 10. He surmises that a rise of about 20% in the Kikuyu infant mortality rate in this period (which still left that rate much lower than that for some comparable groups, like the Luo) was due to malnutrition and faster

spread of disease in the 'protected villages'—over 1 million Kikuyu were forced into these villages: this cut off the guerillas from potential civilian support, but inevitably intensified the food shortages that the fighting caused.

Whether or not those bringing court cases win some compensation, there still remains the underlying glaring injustice: the theft of African land. The torture was applied in order that settlers could hold on to that land and the country remain under British tutelage. It took many generations of struggle for Ireland to take back the land from those who usurped it: will things be any better in Africa?

Pat Maloney

Scottish Nationalism And The Catholics

"The Catholic section of the Scottish working class were held to Labour by a conviction that the Scottish national movement was essentially Protestant. Alec Salmond's influence has eroded that conviction.

"By doing so, he has made the SNP a party that is capable of governing, and of becoming in the fullest sense the national party of Scotland." (*Labour & Trade Union Review*. Glasgow by-election. Sept. 2008).

Catholic Threat To Scotland

For much of the 1920s and well into the 1930s, the Church of Scotland warned people of the 'menace' posed to the country by Irish immigrants and demanded that they be 'repatriated' to Ireland. It was a dark and extraordinary episode in the history of the Church of Scotland (Presbyterian) and has not been forgotten by many older Catholics.

"The key document is a report published by the Church of Scotland in 1923 entitled *Irish Immigration and the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918*. 'Already there is a bitter feeling among the Scottish working classes against the Irish intruders,' the report declares. 'As the latter increase and the Scottish people realize the seriousness of the menace to their own racial supremacy in their native land, this bitterness will develop into a race antagonism which will have disastrous consequences for Scotland . . . Even now the Irish population exercise a profound influence on the direction and development of our Scottish civilization. Their gift of speech, their aptitude for public life, their restless ambition to rule have given them a prominent place in political, county, municipal and parochial elections . . . An Irishman never hesitates to seek relief from charity organisations and local authorities.'" (George Rosie. *Curious*

Scotland : Tales from a Hidden History, Granta Books, 2004, p.197).

"The Kirk's report concludes that God himself had 'placed the people of this world in families and history, which is the narrative of His providence, tells us that when kingdoms are divided against themselves they cannot stand. The nations that are homogeneous in faith and ideals, that have maintained the unity of race, have been ever the most prosperous, and to them the Almighty has committed the highest tasks, and has granted the largest measure of success in achieving them.'

"What is truly extraordinary about them today is that they were not the ramblings of a few moorland bigots or Orange extremists. The paper came from the heart of Scotland's ecclesiastical establishment. It was signed by forty leading churchmen of the day including the Moderator of the Church of Scotland. No fewer than twenty-nine of the signatories were Kirk ministers, four of them professors and eight of them doctors of divinity. Of the eleven laymen who endorsed it, two were MPs (James Brown and John Macleod), four were lawyers, and two were peers of the realm (Lord Salvesen and Lord Sands)..." (Rosie).

General Assembly, 1923

The report below is from the debate on the subject held during the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (Presbyterian) in 1923.

"The Rev. William Main, Edinburgh, presented the report of the Committee to consider overtures from the Presbytery of Glasgow and from the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr on Irish Immigration and the Education (Scotland) Act 1918. The report, he should say, was the work of the Rev. Duncan Cameron, Kilsyth. As a result of their inquiries they had found that the fears and anxieties expressed at last General Assembly were well grounded. It was not possible to

prove that their facts and statements were either inaccurate or exaggerated in any way. The Irish population in Scotland during the past forty years had doubled itself, and in the last twenty years the increase of the Irish population was six and a half times as great as that of the Scottish population. This was not because of the greater fertility of the Irish race. It was not a matter of the birth-rate at all; but for the most part, if not entirely, it was due to the emigration from Ireland, and as the Irish settled in an area the Scots departed from it. The two races could not fuse. The political influence of the immigration was seen already in the West. It was very largely due to that fact that they had in the House of Commons at the present time men who were supposed to represent constituencies in Glasgow and the west, but who did not represent them really. (Applause).

"They had been elected members of Parliament by the fact that they had this enormous Irish Roman Catholic population in these areas. Hence the type of men sent from these areas to Parliament, bringing disgrace and scandal into the House of Commons. (Applause).

"He was not afraid of proselytism by the Roman Catholic priests, but increased Roman Catholic populations brought with them a certain power, and in educational, municipal, and Parliamentary elections they held the balance. It was very easy to state the problem, but much more difficult to solve it. He thought, however, they had adduced a sufficient number of facts and figures to warrant the General Assembly calling upon the Government to institute an inquiry into the condition of matters, which, to say the least of it, was a menace to their Scottish nationality. (Applause).

"Touching on the second part of the report Mr. Main said what had happened under the Education Act of 1918 in the Roman Catholic schools which had been transferred to the Education Authorities throughout the land was that they were just the same as they were when they were under the full direct control of the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church. In name they were national schools. In reality they remained Catholic. Religious instruction and religious observation could go on all day, while according to the Act of 1872 religious instruction must be given at the beginning or at the end of the school period. They should call on the Government to amend the Act so that the right to impart religious instruction should be accorded to all public schools as was accorded in transferred schools. He moved approval of the deliverance.

"The Rev. Duncan Cameron, Kilsyth, seconded. Under present conditions, he said, there was a great danger that the Scottish nationality would be imperilled and Scottish civilization subverted. He quoted official figures which showed that in 1920 the number of Scottish people leaving the Clyde for other parts was

24,179, while the number of Irishmen leaving was 341; in 1921 Scots were 20,810 and Irish 296; and in 1922, the respective numbers were 22,427 and 219. On the other hand, if they went to the clerk of the Parish Council in Glasgow they would hear that of the total numbers applying for the 'dole' last year not fewer than between 60 and 70 per cent were Irish, though the proportion of Irish in Glasgow to the total population was between 25 and 30 per cent. Charity organisations would also tell them that no less than 70 per cent of the applicants for relief were of Irish origin.

"It was time that the people of Scotland realized the situation. The complexion and the spirit of our Scottish civilization were being altered by a large alien race in our midst, people of different ideals and faith and blood. Professor Phillimore had written that within a generation the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland would be more predominant than in the Eastern States of America—which implied that the power of that Church in the Eastern States was so great that it was impossible for any politician to do anything that might be remotely antagonistic to its people. The time might come when political parties would not touch this question, when men in positions of public authority and power would be afraid to speak, to see this land passing into strange hands. (Applause).

"The Rev. Dr. White, Glasgow, remarked that the problem was very difficult, but it was also very urgent. That was specially felt in the West. The question was not one between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism; it was a question of how to safeguard the Scottish nationality. Our civilization differed from that of those immigrants; the spirit of our institutions was widely different. The problem was how to regulate the incoming of those new forces from Ireland, Italy, and Jewry so as to be a strength and not a menace—how to fuse those heterogeneous elements into one essential whole so that they should be Scottish and not foreign. The need was for regulation of emigration, as every other nation did. (Applause).

"The main purpose of the report was to bring before the community and the attention of statesmen an urgent problem which called for solutions...

"The Rev. G. W. Mackay, Killin, suggested that it was exceedingly dangerous to use the word 'alien' in this connection. Were the great majority of the English an alien race? Was the great mass of Protestants in Ulster an alien race? ('No'). He agreed that immigration should be regulated, and that it was in a wise, statesmanlike regulation that to a large extent a solution to this problem lay. He deprecated Mr. Main's reference to the Labour members in Glasgow. (Hear, hear.)" (*Scotland: The Autobiography*, Rosemary Goring, Viking, 2007).

"The *Irish Immigration* report was the

starting point for a sixteen-year-long campaign against Scotland's population of Irish-descended Roman Catholics. They were a people who, the Kirk warned, 'cannot be assimilated and absorbed into the Scottish race'. It exacerbated decades of bad feeling between working-class Scots of different denominations with an agenda that was nothing if not ambitious: to stop immigration from Ireland; to 'repatriate' Irish paupers, cripples, lunatics and convicts; to scrap the Education Act of 1918 which set up state-funded Roman Catholic schools; to reserve jobs in Scotland for members of the 'Scottish race'. Everything was to be done to 'secure to future generations the traditions, ideals and Faith of a great people, unspoiled and inviolate'..." (Rosie).

George Rosie interviewed two historians on the question as to how the Church of Scotland found itself in such a reactionary position: Stewart Brown, Professor of Church History at New College in Edinburgh (and an American) believed that the explanation had many strands.

