

Church & State

A Cultural Review Of Ireland And The World

Henry The Eighthism

Cardinal Newman

The Great Eoghan Ruadh

Joe Homes And Leo Graham

Abu Soleyma al-Irlandi

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Henry The Eighthism

What we know as Christianity gripped the imagination of what we call civilisation about 1,700 years ago. That is to say that it became the religion of the Roman Empire. Until it became the religion of the Roman Empire, it was not what we know as Christianity. Pre-Imperial Christianity was something different.

Civilised Europe remained true to its Christianity, in its fashion, until recently. What it did was done in the name of Christianity. And, as what was uncivilised was civilised, it became Christian.

The civilising of the barbarians of Europe was sometimes done by seduction and sometimes by force. The seducing seems to have been done by the Irish, who had themselves been seduced. The forcible Christianising was done by the Empire.

The Christianising of the Empire was done for reasons of state. Its function was to consolidate the Empire by weaving a popular ideology into the vast administrative structure which had long outrun whatever impulse had driven the Romans who had made the Empire.

The Romans had expanded their state by a long succession of wars, consolidating their conquests by administration, and leaving the conquered with their idols. They seem to have had no existential problems while they were engaged in that business.

When they defeated Carthage in the Third Punic War they wiped it out. Carthage was not like the city states or barbarian groupings that had previously been defeated and let be with their idols, on the condition that they paid their taxes. It was a rival civilisation, therefore it was wiped out.

The Romans then found themselves alone in the known world—the Mediterranean world—and they began to wonder what it was all about. They began to be a problem to themselves, and began to dabble in Greek philosophy. And Greek philosophy consisted of little but existential problems.

It may or may not be the case that the Greeks invented democracy. If they did, they gave it a bad name for the next two and a half thousand years. Greek democracy was discontented, chaotic, murderous towards its neighbours, and short-lived.

Greek philosophy became the philosophy of Rome, but the Romans saw that Greek politics was worthless to the Empire and carried on with their own.

The Palestine in which Christianity began its development was a province of Rome saturated with Greek philosophy. Christian development shaped itself to Roman administration and Greek dialectics. It soon felt at home with Rome, and eventually Rome felt at home with it.

Many centuries later Protestants in Ireland made a point of always referring to Catholics as Roman Catholics while Catholics knew themselves just as Catholics. The Protestant point seems to be that Catholicism was less than catholic because it was Roman and that Protestantism had freed Christianity from the Roman limitation. But, in actual historical circumstance, it was by becoming Roman that it became universal—i.e. catholic.

For practical purposes Rome was the world and what lay beyond the reach of Rome was another world, or other worlds—another civilisation in the case of China.

The ultra-Christian rejection of Rome in the 16th century did not lead to greater universality. In the parts of Germany where the Reformation proper happened as a kind of social evolution, it led perhaps to rich local cultures of a sedate, self-satisfied, Lutheran kind. In Zurich, where it was gripped by the vision of a new universality to be established by whatever means were necessary, it came to grief in its first battle. Zwingli was killed in his war to carry universal truth to a neighbouring canton.

But the rigorously systematic Swiss Reformation of Christianity did make a permanent mark on the world. Zurich went on to produce its famous Gnomes. I don't know what the nickname of the apostles of the Universal Equivalent in Geneva is. But the subordination of everything else in the world to money, so that money is the equivalent of everything else, and everything else can be got for it, is not really what Pre-Imperial Christianity was about.

It is easier to say what it was not about than what it was about. And one of the things that it was not about was the transformation of human values into commodities exchangeable for money.

When Germany settled down after the 30 Years War in its multitude of little states, Lutheran life seems to have become sedately cultured in a way that was somehow conducive to the creation of both music and philosophy.

It was in England that Reformationist Christianity made a serious bid to achieve a universality comparable with Rome's. But the Reformation in England was not in any sense a religious evolution. It was, from first to last, a political affair. It began in politics, and throughout its life (which ended some time ago) it remained subject to political direction.

Its non-evolutionary character is evident in its artistic history. Art flourished in the Lutheran Reformation in Germany, but Henry the Eighthism required the destruction of art.

The existing culture of England in the early 16th century was incompatible with the political project of the State which the Reformation was devised to serve. It was therefore destroyed. And no new culture sprang up to take its place. The State clearly had not acted in response to pressure from society when it broke with Rome and declared itself the rival of Rome.

The Normans were a secular arm of the Papacy in the eleventh century. The Norman Conquest of England was authorised by Rome. English culture remained closely bound up with that of Rome right up to the moment when the English state broke with Rome and declared itself an Empire in antagonism with Rome.

Henry the Eighth would have acted as the secular arm of the Papacy against Lutherism, but for the affair of state which led to the breach. Rome had accorded him the title of *Defender of the Faith* against the new heresy not long before the political rupture happened. In order to consolidate the political breach, Henry had to set about the destruction of the Roman

infrastructure of English life.

The fact that an anti-Roman culture, that could spring into place when the State required it, had not been gestating in English society and that the State could destroy the existing culture without effective resistance from society, says something about the relationship between State and society in England.

Social pressure had not caused the State to act as it did against Rome. But neither did the State meet with effective social resistance when it decided to destroy the existing culture for a political purpose.

English society was malleable by the state. The State, of course, used a degree of force, but that does not explain it.

The State did not introduce Lutheranism, or Calvinism, or Zwinglianism. It introduced nothing coherent. It made things up from year to year, and sometimes from day to day. There were moments when it was virtually impossible to know what to believe, and it could be dangerous to believe the wrong thing, even though it might have been the right thing yesterday.

Henry the Eighthism was capricious in its religious conviction, and English society adapted to its caprice. It just wanted to be told what to believe about these eternal truths and, while the State dithered, it committed itself algebraically to the uncertain particulars of authorised beliefs at any given moment.

There was terrorism of course. But terrorism is never altogether absent from affairs of state, and it is never an adequate explanation of major political developments.

I spent a considerable time trying to understand Russia from the twenties to the forties. The standard explanation was that its development was caused by Stalin's apparatus of terror. I just could not see how a minuscule group of terrorists could move that society, over such a long period, to do the wide variety of complicated things that it did.

Russian society, by and large, and leaving aside frustrated elites, must have been complicit with the State for those remarkable things to have happened. It was obviously not a prior complicity. The elements of Bolshevism had not been gestating throughout Russian society awaiting the arrival of Bolshevism in state power. But when the Bolshevik state arrived and asserted itself, the society was responsive to it and accepted guidance from it, even when the guidance was zig-zag.

And, as it was with Bolshevism in Russia, so it was with Henry the Eighthism in England.

Thomas Cromwell has been in the news recently. A novel about his rise to power has been awarded a literary prize. Cromwell, an adventurer with extensive European experience, was Henry's fixer and destroyer. Henry made him an Earl and executed him as a traitor in the same year. The charge of treason seems to have been entirely groundless—except that he supplied Henry with his 4th wife in the effort to secure the male line (Ann of Cleves, a Lutheran) but neglected to tell him that she was really ugly. But he seemed to take his execution in good enough humour, satisfied that he had played a necessary part as fixer, procurer and destroyer in a great enterprise.

Anyhow a new Imperial Christianity appeared in the world—a kind of Protestantism, without a core of positive belief, that was cobbled together piecemeal to be the ideological facade of a new Empire.

Cardinal Newman, beatified by the Pope in September 2010, once described the Papacy as Anti-Christ. He had

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begun his religious career as an earnest member of Henry the Eighth's Church, taking it to be a religion, and therefore he could not have done other than say the Pope was Anti-Christ.

A reason later given for the break with Rome was that Rome had taken the religion of Christ and made it Anti-Christ by making it part of the Empire. But, by the same token, Henry the Eighthism too was Anti-Christ because it was the religion of an Empire.

Furthermore, it had never, unlike Romanism, been a free religion before being made an Imperial religion. It was conceived as Imperial. It only ever existed in the service of an Empire. Without the Imperial development of England it would never have existed.

It was Anti-Christ in its very origin. But it was an obligatory article of its belief that Romanism was Anti-Christ. Indeed, its only actual content was Anti-Romanism. And, if by the same measure that it held Rome to be Anti-Christ it must be itself judged to be only a rival Anti-Christ—well, that was something not to be dwelt upon.