"According to Professor Brown, 'Some of it was traditional anti-Catholicism, which had been part of Scottish thinking since the Reformation. Some of it was a reaction to the Irish immigration into Scotland in the late nineteenth century. Some of it was fear. The Roman Church was in better shape than it had been for centuries. Protestants everywhere were worried by the hard-line, Rome-centred Catholicism that came out of the First Vatican Council in 1870.'

Owen Dudley Edwards

However, Mr. Rosie's interview with the second academic was the real eye-opener!

"The Irish historian Owen Dudley Edwards, who has written extensively on nineteenth-century Scotland, argues that to some extent the Irish had themselves to blame. 'Most just *refused* to assimilate into Scottish society,' he told me. 'And they were ruthless when it came to looking out for their own interests. Their Irish priests did everything they could to cut them off from the wider society, to protect their flock from being contaminated by Scots Presbyterianism.'

Owen Dudley Edwards gave a lecture under the auspices of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions in Liberty Hall, Dublin on 10th May 1968, on the occasion of the centenary of the birth of James Connolly.

The outcome of the lecture was a book titled: *The Mind of an Activist, James Connolly* (Gill & Macmillan, 1971).

In the Prefatory Note, he makes a claim to speak "*as a Socialist and as a Catholic*"—if he is either, it is truly incredible that he could ignore the role

played by Irish immigrants in the rise of both the Scottish Labour and Trade Union movement, where many of the staunchest supporters came from that background. As Rosie says:

"There was also a political dimension to the argument. The middle-class and largely conservative (and Conservative) men who ran the Kirk were alarmed by the 1922 General Election that returned twenty-nine Labour MPs from Scotland, some of them Roman Catholics. The Reverend William Main (convenor of the committee that produced the *Irish Immigrant* report) was in no doubt that these new Labour MPs would bring 'scandal and disgrace into the House of Commons'. Some 'commissioners' (that is, delegates) to the 1923 General Assembly questioned the legitimacy of the 1922 election. One Glasgow elder claimed that the west of Scotland was 'so permeated by foreign nationalities' that the results did not reflect 'the opinion of the Scottish people'.

Clergy & Great War

Rosie gives the following explanation for some of the Scottish bitterness about Catholics and Irish people:

"Professor Brown, however, believes that it was the First World War—in which more than 110,000 Scots were killed—that shaped the psyche of the post-war Kirk. 'The Scots had suffered disproportionately in that war.' Brown told me, 'particularly the clergy families. Many of them saw the Easter Rising in Dublin of 1916 as a stab in the back, and that was made worse by the Roman Catholic church's campaign against conscription in 1918. And there had also been a bit of violence in Glasgow, a spillover from the Irish troubles.'" (*ibid.*, p.199).

"Two Kirk ministers became the leading lights of the anti-Irish campaign: the Reverend Doctor John White of the Barony, (Glasgow) and the Reverend Duncan Cameron, minister to a congregation in the town of Kilsyth, a few miles north of Glasgow. Cameron drew loud applause when he warned the General Assembly in 1923 that native Scots were being usurped in their own land 'by a people alien to them in faith, and alien also in blood'.

"The 1923 General Assembly accepted the *Irish Immigration* report and set up a special sub-committee of the influential Church and Nation committee to fight the anti-Irish cause. Cameron, meanwhile, carried his crusade into the Scottish Protestant Congress which was held in Edinburgh later the same year, where he spoke on 'The Menace to Protestantism in Scotland' and wrote a lengthy article for the congress's handbook which argued that unless Irish immigration was curtailed or reversed 'the Scottish race, as the world knew it only to admire and honour it, must pass away'.

World War I

"Of the two men, White was by far the more important, in the view of his hagiographer, Augustus Muir 'the greatest ecclesiastical statesman of his time in Scotland' and 'a philosopher in action' whose favourite text (from Isaiah) was 'For Zion's sake I will not hold my peace'. White was also one of the few men to have twice been elected to the post of Moderator of the Church of Scotland (in 1925 and 1929).

"Nobody could doubt White's pugnacity or his patriotism. At the outset of the war with Germany he startled his congregation by asking God to 'damn the Kaiser'. As a chaplain to the Cameronians (the most self-consciously Presbyterian of Scottish regiments) he was physically brave to the point of recklessness and much admired by the troops for the time he spent among them in the trenches of the Western Front. Both of his sons also served in France and one was killed with the Royal Flying Corps.

"After the war, White became the dominant figure in the Church of Scotland. To him, the Kirk *was* Scotland. 'It is the chief symbol of Scottish nationality,' he preached. 'It has been the chief factor in moulding the national character. It is the oldest institution in the land. It is rooted in the history, in the life, in the very soil of Scotland.' In White's view anything that threatened the Kirk threatened Scotland itself. It was a kind of ecclesiastical nationalism—and an echo of that old longing for a Scottish theocracy (modelled on Calvin's Geneva) that is now almost never heard of.

"White found a staunch ally in Duncan Cameron. Like White, Cameron had been much affected by the war. After the hostilities Cameron wrote two books—*The Muster Roll of the Manse* and *The Kirk's Roll of Honour*—which are simply lists of the sons of the manse who had been killed in the Allied cause. They are simple but genuinely moving documents that demonstrate the carnage that the war wreaked among the clergy families of Scotland.

"The sons of parish ministers were expected to set an example to their communities by enlisting. Because these young men were better educated than most, they became junior officers. The attrition rate among junior officers was especially high. As a result there was hardly a manse in Scotland that did not lose a son. The minister of Bellahouston Church in Glasgow, for example, lost all four of his sons between 1916 and 1918. William Paterson, the Professor of Divinity at New College in Edinburgh, had three sons at the front, two of whom never returned. Paterson was one of the signatories of the *Irish Immigration* report.

"In the year following the General Assembly's acceptance of the report very little happened. Nor was much done

during the term of the short-lived Labour government of 1924-25; White and his colleagues knew that they could expect little from the Socialists. But when the Tory party returned to power the badgering began and in November, 1926, a joint committee, which included representation from the United Free Church and the Free Church, met the Secretary of State for Scotland, John Gilmour. When Gilmour argued that the government did not like to meddle in religious matters, White assured him that the issue was not religious but 'racial' and that the Kirk's concern was for the 'unity and homogeneity of the Scottish people'. Gilmour was polite, but non-committal.

"By then, the Kirk had found a new argument. The U.S.A. had recently cut back on its immigration 'quotas' from Britain and the Irish Free State so the Catholic Irish were 'bound' to flood into Scotland in even greater numbers. Meanwhile much of the reduced British quota would be taken up by ambitious young Scots. To the Kirk, the possibility of this Irish-for-Scots exchange was baleful. The U.S.A. would 'receive with open arms a virile and competent people while Scotland must be content with the redundant population of Ireland which the United States refuses to receive'.

Scottish Tories

"As John White and his allies also had support from within the Scottish end of the Tory party, the government saw that it would have to take them seriously. In July 1928, a meeting was arranged in London between White's joint committee and the Home Secretary, Sir William Joynson-Hicks, and the Scottish Secretary, Sir John Gilmour. To the dismay of the churchmen, His Majesty's Ministers were cool. The Irish Free State, they pointed out, was a Dominion of the British Empire. Immigration from the Dominions into the 'mother country' could not be restricted. His Majesty's Government had been doing its own sums and they did not square with the Kirk's. The Kirk claimed that the Irish were entering Scotland at the rate of 9,000 a year; the government said that the true figure was between 1,000 and 3,000. Not only that, but the percentage of Irish-born people on the welfare rolls had declined from 11.9 per cent in 1907 to 7.6 per cent in 1927. And, according to the Ministry of Labour, of the 3,844 men employed on public works in Scotland in 1927 only 282 (or 7.3 per cent) had been born in the Irish Free State. In effect, the Kirk's case was in tatters.

"In March 1929 the Kirk suffered another blow when the *Glasgow Herald* ran a series of five articles on 'The Irish in Scotland', in which an enterprising reporter slogged his way through primary sources such as the steamship companies' records to find that Irish immigration into Scotland was at a trickle, and that many Irish people (like many Scots) were

in the process of abandoning Scotland for the U.S.A., Canada and Australia. The newspaper decided that the demand for immigration curbs on the Irish could 'no longer be effectively pressed.' A few months later, in July 1929, the Reverend Duncan Cameron died.