About twenty years ago somebody in the North who aspired to become a clergyman read the 39 Articles and decided that he couldn't because they declare the Pope to be Anti-Christ. The 39 Articles are unalterable dogma drawing from Henry the Eighthism. Anglican clergymen need not believe them to be true, but they must say that they believe them.

Newman belonged to an Anglican generation that, after a century of scepticism, took Henry the Eighthism to be a real religion. Industrial capitalism was producing a mass proletariat that needed to be taken in hand by the Church of the State, lest some force hostile to the State should get control of it. So there was a generation of sincere religious Anglicans in the ruling class. Newman was the most thoughtful of them, and he soon became the most eminent. And, through taking Anglicanism entirely in earnest, he discovered that it was not a religion at all but a state ideology.

If Roman Catholicism too was once the ideology of a State, it had a long history prior to its establishment by the Empire, and an even longer history subsequent to the fall of the Empire. When the Empire broke up, it became the religion of many states, and it was subject to none of them.

When I was thirteen I discovered that I was simply non-religious. But I lived

in a community in which almost everybody was religious in one way or another, and in which what had been the religion of Ireland from time immemorial had not entirely given way to the more strictly Roman form launched after the Famine event by Cardinal Cullen.

Being surrounded by something for which I had no feeling, I naturally wondered what it was about. Among the books that presented themselves in the backwardness of rural Ireland in those times were Tolstoy's and Dostoevsky's. I was greatly taken with Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* and *Kreutzer Sonata*, and even more by Dostoevsky's *White Nights*, and this led me to read other things by them. From a book on Christianity by Tolstoy I got the idea of it as an element in a way of life — which it had obviously been in Ireland for more than a thousand years before being systematically destroyed by the regime of the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Remnants of that old kind of religion survived still in lively, conservative, Slieve Luacra, but the progressive forces were displacing it by a newer form that had not quite bedded in as a way of life. And, judging by the recent turn of events, it never did bed in anywhere in the country.

From Dostoevsky I got the fable of the Grand Inquisitor, in *The Brothers Karamazov*.

After 1500 years Jesus came to earth again, in Seville.

"This was not the coming in which He had promised appear in all His heavenly glory at the end of time... He came just for a moment to visit His children amidst the fires that were burning the heretics... He came in human form and moved about quietly, but he was recognised straight away..."

The people demanded that he should perform miracles, as he had done before. The Grand Inquisitor heard of it and came to reason with him, taking him prisoner in order to concentrate his attention and bring him to a sense of his responsibilities. He refuses to be reasoned with.

The Inquisitor says he knows he has come to interfere again, and it won't be allowed. They had just managed to bring the world to order again after his last interference. So he will be declared a heretic and burned. He had thrust freedom on the world and it made people miserable. But order had been restored.

"And now for the first time it was possible to think of people's happiness. Man is rebellious by nature and how can rebels be happy? You were warned about this but you paid no heed... In the desert you were made three offers

but rejected them. That was your blunder. Those offers contained the future history of mankind... You would not turn stones into bread. You didn't want to deprive man of freedom by bringing it to him with bread. You said man does not live by bread alone... But we give them bread and lie to them that we do so in your name. There was no knowledge capable of supplying them with bread while they remained free... And they said to us "Enslave us, but feed us". They came to understand that freedom is not compatible with a regular supply of daily bread. They realise that they cannot be free because they are weak, corrupt, worthless and restless... Their great need is to have something to worship, and not individually but in common... In the attempt to have a universal form of worship they have gone to war to destroy rival gods... And that is how it will always be. You were offered something that would have gained you unchallenged loyalty. You could have given men bread and they would have worshipped You because there is nothing more basic than bread. But if someone else captured their conscience they might have left Your bread to follow him. You were right to that extent. The human mystery is that people don't just want life, they want something to live for... There is nothing more seductive to men than freedom of conscience, and nothing more disturbing... Instead of giving them something to calm their consciences, You gave them strange, incomprehensible words which increased their freedom and their torment... There are only three forces that capture and hold the conscience of these weak, undisciplined creatures and make them happy: miracle, mystery and authority. You rejected them all..."