"John White was not the man to abandon a war because of battles lost or allies silenced. In 1929, he was appointed the first Moderator of the newly united Church of Scotland and United Free Church (a union that he himself had done much to construct), and quickly made it plain that the 'Irish problem' remained high on his agenda. 'Rome now menaces Scotland as at no other time since the Reformation,' he announced in Dumbarton in January 1930. A few days later he warned that Rome was 'patiently working to secure a grip on every department of the nation's life. We cannot remain inactive when this attack is being made.'

"White found another zealous ally in the Reverend J. Hutchison Cockburn of Dunblane Cathedral. Cockburn was the convenor of the Church and Nation Committee and possibly even more anti-Irish than White.

"Hutchison Cockburn's credibility took a serious knock after he wrote to the Secretary of State for Scotland complaining that the Irish foremen working on the huge public-works project at Peterhead Harbour were hiring only Irish labour. This seemed a clear abuse. But when Scottish Office officials investigated they discovered that not only were there no Irish foremen on the job but that out of the 370 men employed only two were Irish." (*ibid.*)

Once again, the Kirk's grievance was aired during the debate on the King's speech in November, 1932. Again, the racism was overt. The Scots, according to Lord Scone, were being usurped by a 'completely separate race of alien origin, practically homogeneous, whose presence there is bitterly resented.' In the same debate Sir Robert Horne (a former Chancellor of the Exchequer, the MP for Glasgow Hillhead and a university classmate of John White) warned of the hazard of allowing the Irish to hold the balance of power so that 'Scottish Home Rule turned out to be a form of very insidious Irish domination in our politics.' Horne's 1932 speech was an early airing of a notion that has never gone away: 'Home Rule means Rome Rule', a slogan that still plays among working-class Protestants, particularly in the west of Scotland.

Nazi Connection

"In 1931, the campaign took a new twist. The anti-Irish crusade was handed over to a newly-formed body called the Church Interests Committee (CIC) convened by William Curtis, Professor of Biblical Criticism at New College.

One of the CIC's first ploys was to urge the Kirk to join the International League for the Defence and Furtherance of Protestantism (ILDFP), a Nazi-dominated anti-Catholic movement recently formed in Berlin.

"The ILDFP was a creature of the 'German Christian' movement ruled over by the Hitlerite *Reichsbischof* Ludwig Muller. The ILDFP's journal *Protestantische Rundschau* (*Protestant Review*) reported approvingly in 1933 that the Church of Scotland had come to recognise that the *Judenfrage* in Germany had parallels to Scotland's *Irishen Frage*.

"By the mid-1930s many members of the Kirk were beginning to fret over their connections with the German Christian movement, though at the General Assembly in May 1935, Professor William Paterson could still argue that Hitler's regime had done Europe a great service by checking 'the militant atheism associated with continental Communism'.

"The Scottish campaign against the Catholic Irish sputtered on. Brownshirt tactics erupted on the streets of Edinburgh in 1935 with the rise of Councillor John Cormack's Protestant Action movement. Catholic meetings were disrupted, Catholic priests attacked and Catholics were forced to keep all-night vigils to prevent their churches and chapel houses being vandalized and/or burned down.

"When, on 25 June, 1935, a Roman Catholic 'eucharistic congress' was held in the grounds of St. Andrew's priory in Morningside, Edinburgh, an estimated 10,000 demonstrators turned out to harry the participants and throw stones at their buses. The streets of Morningside, the epitome of respectable Edinburgh, had to be cleared by police baton charges. The Kirk's warnings of 'race war' between Scots and the immigrant Irish seemed about to be fulfilled.

"As the 1930s wore on, however, the alarmists began to lose the argument. Even to John White and his colleagues it was becoming plain that the Nazi version of Christianity was subservient to a wicked regime. There were forces darker than labouring gangs from Ulster and Connacht stalking Europe. In 1939, on the eve of the Second World War, the Kirk quietly abandoned its long campaign against Irish Catholics. The hunt, at last, was over. During and after the Second World War the Kirk went into reverse and on most social issues (housing, health, home rule, etc.) moved somewhere to the left of the Labour Party it had once feared.

"The Kirk's campaign had a powerful political effect that still resonates, but is slowly dying out. It gave Roman Catholics good reason to suspect Scottish nationalism while, paradoxically, it lodged in the Protestant mind the suspicion that 'Home Rule Means Rome Rule'. (George Rosie).

Ulster Presbyterians

In the Scottish Presbyterian campaign, great emphasis was laid on the threat facing the West of Scotland from Irish immigrants. There's a historical

irony here in that the majority of those who arrived as part of the Ulster Plantation from 1603 came predominately from the South-West of Scotland and established Presbyterianism on a firm organisational basis in the 1650s under the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell.

"They were the more anxious because, if Protestant Scotland as a whole was not militantly Presbyterian, particular areas undoubtedly were . . . The area in which Presbyterianism was strongest was the south-west—Ayr, Galloway, Kirkcudbrightshire, Dumfriesshire—the area facing the north of Ireland." (*Ulster Presbyterianism: The Historical Perspective* 1610, 1970, Peter Brooke, Athol Books).

For Scottish planters, Ulster was also easy to get to—just a three hour boat trip from Portpatrick in Scotland to Donaghadee, Co. Down.

John Knox and John Calvin

The Church of Scotland is the established national church for Scotland. Founded by John Knox in 1557, Scotland came under the influence of Calvinism. Parliament abolished the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic church in 1560 and established (1592) Presbyterianism.

A Presbyterian Church was finally ensured by the Act of Settlement (1690) and the Union (1707) of England and Scotland.

In a dispute over patronage and state interference, Thomas Chalmers led a secession in 1843 and formed the Free Church of Scotland. This Church merged in 1900 with the United Presbyterian Church to form the United Free Church of Scotland. In 1929, most of this body rejoined the Church of Scotland.

Calvinism emphasises the doctrine of predestination, holding that God extends grace and grants salvation only to the chosen, or elect. It stresses the literal truth of the bible, and it views the Church as a Christian community in which Christ is head and all members are equal under him. It therefore rejects the episcopal (bishops) form of church government in favour of an organisation in which church officers are elected.

In the 2001 census, the Church of Scotland had 2,146,300 (42.4%) adherents; the Catholic church had 803,700 (15.88%) and the Episcopalians had roughly 50,000 followers.

The population of Scotland is 5,116,000 (2001).

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www.atholbooks.org

John Martin

The *Irish Times* likes to claim continuity in its worldview over the 150 years it has been in existence. And who are we to disagree? This is the first of two articles, delving into the archives.

The Bloody Irish Times

Apart from my own book on *The Irish Times* there have been two recent books on the newspaper. One of them by Dermot James, a former *Irish Times* employee, presents the newspaper as the newspaper itself would like to be seen: as a liberal progressive newspaper at the forefront of change. James's book is entitled *From The Margins To The Centre* but there is very little on how it came in from the margins to occupy the centre. It appears as a seamless progression without any internal conflict.

The other book, by Mark O'Brien, doesn't greatly dissent from this view. But the merit of this book is that there is enough material in it for the discerning reader to come to an entirely different point of view. However, such a reader would want to have his wits about him and have an independent historical perspective. In other words, he would need to be able to distance himself from how *The Irish Times* looks at history.

In an otherwise favourable review of O'Brien's book in the *Irish Political Review* I noted with astonishment O'Brien's comment on Bloody Sunday 1920 which was:

"The events of Bloody Sunday in which Michael Collins squad killed fourteen British agents was described as 'Dublin's most dreadful day since Easter week of 1916'; a country whose capital city could 'be the scene of fourteen callous and cowardly murders, on one Sunday morning had reached the nadir of moral and political degradation'" (page 54).

There is absolutely no mention of the killing by Crown forces of 14 civilians in Croke Park. I wondered if this truncated view of the events of that day was an accurate reflection of *The Irish Times's* coverage or merely an oversight on behalf of the author.

For anyone who is sceptical of the Party line as enunciated by the likes of Fintan O'Toole it will come as no surprise that O'Brien was reflecting accurately *The Irish Times's* ideological position. Although *The Irish Times* noticed that civilians were killed in Croke Park, it certainly did not condemn the killings.

On the day after Bloody Sunday the newspaper reported the two events as

follows:

"Fourteen men, nearly all of whom were military officers or ex-officers, were murdered yesterday morning at their lodgings in private houses or in hotels in the city and suburbs by gangs of armed men—p5.

Yesterday afternoon armed forces of the Crown drove to a football match in Jones's road Dublin. They were fired at, and returned the fire. Nine persons were killed, a woman died from heart failure, and between fifty and sixty persons were wounded—p5 (22.11.20)."

The forces of the Crown were "*murdered*" by "*gangs of armed men*" but the civilians were merely killed. The civilians "*fired at*" the armed forces and then "*nine persons were killed*". Miraculously, in Croke Park the Crown Forces were spared despite being fired on by the crowd. Indeed they also escaped injury despite the fact that between "*fifty and sixty civilians were wounded*".

There is an air of detachment in the reporting of the events of Croke Park. The venue is not even mentioned just the location ("*Jones's road*"). In the report none of the persons killed in Croke park is named except "*one of the Tipperary team named Hogan*". The report mentions that an aeroplane "*appeared over the grounds shortly after the match opened, and flew at a low altitude above the throng*". There is no mention of from where the aeroplane came or whether it was a military aircraft or not. The report says that the crowd was interested in the evolutions of the plane. But given the events of the morning it would have been very understandable if there was an air of menace about such a low flying aircraft.

In summary: the reader of *The Irish Times* would have been aware of something mysterious happening somewhere on the Northside, in Jones's Road. But it was all a bit of a blur. Shots were fired at the Crown forces. People were killed and injured, but only one of them had a name. And then there was that aeroplane. It was all very puzzling.

But there was no such vagueness about the reporting of the "*murder*" of the 14 British agents. The newspaper was supplied with all the details by Dublin Castle. The names and ranks of those killed were faithfully recorded.

Personal details such as whether they were married or engaged were also given. These were not just persons in a crowd, but real human beings.

In case anyone had any doubt about what to think about all this, the editorial of that day was on hand to give the imperialist view. The title of the editorial was *The Dublin Murders* and began:

"Every good Irishman will read with shame and horror the story of wholesale murder which we print this morning. Yesterday was Dublin's most dreadful day since Easter week of 1916. Fourteen persons were done to death, of whom twelve were servants of the Crown. They died, not as all soldiers are ready to die, in a fair fight; but surprised and assassinated in their own houses. They were granted no chance of resistance; some of them were torn from their beds and murdered in the presence of their wives. It is clear that this appalling series of crimes was planned with the utmost deliberation, and that, in addition to the actual murderers, scores of men were accessories to it. All the houses had been marked; the streets were watched and patrolled, an hour was chosen when the victims would be most helpless and unprepared."

So there was an outbreak of crime in the morning. It is unclear as to what the motive of these criminals was, but all of the victims (or at least 12 out of 14 according to the newspaper) were servants of the Crown. But what about the events in Croke Park?

"The authorities believe that a number of the conspirators had come to Dublin from the country under cover of a football match which was played yesterday. After the murders troops and police invaded the football ground, and shots were exchanged with the result that ten persons were killed and many wounded. Thirty revolvers, dropped or thrown away, were found upon the field—lurid light surely on the State to which lawless teachings have reduced our wretched country."

So apparently, what happened in Croke Park was another outbreak of crime. The only difference being that in this case the victims were the criminals whereas in the morning the perpetrators were the guilty ones. The story of the thirty revolvers is a lie from Dublin Castle.

The editorial returned to the theme of the "*murders*". This, of course, refers to the events of the morning since no murders occurred in the afternoon in Croke Park. We are now given some inkling of the "*murderers*" motives:

"The Official theory of the murders is based upon the Executive's increasing success in running political conspiracy to earth. Nearly all the murdered officers had been engaged in the administration

of justice; some had collected evidence, others had prosecuted it."

This is reminiscent of current condemnations of Islamic "terrorism". These "terrorists" are not motivated by opposition to foreign occupation of their country, nor are they motivated by opposition to imperialist aggression. On the contrary, they are opposed to the administration of justice. They are inherently evil and really opposed to everything that all decent people hold true.

But in order for "good" to triumph over "evil" there must be an escalation of oppression by the forces of imperialism. And thus:

"It may be that the assassins hoped, by these desperate deeds of blood, to impede the law and to terrorise its servants. If that was their hope it was, of course, futile. These murders will confirm the Government in its resolve to crush the campaign of crime. They will result, not in less, but in greater and sterner activity by the troops and the police. Of necessity, they will multiply the number of raids and searches and will aggravate existing restrictions on the liberty of the citizen. Moreover, they will harden the temper of the English nation—Englishmen and Scotsmen were murdered yesterday in Dublin—and in the House of Commons will strengthen the Irish Government's case for the need of repressive measures."

It is very interesting that the newspaper refers to Dublin Castle or the British Administration in Ireland as "*the Irish Government*". The prospect of increased oppression is caused by the criminals. And the House of Commons, whose indulgence is almost infinite, will eventually have to accede to the wishes of "*the Irish Government*".

The editorial then makes a futile appeal to the morality of the Irish people. But then, as now, the Irish people fail to measure up to the high moral standards of the newspaper, so the newspaper is forced to support the tried and tested methods of British oppression:

"So much for the policy of assassination from the standpoint of crime and its advocates; what of it from the standpoint of the Irish people? As a whole they hate and fear the campaign of murder. For how much longer will they endure its moral and material injuries? They have seen their country's name dragged in the mire. They have suffered from the increasing insecurity of life and property. Their trade and commerce are threatened with a swift decay. Every new murder puts back the prospect of a sound settlement of Irish affairs. The reign of reason has yielded to the reign of force. The violence of lawlessness can be defeated only by the ordered violence of law; but the present turmoil and the general collapse

of moral standards tend to put violence everywhere above the law. We deplore crime and outrage by whomsoever committed. The mysterious murder of the Reverend Michael Griffin, in County Galway, was as foul a deed as any that was done yesterday in Dublin. The remedy as we have not ceased to urge, is in the Irish people's own hands. The Government can and will detect and punish acts of crime, but only Ireland herself can kill the spirit of crime by banishing the atmosphere in which it thrives. If there is any public opinion in the land, any national instinct of righteousness, any gift of spiritual and political leadership, surely they will assert themselves now. A country whose capital can be the scene of fourteen callous and cowardly murders, on one Sunday morning, has reached the nadir of moral and political degradation. Will Ireland look vainly to her Churches, her newspapers, and her elected bodies in this awful hour?"

On 23rd November 1920 the newspaper reported on an assault of Joe Devlin, the Irish Parliamentary Party MP in the House of Commons:

"Mr Devlin rising began to ask why the Chief Secretary had said nothing about the football match at Croke Park, when there was indiscriminate shouting

....
"Mr Devlin stood his ground glaring at the Chief Secretary when he was noticed to be falling over. A member below him Major Molson had gripped him by the legs and was trying to pull him down."

How did *The Irish Times* with its high moral standards react to such thuggish behaviour by a parliamentarian in its democratic holy of holies?

"It was said, had Mr. Devlin adopted a more sympathetic, or even a more tactful method of approaching the subject of the football match, the same resentment would probably not have been manifested. Many of the members had tears in their eyes while the Chief Secretary was reading his report of the murders. Some of them afterwards declared that the House, as a whole was in no temper to have its feelings treated with scant respect by an Irish member seeking indirectly to make party capital out of the position ...

"When Devlin got up several times we felt almost as if a man were brawling at a funeral."

Yes, there were tears for the servants of the Crown but no tears for the civilians in Croke Park. Some deaths are more important than others and even the mention of the less important deaths is like "*brawling at a funeral*". Irish deaths were less important than British deaths just as Palestinian deaths today are less important than Israeli deaths.

Devlin's *Irish Parliamentary Party*

was the party of John Redmond. Nowadays, *The Irish Times* is trying to rehabilitate Redmond as a stick to beat Irish Republicanism with. But when Redmondism was a living political tendency *The Irish Times* was its implacable foe.

The newspaper's editorial of 23rd November 1920 was entitled *Danger Signal*. It continued with the theme that the "*murders*" in the morning were of such a heinous nature that the mere mention of the "*shootings*"—which were not "*murders*"—in Croke Park was provocation that would test the patience of a saint:

"Yesterday's "scene" in the House of Commons will have a grave significance for all thoughtful Irishmen. Many years have passed since the House has been swept by an impulse of passion at once so menacing and so uncontrollable. It had listened to the account of Sunday's murders in Dublin, and, when Mr. Devlin intervened with a question about the shootings in Croke Park, it refused to hear him. He was howled down and—technically, at least—assaulted. If the speaker had not suspended the sitting, Parliament might have been disgraced by one of those fist fights which had come to be regarded as ancient history. Afterwards the erring member offered an apology which Mr. Devlin accepted, and the incident was closed—but its moral remains. Today the temper of the House of Commons towards this country is the temper of Great Britain. For more than a generation the English people have been consistently well disposed to Ireland. They have been puzzled and disappointed by her refusal to reciprocate their friendship. They have wondered why, as the Prime Minister said in a recent speech, Ireland has been disdainful and distrustful at the very moments when England was most ready to give substantial proofs of her goodwill. Governments have blundered—as with the present partition proposals. Tactless Ministers have rubbed Ireland "the wrong way"; but the mind of England, though it often has cursed the mistakes of its Government and Ministers, never has cursed Irish intractability. It has made a thousand concessions to the strength of our ancient traditions and to those Celtic moods which English men of letters, from Spencer to Matthew Arnold have failed to analyse. It has admitted, with almost extravagant humility, the crimes and blunders of Irish administration in the past."