But the Church based itself on what Jesus rejected.

"And now everyone will be happy, except for the hundred thousand who accept the burden of knowing and governing. The people will die peacefully comforted by Your name. And we will keep the secret and keep them happy in death with the offer of heavenly bliss."

Dostoevsky was a liberal revolutionary in 1848 who was sentenced to death and reprieved when he was before the firing squad, and spent a term in Siberia. He subsequently rejected the liberal ideal—as set out in Chernyshevsky's novel, *What Is to Be Done?*—as being without human content. He became Orthodox in religion, and fiercely anti-Rome. This is his view of Rome, as sharpened by Vatican 1.

It is also an English Protestant view of Rome. The Bronte family took a view of Rome something like this from County Down to Yorkshire and it is expressed in Charlotte's novel about Belgium, *Villette*.

What sense does it make? None at all from an Anglican position. It is more acceptable from a Russian Orthodox source. To the best of my knowledge, Tsarism, in the course of civilising Central Asia, did not plunder or exterminate. But Anglicanism was a department of a plundering and exterminating state. Sir Charles Dilke, who would probably have taken over the Liberal leadership from Gladstone if he had not been cut down by a divorce action a couple of years before Parnell, boasted, in a very popular book (*Greater Britain*) that the English were the greatest genocidal race the world had ever seen. Anglican England plundered and exterminated across the world to make the English masses well fed and content with ideological sophistry.

If there was an authentic and viable pre-Imperial Christianity, it was not Protestant England that was going to recover it and live by it. I don't know if there was or not. I recall a remark by Nietzsche that the original Christianity, as far as it can be guessed at from the Gospels, was suitable for anarchist communes. The farthest I went in trying to get some idea of the original form of this thing from Asia that gripped Europe and held it for two thousand years was to read Albert Schweitzer's *Quest For The Historical Jesus*. His conclusion, as far as I recall, was that the actual Jesus had disappeared and was unreachable. And St. Paul, who hadn't met Jesus, said he wasn't particularly interested in knowing about him "after the flesh".

Early Christianity takes on the quality of a mirage. But, whatever it was, it seems from the start to have been Roman. It was located in the Roman state and had no yearning for another State.

The Gospel story suggests that Roman tolerance would have been extended to it, only that the Jews, who were the majority of the people in the area, were seriously offended by it, and the Roman Governor felt he had to suppress it to keep the peace. I know that Gerry Adams says that this was an Imperialist slander, and that it is now widely held to be Anti-Semitism. But I can't see why Rome, of its own volition, should have bothered about a small new sect that sprouted amongst the multitude of sects in the Empire.

There was trouble between the Jews and Rome because the Jews were between catastrophic attempts to restore the Jewish state of the Old Testament as a narrow, exclusive, exterminating theocracy as laid down in Deuteronomy. If the Christian movement had any such notion, it was soon discarded, and Christian eyes were fixed on Rome.

The Christianity that gripped Europe was shaped by the Roman Empire. The Empire decayed but the religion made by it remained. Many centuries after the fall of the Empire, during which the religion had been functioning independently, England rejected Roman Christianity as Anti-Christ and reformed Christianity so as to purify it of Imperial accretions. But the reformed Christianity of England was from the very start the ideology of an Empire that was being formed, and throughout its effective life of about four centuries it was a subordinate department of State of that Empire.

It was properly speaking not a religion at all but a state cult. Connolly said as much when he observed that the Penal Laws did not have the object of converting the Irish but of plundering them. Anglicans who were fully in earnest about conversion were always frustrated. If the Irish converted they could not have been plundered—at least not without giving the game of the Glorious Revolution away.

Newman was bred to Anglicanism and he took it seriously as a religion:

"I read Newton on the Prophecies, and in consequence became most firmly convinced that the Pope was the Antichrist predicted by Daniel, St. Paul, and St. John" (*Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, p100: this was Newton the mathematician).