Here again we see the British Administration in Ireland being described as the "*Irish*" administration. And what a nice way of describing the Land grab of Elizabethan times, the Penal Laws and the ethnic cleansing of the Famine. They

were "*crimes and blunders*", rubbing "*Ireland the wrong way*".

Perhaps the House of Commons was prepared to admit the "*crimes and blunders*" of the past. *The Irish Times* does not give examples of these alleged admissions. But it is indisputable that neither the newspaper nor the House of Commons was prepared to condemn current "*crimes and blunders*". Indeed the mere mention of the killings in Croke Park was ruled completely out of order.

The editorial continued:

"Even the rampant disloyalty of the Republican movement and its intrigues with hostile powers did not break the almost illimitable patience of the English people. The respect with which they treated the late Lord Mayor of Cork's funeral procession in London made the whole of Europe marvel."

Referring to Terence McSwiney was probably imprudent since it might call to mind the murder of his predecessor by the RIC. But then again perhaps the newspaper knew its readership. The rest of the editorial amounts to a threat of the ending of British "*benevolence*" if the Irish did not mend their ways. If they did not denounce the individual perpetrators the guilt would be deemed to be collective:

"A large section of the English Press, while insistent on the punishment of crime, has protested against the reports of reprisals which have reached it from this country. That calm and steady flow of English goodwill has been, and might continue to be, one of Ireland's most precious possessions; but how do we stand today? In her fury driven folly Ireland at last has come very near to the tragic and final loss of it. The story of the brutal murder of fourteen servants of the Crown in their bedrooms has forced the sanest and most equable assembly in the world to "see red". Englishmen understand clean fighting; they make allowances even for the lawless frenzy of the fanatic; but they cannot pardon or excuse the deliberate and wholesale assassination of defenceless men. English and Scottish officers were murdered foully on Sunday morning; and their crime will become fresh again when they are brought for burial among their own people. England knows today that these fourteen murders were planned with cool and elaborate care, that they were utterly pitiless, that scores of Irishmen took part in them or connived at them. Two results will follow. For the time being at any rate, Great Britain's generous almost romantic attitude to Ireland will be laid aside. The whole nation will give the Government a free hand to adopt, if it so decides, extreme measures for the suppression of murder and the protection of the Crown's forces in this country. Furthermore, all Ireland will be as never before, on her defence

before the tribunal of British Public opinion. She will be held guilty of every deed that she has not repudiated, and repudiation by mere words will not suffice. If these murders go unblamed by the mass of Irishmen; if they fail to arouse every moral force in the country to vigorous action, if they do not create a national revolt against the tyranny of blood; we shall have forfeited that which, in a hundred of the empire's wars, hundreds of thousands of Ireland's best sons died to win. Until we have suffered that loss we shall not realise its full tragedy: the blow to our political peace and to our material welfare shall be irreparable. Yesterday's "incident" in the House of Commons was a danger-signal. Ireland will neglect it at her urgent peril."

But the newspaper could not hide from itself the details of the killings in Croke Park. In a report from the Mater Hospital it mentioned some of the criminals who had perished. And this time it gave some personal details:

"William Scott aged 14, bullet wound in the head... James O'Leary aged 10 apparently died from a bayonet".

There is still some of the vagueness ("*apparently died from bayonet*"), but there is certainly no condemnation of the Crown Forces. Indeed the report went on to say that the "*general consensus*" was that the—

"...promoters of the match, in view of the appalling incidents of the morning, should have postponed the match, and thus prevented the assembly of a large crowd".

The following day (24.11.20) the newspaper's report from the House of Commons included the following extract:

"Mr. Kelly wanted to know if a boy of ten had been bayoneted.

Lady Astor: 'that is a terrible thing to say.'

The House approved of her sentiments.

Mr. Kelly: 'At what stage did it become necessary to turn a machine gun on the people.'

Lieutenant Commander Kenworthy: "many eyewitnesses are prepared to swear that no shots were fired at the police"..."

The editorial writer of that day for some reason seemed to grow tired of the outbreak of criminality in Dublin and instead concerned itself with such weighty matters as: the railway strike in South and West of Ireland; International Labour; Cricket in Australia; and Prussian Politeness. But on the 25th November 1920 it was business as usual. The editorial was headed *Law And Order* and began as follows:

"The resolution which Mr. Asquith moved in Parliament yesterday, on

behalf of the Liberal minority and the Labour Party made thirteen lines of print. Five of these denounced the callous and widespread campaign of murder in Ireland. Eight denounced the reprisals which this abominable campaign has provoked and suggested that they could be stopped by methods of pacification. The resolution was curiously unbalanced: but it is something that the Government's critics should admit the existence of the murder conspiracy at all. Hitherto they have ignored it utterly and have condemned reprisals as the outcome of sheer original sin in the King's police and soldiers—a horrible and mysterious example of abiogenesis {a belief that certain micro-organisms had their origin in inanimate matter—JM} in the domain of crime."

Here we have what the distinguished Israeli historian Ilan Pappé calls the false "*paradigm of parity*". But there is no moral requirement for balance between the oppressor and the oppressed; the coloniser and the colonised; or between the aggressor and the victim. And it is noticeable that the people who require balance do not impose such a restriction on themselves. By no stretch of the imagination could *The Irish Times's* reporting of the events of 21st November be considered balanced.

The editorial continued:

"The attitude should not be maintained after the dreadful and elaborately organised murders on Sunday in Dublin. Indeed as Asquith and his friends realised so clearly the effect of those murders on British public opinion that they tried to postpone the debate which they had demanded. They failed and we are glad that they failed. No wise man can support a policy of reprisals on either moral or political grounds. No well informed man can deny that in some cases, under intense provocation, reprisals have been committed. It is impossible however to judge the situation fairly without a full understanding of the aims, methods and actions of the murder campaign, and of all the sinister influences against which the Crown forces in Ireland are upholding life and order. There is an atmosphere in which reprisals cannot exist or be conceived. That is the normal atmosphere of civilised countries. There is another atmosphere in which the friends and defenders of law endure, daily and nightly, the almost intolerable strain of conflict with a subtle, implacable, and conscienceless enemy. That is the atmosphere which, like a miasma, broods today over Ireland. Sir Hamar Greenwood analysed it yesterday in a speech that sets the real Irish problem in true proportion before the world".

The actions of the Republicans are "*murders*", with inevitable negative

moral connotation. The actions of the Crown forces are "reprisals", which may or may not have a negative moral connotation. It is clear that in the context of Ireland in 1920—as opposed to civilised countries—the editorial writer believes that reprisals are justified. The Crown forces have been provoked and—

"The truth is that the Crown's forces are engaged in a deadly battle for the honour and welfare of Ireland and for the safety of the Empire. The murder conspiracy's aim is an Irish Republic which would be a standing menace to the peace of Europe. Its methods are assassination and every other possible form of outrage. It is at war but refuses to recognise the laws of war. It proposes to make Ireland a base for a campaign of crime against Great Britain."

Yes, the concession of a Republic to Ireland would have a domino effect, which would result in the spread of an evil ideology. Similarly, if the Americans had not invaded Iraq in 2003, Sadaam Hussein would have used his weapons of mass destruction to attack Europe. And if Israel had not invaded the Gaza Strip in 2008 the Palestinians would have destroyed Israel.

The editorial continues:

"Sir Hamar Greenwood's quotations from captured correspondence will convince most rational persons of this fact, though they failed to convince Mr. Devlin. In grappling with such a movement the Crown's forces are doing not only a national but an imperial work, and are doing it in circumstances of extreme danger and difficulty. Some reprisals have been committed, and the public opinion of both countries has condemned them. Mr. Asquith and his supporters are fully entitled to condemn them, but they are not entitled to belittle the danger and the provocation. They are not entitled to ignore the fine restraint which the great majority of the police and soldiers have shown when their comrades and officers have been murdered in cold blood. These politicians with their anxiety to bait the Government are approaching the question from the wrong end. We hope sincerely that the Irish Government's discouragement of reprisals will be successful; but would the disappearance of reprisals alone stop the campaign of murder? Of course it would be as ineffective as the offer of Dominion Home Rule which is Mr. Asquith's meaning for pacification."