"When I was young, ...and after I was grown up, I thought the Pope to be Antichrist. At Christmas 1824/5 I preached a Sermon to that effect... I spoke (successively, but I cannot tell in what order or at what dates) of the Roman Church being bound up with 'the cause of Antichrist', as being one of the many Antichrists foretold by St. John, as being influenced by 'the spirit of Antichrist', and as having something 'very Antichristian' or 'unchristian' about her. From my boyhood and in 1824 I considered, after Protestant authorities, that St. Gregory I about A.D. 600 was the first Pope that was Antichrist...; in 1832-3 I thought the Church of Rome was bound up with the cause of Antichrist by the Council of Trent. When it was that in my deliberate judgment I gave up the

notion altogether in any shape, that some special reproach was attached to her name, I cannot tell; but I had a shrinking from renouncing it, even when my reason so ordered me, from a sort of conscience or prejudice, I think up to 1843" (p134-5).

"As a matter, then, of simple conscience, though it went against my feelings, I felt it to be a duty to protest against The Church of Rome. But besides this, it was a duty, because the prescription of such a protest was a living principle of my own Church, as expressed in not simply a *catena*, but a *consensus* of her divines, and the voice of her people. Moreover such a protest was necessary as an integral portion of her controversial basis; for I adopted the argument of Bernard Gilpin, that Protestants 'were not able to give any form and solid reason of the separation besides this, to wit, that the Pope is Antichrist'. But while I thus thought such a protest to be based upon truth, and to be a religious duty, and a rule of Anglicanism, and a necessity of the case, I did not at all like the work. Hurrell Froude attacked me for doing it; ...but I knew that I had a temptation, on the other hand, to say against Rome as much as ever I could, in order to protect myself against the charge of Popery" (p136-7; Hurrell Froude, brother of the historian, was Newman's colleague in the Anglican movement, the Tractarian movement, that tried to take Henry the Eighthism as an independent religion).

I don't know if Newman ever wrote about the formation of the Anglican Church—the Church formed by the English State as it was asserting itself to be an Empire. He had no reason to do so in the *Apologia*, which is a detailed account of how, as an Anglican clergyman and academic, he reasoned his way into Popery, written in response to a scurrilous attack by a former colleague who had become a famous "*muscular Christian*" Imperialist, Charles Kingsley. I have read little of Newman beyond the *Apologia*, which I read because of an interest in the muscular Christian as an Imperialist. But I have read Froude's *History Of Henry 8*. This Froude was the brother of Newman's Tractarian colleague. He was much hated Ireland because of what he wrote about Ireland, but much worse things were written about it by others and continue to be written. He takes Henry 8 to be the greatest thing that happened to England, but he wrote so extensively and with such ample quotation that one can get a very good idea from him of what did happen.

The *Apologia* was issued as a Fontana paperback in 1959. It must have been about then that I went to find the Catholic Cathedral, which I had not noticed during the year or two I had been in London. I wanted to see how close to Westminster Abbey it had been built. I found it had been set up discreetly in a side-street off Victoria Street. (I think more space has been opened up around it since then.) And, in the Cathedral bookshop, I picked up a Newman *Anthology* put together with Newman's approval in 1875 and reissued on India Paper in 1959 so that its 350 papers have the thickness of a fraction of an inch.

The *Anthology* includes an extract from *Sermons To Mixed Congregations* in which this comment is made on Anglicanism:

"...does not its essence lie in its recognition by the State? ...what would it be ... if abandoned to itself? ...Strip it of this world, and you have performed a mortal operation upon it, for it has ceased to be... You know that did not the State compel it to be one, it would split at once into three several bodies, each bearing within it the elements of further divisions... Methodism represents some sort of idea, Congregationalism an idea; the Established Religion has in it no idea beyond its establishment...; it is carried forward into other places by State policy, and it moves because the State moves; it is an appendage, whether weapon or decoration, of the sovereign power; it is the religion, not even of a race, but of the ruling portion of a race" (p262).