Conceding to the terrorists will have no effect on their evil campaign: the actions of Imperialism have no effect on the terrorists who are inherently evil. But, on the other hand, if the terrorists cease their murder campaign there would be no need for reprisals. The Editorial goes on to say:

"On the other hand if murder stops,

no vestige or pretence of excuse for reprisals will remain. That was Sir Hamar Greenwood's point, and he hammered it home to the conviction of the House of Commons, which rejected the latter part of Mr. Asquith's resolution. At this moment the Lords' debates on the Partition Bill are merely academic. For the time being, the suppression of murder, and the restoration of law are the beginning and end of the Irish problem."

Furthermore, as George W. and Obama have confirmed, the terrorists must not prevail and the imperialists must continue to make sacrifices:

"The Chief Secretary believes that the 'terror is being broken', and he backed his confidence with substantial proofs. He warned the Commons, however, that it would not be smashed completely without further shame for Ireland and further assassinations of gallant men such as those whose bodies will be borne in honour through the streets of London. Will the Irish people continue to prolong the conflict by that mood of apathy, which the world watches with growing sorrow and anger? For at least three reasons further apathy will be fatal. It will increase the murder movement's toll of blood, for the Government's efforts, unsupported by the people's efforts, will continue to be hampered at every turn. It will increase Ireland's burden of dishonour and material loss, for every new murder is a new blot on her fame and trade and industry must languish until the rule of law has been restored. Finally this appalling apathy will cost us the friendship and goodwill of the English people and the British Empire. Today the House of Commons is wholly out of sympathy with Ireland and arguments based on political conciliation and settlement make no appeal to it. Its sympathies are entirely with the widows and orphans of its loyal servants murdered foully by Irish hands, and it is beginning to feel that a country that can make itself the slave of an unholy terror is not fit for any form of self government. Sir Hamar Greenwood urged Irishmen of all classes and parties to range themselves with the Government against the campaign of murder. He begged the Roman Catholic Church to denounce crime with the same individual and official energy with which it denounced conscription. Ireland's answer to that appeal will be vital to her own peace, and to her place in the world's esteem. She will have neither peace nor honour till she realises that her own public opinion must be their chief creator and custodian."

The West argues in just the same way today: only when the Palestinians turn away from the path of terror can they be granted "any form of self government". Resistance to imperialism

is bad for trade. And—even more crassly: no two countries with a Mac Donald's outlet have ever gone to war with each other.

The editorial of 26th November 1920 dwelt on the funerals of the dead functionaries, events which the British continue to use for propaganda purposes:

"Our respect for the dead will not compensate Great Britain for Dublin's failure to prevent their deaths, and will not remove the blot which these deaths have put upon the fame of Ireland. If our country is to recover the priceless asset of British goodwill, it must dissociate itself boldly and thoroughly from the company of murder. It must suppress murder with a weapon stronger than any which the forces of the Crown command—the indignant and unanimous veto of public opinion. That is Ireland's duty to her neighbour England, but it is primarily her duty to God and to herself. If the murder of these gallant soldiers compels her to recognise it, they will not have died in vain."

And so it goes on. The editorials of 1920 are not too dissimilar to those of today. *The Irish Times* still adopts a morally superior attitude to the Irish people. It still believes that we are morally corrupt and that any antipathy to Britain is a sign of immaturity. But it is very noticeable that the moral standards that it applies to others do not apply to itself.

Unfortunately for *The Irish Times*, republican values are ingrained in the society despite the disorientation caused by the State's handling of the Northern conflict. So, when the newspaper looks at its past, it must pretend that it was something other than what it was. It would like to give the impression that it was a liberal newspaper. If it concedes that it was a Unionist paper at all, it claims that it was unionist with a small "u". But nothing could be further from the truth.

The Irish Times represented a small minority within Irish society, largely concentrated in Dublin. This Protestant, Anglo-Irish class had disproportionate economic power, although its political power had been taken away from it following the Act of Union of 1801. Nevertheless it was very much part of the British State apparatus within Ireland. From the newspaper's foundation in 1859 it watched with horror the emergence of a Catholic middle class which wanted both political and greater economic power. Instead of attempting to make an accommodation with this emerging class, it preferred to rely on the Conservative Party in Britain to prevent Home Rule in Ireland. It hated Gladstone and the British Liberal Party, although, as it

happens, it was the Tory Party under Balfour which did more than any other party to undermine the economic power of the Anglo-Irish.

The Anglo-Irish existed as a caste within the society in the South. It was unlike the Unionists of Northern Ireland, which had a working class as well as a bourgeois and aristocratic base. It therefore could not rely on its own resources when Republicans came in conflict with Britain. As we have seen above, it preferred to rely on British oppression to keep the Republican population in line.

After the Treaty *The Irish Times* fought a rearguard battle to prevent independent political developments which had the effect of severing ties

with Britain. Its virulent opposition to de Valera and Fianna Fáil certainly did not have a liberal basis as it often claims. Its primary motive was to retain the link with Britain. And it was prepared to support the Pro-Treaty side in its fascist phase in order to achieve this objective.

In the next issue of this magazine, I will examine in more detail the liberal claims of the newspaper after independence.

The Irish Times: Past And Present, a record of the journal since 1859, by *John Martin*.

Index. 264 pp. ISBN 978-1-872078-13-7. Belfast Historical & Educational Society. 2008. £20, £15

Seán McGouran

Part Three of a continuing series on the Belfast Hibernian leader, Joe Devlin

Devlin In Dublin

Joe Devlin was appointed General Secretary of the UIL (United Irish League) in 1904, a position based in Dublin. He clashed almost immediately with supporters of William O'Brien, the Cork Land campaigner. Devlin replaced John O'Donnell, a supporter of O'Brien, in the post. Devlin had been something of an admirer of O'Brien. The latter had given way, in the leadership, to Redmond (and Dillon) for the sake of a united party. Devlin thought that there were some problems with the 1903 ('Wyndham') *Land Act*, and that more should be done for agricultural labourers. He wrote to Dillon that O'Brien was on the way to starting "*a new movement*" (Dillon Papers in TCD library, 6729/107). Devlin does not seem to have considered that his hostility may have been relevant to the eventual break in 1909. In the election of 1910 O'Brien's All for Ireland League won ten parliamentary seats.

The tensions between O'Brien's faction and the Dillon / Redmond / Devlin majority collided at the 1909 Convention of the UIL. The 'United' element in the title had become very attenuated at this point. O'Brien had encapsulated his attitude to the working-out of the Wyndham Act in the slogan '*Conference, Conciliation, Consent*'. He wanted the landlords to become gentlemen farmers as part of the new property-owning society that had come into being (see *The Cork Free Press* etc, Brendan Clifford, Athol Books). Devlin, whose base was Belfast, while having sympathy with landless labourers, was not especially interested in the matter. He upheld the 'party line' of Redmond and Dillon. They were disturbed that the farmers

were becoming too comfortable as proprietors. One of the strongest elements of tension between the authorities and the mass of the people of Ireland was being—rather quickly—eroded.

Devlin organised a Convention for 9-10, February 1909. There were 2,200 delegates. O'Brien's group was swamped even before it got to Dublin. O'Brien attempted to amend a Party (UIL) proposal for a new Land Bill designed to slow down, or stop, the transfer of the land from landlord to tenant, by restricting the amounts of money supplied by the state. (This was not 'free money'. The advances had to be paid back.) O'Brien tried to speak, but was barracked. After an hour Eugene Crean MP, an O'Brien ally approached him with the intention of asking him to give up trying to make himself heard. Crean, like the rest of the MPs was on a platform behind a dais on which sat Redmond and Devlin. Crean was stopped by Devlin's stewards. He then approached Redmond. A scuffle broke out. Redmond claimed that the first he knew of all this was when his seat was "*violently seized*". Crean was struggling with some stewards. Devlin is alleged to have shouted 'throw the fellow out'.

The passage of the resolution in favour of the Party's Land Bill happened shortly after this. It was deemed to have been passed on a show of hands, a result disputed by the O'Brienites. It was alleged that only ten delegates voted for O'Brien's amendment. But James Clancy claimed that nearly a quarter of those present did not show hands when the Party's proposal was presented to them.

Crean decided to avenge himself (and

O'Brien) by bringing criminal charges against Devlin and his lieutenant, Denis Johnston, a case he lost. This was brought under a new Act aimed at the Suffragettes. The grounds were that Devlin and Johnston had acted in a disorderly manner with the intention of preventing the meeting from transacting its intended business; they had incited others to do likewise; and that Devlin had procured the commission of an assault on the complainant. Crean's senior counsel was Tim Healy, who was leader of further faction in the Party, the People's Rights Association. Its parliamentary representation was always quite small. Healy was one of the 'Bantry Boys' (another one of these was William Martin Murphy, owner of the *Irish Independent* and other publications).

Devlin was represented by Serjeant Moriarty, his junior counsel being a former editor of the *Northern Star*, W.D. Harbinson. The Convention became known as 'the Baton Convention': it was admitted that there were 100 stewards. Some were volunteers. Some were paid ten shillings for the two days. Fifty carried wooden batons. Sinn Féiners had allegedly tried to gate crash at the previous Convention (1907). In court Healy hammered at the presence of lots of Belfast accents, who attempted to stop anyone with a Cork accent speaking, a fact he failed to establish in court. Healy claimed that the Ulster delegation was packed with Belfast hooligans and member of Devlin's Board of Erin AOH (Ancient Order of Hibernians). This was not entirely accurate. The majority of the delegates were from rural Ulster, and some were prosperous professionals. (The AOH will be dealt with in a future article.)

At this Convention the Young Ireland Branch (YIB) put forward amendments to various resolutions about the Land Bill, about trusting the Liberals, and about the use of Irish in the National University. They got the latter matter passed by a big vote on the second day (Sunday) of the Convention. Devlin made a slightly condescending speech, on the Saturday, to the effect that Mr. Cruise O'Brien and Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington would not dictate to the Irish Party. Despite their small victory the YIB fizzled out after this. Devlin had helped found the Branch in 1904 soon after he went to Dublin. It was made up of middle class, largely university-educated men in their early twenties. It grew to about a hundred members by 1908. Some of them became quite distinguished professionally and politically—including the two noted above and Tom Kettle, Thomas McDonagh, Joseph Plunkett, and others less well-known, like Richard Hazleton who became a UIL MP.

The YIB tended to grate on the leadership of the Party—Devlin had allowed them to use the Party headquarters to hold their meetings—and there were personality differences between them and Devlin. He was slightly older than them, had left school at 13, and was a working class Belfast man. It is probably relevant that the only member of the Branch who did not take—essentially—a patronising attitude to him was Sheehy-Skeffington. He was a fellow-Ulsterman, born and brought up in Newry. Cruise O'Brien accused Devlin of confusing ideas with faction. But in terms of a political organisation like the Irish Party ideas tended to mean faction. Tactics could often get in the way of the strategic aim of getting Home Rule.

Kettle and the rest of the Branch were interested in the general cultural 'revival'. And in what was called the 'industrial revival', by which they meant the cultivation of Irish industry and the work of Larkin and Connolly. Most of them supported the workers' side in the 1913 Dublin Lock-out. The Branch was expelled from the Dublin City Executive in 1909. Cruise O'Brien article in *The Leader* was the immediate cause of this: the YIB was asked to expel him, and refused. But the YIB had been drifting towards an essentially Sinn Féin position for some time. Some branch members stayed in the UIL, some did other things politically. Sheehy-Skeffington was a pacifist and campaigner for women's suffrage. Kettle and Hazleton remained active in the Party. The most active people tended to be pulled into the orbit of Sinn Féin.

Sinn Féin was founded April 1907, and was a fusion of Arthur Griffith's *National Cumann na Gaedheal* and the Belfast-based *Dungannon Clubs*. The latter were set up by IRB (Irish Republican Brotherhood) members Bulmer Hobson and Denis McCullough. The *Dungannon Clubs* spread outside of Ulster to Dublin and London. There was an element of tension from the beginning, as the *Dungannon Clubs* were republican and Griffith's faction was in favour of a dual monarchy. Griffith was not particularly pro-monarchy. But like the 'constitutionalist' parliamentarians probably assumed London would not tolerate an independent republic on its doorstep. The Boer War, and the ferocious treatment of the Protestant, white, Dutch-speaking South African republics influenced the thinking of every Nationalist, Irish, Indian and other.

Devlin was fairly well-disposed to the new Sinn Féin movement. He suggested to Dillon that it should be absorbed into the Party, in the manner of the YIB. Both the major elements in

the new grouping had displayed a considerable amount of energy and resourcefulness. They produced journals and pamphlets and Griffith had produced *The Resurrection Of Hungary* as a programme for bringing about an independent Irish legislature. Griffith had outlined schemes for an Irish merchant marine and for building industry behind a tariff barrier. This sort of thing led to the jibe that Sinn Féin had to go the Hungary for a programme. And to Bedlam to carry it out. The mainstream Home Rulers (almost certainly accurately) thought that London would have none of this—without a fight. And the war in South Africa demonstrated what London was prepared to do to get its way.

Dillon did not respond to Devlin's suggestion, and the latter soon had reasons to denounce Sinn Féin. In 1909 Charles Dolan, the young MP for Sligo North, defected to Sinn Féin and caused a by-election. Sinn Féin threw all it had into this election. So did Devlin. It was a hard-fought contest. Sinn Féin claimed that Devlin brought in Belfast hard cases to canvass and intimidate their own canvassers. That may have an element of truth in it. But in most of Ireland at that point (after the re-union of the various post-Parnell Irish Party factions) canvassing was a dying art. And elections in Ulster, especially Belfast, were inevitably more tense and edgy than in the other three provinces. Devlin's West Belfast seat (which he won in 1906) was decidedly 'marginal'—his majority was 16. Sinn Féin brought Constance Markievicz to the constituency. She was an 'advanced Nationalist'. But she was also a Gore-Booth, one of the big Ascendancy families in the County. People could be excused for being confused, even irritated, by her telling them they were not Nationalist enough.

The UIL retained the Sligo seat (see: *Sinn Féin, The First Election 1908*, Ciarán Ó Duibhir, Drumlin) for a detailed account. Sinn Féin did not fizzle out like the YIB after this adventure. It had probably over-stretched itself, and its candidate went to America. (He joined the then-radical Republican Party and helped found the AARIR (the American Association to Recognise the Irish Republic—which facilitated De Valera, Muriel MacSwiney and Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, and other, propaganda cum fund-raising tours after 1916. The Irish Party in 1910 seemed to be in a very strong position. Its votes were necessary to the Liberal Government and the price was Home Rule.

The Parliamentary Party position of strength proved to be illusory. The Ulster Unionists, backed by substantial elements in Great Britain (the Army, the

Conservative (Unionist) Party, the Established Churches in England and Scotland, among them) rebelled against Parliament. They set up an effective army, the UVF (Ulster Volunteer Force), organised a Provisional Government for Ulster, and made it clear that they were prepared to accept the consequences of their actions. They even had a crude foreign policy, claiming they would transfer their loyalty to the Kaiser, or even the Tsar. (The Tsar was an ally of the British Empire at that point, but only the Liberal Imperialists in the Cabinet knew that at the time.)

The IRB, which had been in the doldrums with Sinn Féin, experienced a fillip with the founding in 1913 of the Irish Volunteers in response to the UVF. Sinn Féin experienced something of a resurrection itself in the wake of the 1916 Easter Rising.

Devlin's clashes with republican, post-1917 Convention, Sinn Féin will be dealt with separately. As late as 1918 Devlin described Sinn Féin as "*not a policy or even a movement; it is an emotion*". This was in conversation with Horace Plunkett. He does not seem to have noticed that Sinn Féin was no longer a largely urban middle class pressure group, but a national mass party.

TO BE CONTINUED

MARKED FOR LIFE

At five years I was not the same
when that moment Ash Wednesday came.
At early Mass my brow was smeared.
Later at school they thought me weird.
Dirt's on your forehead they jeer,
wipe it off or are ye afeerd.
Daddy doesn't say yea or nay.
He wasn't born the Roman way.
Red, white and blue flies with intent
but mammy still forfeits for Lent.
Why did she dare come to this town,
they say they live under the Crown.
What does that mean, where do I live.
I must say nothing, just forgive?
Now they're calling me a Teague.
Tell daddy, though he may be vague.
Quiet! You cause peace too much trouble,
the slightest prick bursts the bubble.

Wilson John Haire.
7 June, 2009

Next issue of *Church & State:*

Julianne Herlihy will set the Ryan Report into Industrial Schools into a wider context.