From *Anglican Difficulties*:

"We must not indulge our imagination in the view of the National Establishment. If, indeed, we dress it up in an ideal form, as if it were something real, with an independent and a continuous existence, and a proper history, as if it were indeed and not only in name a Church, then indeed we may feel interest in it, and reverence towards it, and affection for it, as men have fallen in love with pictures, or knights in romance do battle for high dames whom they have never seen... But at length... the spell is broken and nothing is seen but the wild heath, the barren rock... Then we perceive, that aforesaid we have not been guided by reason, but biased by education and swayed by affection. We see in the English Church... nothing more or less than... a department of Government, or a function or operation of the State—...a mere collection of officials, depending on and living in the supreme

civil power... It has no traditions; it cannot be said to think; it does not know what it holds, and what it does not; it is not even conscious of its own existence... Bishop is not like bishop, more than king is like king...; its Prayer -Book is an Act of Parliament of two centuries ago, and its cathedrals and its chapter-houses are the spoils of Catholicism... Its life is an Act of Parliament" (p212).

To ensure that this Church of England (and of Ireland too, of course) did not succumb to religious notions, it was not allowed to meet in Assembly for hundreds of years. And, if it was made by Parliament, then Parliament was made by the Crown.

The fixer of Henry the Eighthism for Henry was Thomas Cromwell. Parliament was the King's Council. Its role in English political affairs was increased by Cromwell's handling of it, but remained the King's Council still. And, in one of the zig-zags of the English Reformation, Cromwell, its fixer, found himself beheaded on a charge of treason. He was not subjected to trial. He was dealt with by Act of Parliament. Parliament passed an Act of Attainder against him at Henry's behest. And if the reason for it was not that Cromwell had found Henry yet another wife, but one whom he found repulsive the moment he saw her but whom he had contracted to marry, and whom he could not execute on a trumped-up charge because she was a German Protestant with political connections, it is hard to see what it might have been.

The caricature of the English Reformation as a product of Henry's lust seems less of a caricature the more it is gone into. But, in the case of Anne of Cleves, it was an inability to summon up any lust at all. And who knows but, if he had gone to bed with Anne, and bred a healthy male heir with her, he would have gone on to make a Lutheran settlement?

Protestantism established the individual conscience in command of morality, while Romanism subordinated conscience to authority—that's the story, isn't it?

What one finds in the course of the long, incoherent, tumultuous Reformation launched by Henry is a remarkable flexibility of conscience in the part of the English society that counted, ready to shape itself to whatever authority decreed. Henry's new free individuals only wanted him to make clear to them what he wanted them to believe so that they could get on with believing it.

(In the early 19th century the Anglican Bishop of Durham suggested that England broke with Rome because English good sense rejected the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist as absurd. A Catholic writer pointed out to him that, if he had lived in Henry's time and rejected the Real Presence, Henry would have had him burned. The Real Presence was one of Henry's dogmas and made a compulsory belief by Parliament.)

Where conscience and morality could not comply with authority, or failed to keep up with its zig-zags, it was liable to get itself burned, either as Lutheran or Romanist.

Moral behaviour in its original use means behaviour in accordance with custom. And I can't see that the meaning has changed very much.

The singularity of the Anglican State lay in its failure to make a coherent new settlement in place of the one destroyed by Henry. The populace was disrupted by uncertainty in the State. It could not live securely, conscientiously, in accordance with a stable and comprehensive body of belief. Security lay only in a nimble compliance with the vagaries of the State. Public opinion was the opinion of the State. Wide scope was allowed for non-public opinion—a notion thrown up by existential German *angst* in the 1950s—so long as public expression of the opinion of the State was not interfered with.

A few years ago, when it became clear that the British Government intended to launch a war of destruction on the Iraqi State, a million people demonstrated against it. The Government said that showed how different England was from Iraq—people were free to express their opinion—and that was an additional reason for making war on Iraq. The war turned out to be a very bad war. Some people said it was not only wrong, but illegal. The Government said in effect: You're entitled to your opinion that it is a wrong and illegal war and you must support it, because it is *our* war—our Army is engaged. Public opinion fell into line with this, supporting the actual fighting of the war, even while continuing to say it was wrong. And public demonstration against the war was criminalised. The regiments fighting this illegal war that brought mayhem to Iraq had to be welcomed home as heroes in public ceremonies. It was made a crime to heckle them as murderous agents of a war that was immoral or illegal. And there was scarcely a murmur of dissent when tangible public disapproval of the

war by people who thought it criminal was criminalised.