Stephen Richards

This article first appeared in the Christian Church magazine of the author

The Black Man

The Latin epitaph at the tomb of Sir Christopher Wren in St. Paul's Cathedral translates roughly as "If you need to see my memorial, take a look around you." You don't have to travel so far to see the memorial to Henry Cooke, the boy from Grillagh near Maghera who dominated the Irish Presbyterian scene from the 1820s to the 1850s. For generations his statue overlooking Wellington Place in Belfast has been known as *The Black Man*, although these days it looks more like The Green Man. If you read the 1981 biography of Cooke by Professor Finlay Holmes he can sometimes appear to be a bit of an Orange Man. In his own lifetime he was known as the *Presbyterian Pope*; and, as you look up from the street, you can still see in his masterful expression something of what made him a born leader, at the cutting edge of events, irrespective of his origins.

But you don't have to go any distance at all to view the memorial to our own Robert Stewart, the Clough man who lived at Bushyfield on the Knowehead Road. Stewart was Cooke's faithful lieutenant and friend from student days. They seem to have met at the quayside in Donaghadee as they waited for the boat for Portpatrick, from where Presbyterian ministerial students used to set off on foot for Glasgow University.

In a country that has produced one or two controversial clergymen, Cooke stands alone. Unfortunately in his later career he became increasingly identified with the interests of the Tories and the landlords. This made him unpopular with the Presbyterian tenant farmers of mid-Antrim who were campaigning for "*tenant right*".

But the political clouds that enveloped the older Cooke shouldn't be allowed to obscure the glory days of the 1820s for which Cooke has justly been called "*apostle of the Catholic faith*". At a time when many ministers in our church, led by the equally gifted Henry Montgomery of Dunmurry, were having second thoughts about some of the foundational doctrines of the faith as set out in the great fourth century creeds, Cooke stood unashamedly for the full deity of our Lord. By 1830 Montgomery and his followers had been forced to withdraw from the Synod of Ulster. They went on to form the tiny Remonstrant Synod, the ancestor of the Non-Subscribing Church. It was largely due to Cooke that they lost the battle for the soul of Irish Presbyterianism.

And then, after another ten years, there came about one of the more successful unions of modern church history, when the century-long rift between the Synod of Ulster and the Secession Synod was healed and they came together to form the General Assembly. The Seceders were able to see that the Synod of Ulster had restated its commitment to its confessional standards, so there was no longer any obstacle to union. From 1840 also is dated the modern missionary history of the church.

Surely it's no accident that within the next twenty years the church and the North of Ireland generally had been transformed by the last of the great revivals to hit these shores, in 1859, spreading out from the parish of Connor, and the influence of which has never been completely extinguished. So if we're looking for Cooke's memorial we could think of the new churches built to accommodate the converts, like the Second

Frank O'Connor

Translated from the Irish

Eoghan Rua O'Sullivan

To the Blacksmith with a Spade

Make me a handle as straight as the mast of a ship,
Seamas, you clever man, witty and bountiful,
Sprung through the Geraldine lords from the Kings of Greece
And fix the treadle and send it back to me soon.

Because the spade is the only thing keeping me now,
And you know that my thirst for knowledge was always deep
And I'll shoulder my traps and make for Galway that night
To a place where I'm sure of sixpence and my keep.

And whenever I'm feeling low at the end of day
And the ganger comes round and tells me I'm dodging it well
I'll give him a bar about death's adventurous way
And the wars of the greeks in Troy and the kings that fell.

And I'll speak of Samson that had great strength and pride
And Alexander the man that was first of men,
And Caesar that took the sway on the Roman side
And maybe I'll speak of the feats of Achilles then.

Explaining, of course, how it came to MacTrain to die,
And Deirdre the woman that put the world astray,
And he'll listen and gawk and not notice an hour go by,
And so my learning will lift me through the day.

They'll give me my pay in a lump when the harvest's done,
And I'll put it in a knot in my shirt to keep
And back to the village, singing and mad for fun,
And not a sixpence spent till the minute we meet.

For you are a man like me with an antique thirst,
So I needn't say how we'll give the story an end;
We'll shout and we'll rattle our cans the livelong night
Till there isn't as much as the price of a pint to spend.

The Bell, Nov. 1941

New Publication:

Eoghan Rua Ó Súilleabháin: Danta / Poems

With translations by *Pat Muldowney*. Supplementary Material by Seamus O'Donnell and others.

Eoghan Rua Ó Súilleabháin: Collected Writings, Vol. 2. 230pp. Index. ISBN 1 903497 57 9.

Aubane Historical Society, 2009, €20, £15.

Broughshane and Kells, or we could consider the comparative strength of the gospel witness in Ulster for many years. "*Those that honour me I will honour.*" (1 Samuel 2:30.)

For reasons that are obscure (at least to me) Belfast has been called the Athens of the North. With better reason Cooke has been called the Athanasius of the North. So who was Athanasius anyway? We'll find out next issue.

Darwin is being commemorated widely this year, but the other 150th Anniversary has been virtually forgotten. Stephen Richards will contribute some Reflections on the Ulster Revival of 1859 to the next issue.

Wilson John Haire

29th October, 2008

Lifted

Suddenly
in the street
they bear down on you:
'good morning...
may we have a word.'
the flash of an id
don't look around for help
for there's fear, disregard
in a busy metropolis

They possess you
everything
you have is theirs
body
clothes
shoes
a newspaper
the money in your pocket

'Still ride donkeys over there?'
its as if
you come from a land
without universities
without a culture
information technology
a national library
a national theatre

A concrete sepulchre
the stale sweat
behind
the lavender aerosol
your morning paper
scrutinised
as a seditious document
one points to a headline:
'Bomb Factory Found'
'did you buy it for that reason?'

Of course you regret buying
most newspapers
but you remain silent
though silence is guilt now

They say
they have your wife
in the next room
that your children are in care
your flat's in a shambles
everything's smashed
carpets ripped up
settees slashed
'where's the ordnance?'

They compile
the wish-list
of the Imperial dream
to shoot
to hang
to torture
to rape
to put into camps
entire nations
that do not
accept *democracy*

They have:
gunships
tanks
artillery
aircraft carriers
trans-continental missiles
fighter planes
killer drones
cruise missiles
nuclear submarines
satellite surveillance
divisions of troops

It seems
they seek the tailors
of that sartorial expression
the bespoke waistcoat
of death
the *haute couture*
of the oppressed
chic
for all seasons

Sorry, I dress at Gap
or Marks and Spencer

From guttural threats
to rising octaves
it's a Japanese Noh-play
as they raise their fists
adjust grotesque masks
of twitching face-muscles
and in a frenzy of patriotism
and racial hatred
expose the other terrible side:
love of one's country
love that means hate
love
that can explode
into rendition
water-treatment
electrodes
mutilation
by razor blade
burns
by cigarette

One giggles:
'see you again'
the other sneers:
'go home'
and the wife?
try Tesco
the children?
'at school'
Go home?
you have a wife
you have children
you have a flat
but is it home anymore?
you had a country
but they took it
so you adopted one
now they've taken that

TIOCFÁIDH ÁR LÁ

Iqbal Bano sang of such a sentiment
through ancient words in Farsi and Urdu.
Faiz Ahmed Faiz keep their rendezvous
for she is dead, dead, and the poor
lament:

India, Pakistan, Afghanistan.
She sang Hum Dekhenge. (We shall
witness.)
The promised day will make war on that
jest
the blow-away-homes of flat cola cans.
Iqbal Bano heard the hungry child bawl,
ghostly death-squads that kill whole
families,

life as currency, as anomalies.
No screen for her, radio or hired hall.
But the illiterate, who know her songs,
count on ten scarred fingers the many
wrongs.

Wilson John Haire.
13 May, 2009

Iqbal Bano, born in Delhi, 1935, in British
India, died 21st April, 2009. She trained as
a classical Hindustani singer and then
concentrated on the Ghazal (lyrical poems
in Urdu) and songs lamenting the condition
of the hungry masses. She left India for
Pakistan in 1952 where she married at the
age of 17.

Throughout her life she sang *Hum
Dekhen Ge* which relates the tyranny of the

ruling elite against the mass of peasants and
workers. This was written by the communist
poet Faiz Ahmed Faiz who became her hero.

Up to 1979 she visited Afghanistan to
sing her songs in Farsi. She is also highly
regarded in Iran. In Pakistan she had been
banned from television, radio and the concert
hall. She can still be heard on All India
Radio.

Faiz Ahmed Faiz was born in the Punjab,
(now Pakistan) in 1911. He died in 1984.
Coming from a wealthy land-owning family
he renounced elitism and joined the Pakistan
Communist Party. He spent four years in
prison for his beliefs. In 1962 he was
awarded the Lenin Peace Prize. After that
he was forced to flee the country but later
returned.