There was nothing unusual in that. It is how things happen in England. It would require skilled Jesuitry to discover in it the functioning of conscience independent of authority, and transcendent morality free of both custom and the state. But of course England is amply supplied with the casuistical skills it deploras as Jesuitry—much better supplied than Ireland ever was.

The English Reformation was the making of an Imperial State, and its religion has ever been ideology of that State.

In the week of intense Anti-Papist propaganda that preceded the Pope's visit, Jeremy Paxman of BBC's *Newsnight* said that the Pope was visiting England almost 500 years after England had won her freedom from Rome.

What did England's struggle for freedom consist of? An assertion by Henry that he was supreme in matters of religion, and that England was an Empire—and the rubber-stamping of Henry's assertion by his Council, called Parliament.

If only Ireland could have freed itself from England so easily, by the vote of an elected Parliament acting freely!

Report

The following is an extract from a programme called *Newman, Saint Or Sinner*, which was screened on BBC2 on 10th September 2010. It was about

Cardinal Newman, who converted from Anglicanism to Catholicism, and was made by Ann Widdecombe, a former Conservative MP who had also converted to Catholicism. This programme was notable for giving due weight to arguments with which Ms Widdecomb took issue

Cardinal Newman

[British television conducted a vigorous Anti-Papist campaign during the week or two prior to the Pope's visit. In the recent period the British media seems to have had it in mind that they could actually overthrow this Pope. Its apparent success in overthrowing some East European Governments some years ago gave it ideas above its station in life. Those overthrows were brought about by massive financial intervention by the USA and EU in the internal electoral processes of those states, with the British media playing the part of chorus or echo. The Papacy is a much tougher nut to crack. It is as skilled in propaganda as

its enemies—unlike those naive, incompetent, post-Communist East European Governments. And, in its strong revival since the destruction of the Papal States in the later 19th century and the suppression of Church institutions in France around 1900, Papism has gained substantial footholds in the camps of its enemies. Liberal ideology cannot understand how it was that this happened, but in political life it has to allow for the fact that it has.

The preliminary Anti-Papist propaganda concentrated mainly on child sex abuse. The BBC's liberal saint from North Kerry, Fergal Keane, scoured the globe for evidence to implicate the Pope. And Peter Tatchell, the homosexualist campaigner, did his best on another channel, but it was all a bit far-fetched. The discovering of mass graves of children at Protestant orphanages in Ireland, and the overcoming of the reluctance of the Irish media to make an issue of the discovery, probably exercised a discouraging influence on the English media.

Once the Papal state visit began, the official media had to do what it does on such occasions. It had to be respectful. We do not recall it, but we imagine that media coverage of the visit of the Rumanian dictator, Nicolai Ceaucescu, was very respectful. How could it have been otherwise, since Britain had sought out Ceaucescu to confer a knighthood on him and make him Sir Nicolai?

Anyway, the Pope's visit was covered respectfully by state broadcasting. And the BBC commissioned Anne Widdecomb (retired Tory MP and former Tory Cabinet Minister, who began life as an Anglican but went Papist) to do a programme about Newman. And, since this magazine can say nothing much about his life, we give a couple of extracts from the Widdecomb programme.

It will be noticed that the Professor of Church History at Oxford, who we gather is a post-Christian Protestant, takes the opportunity to make a bit of homosexual propaganda, thinly-based. And he uses a term that is new to us—*homosocial*.

We think Widdecomb is mistaken in suggesting that, at the time of Newman's conversion to Rome, Papists could not become MPs. As far as we know the Emancipation Act of 1829, introduced in response to a credible threat of physical force generated by Daniel O'Connell, was not restricted to Ireland. But it is true that for more than a generation after 1829 converts to Catholicism were pilloried. *The Times*, until late in the 19th century, published the names of eminent converts to Rome, describing them as "*perverts*".

The first Roman Bishops were not appointed in England until 1851, and a Parliamentary Bill was brought in to put

them down. In Ireland Roman Bishops had been operating openly since the 1790s.]

Anglicanism & Catholicism

...Since the Protestant Reformation of the 16th century, any trace of Catholic worship had been stamped out in Anglican Churches, condemned as signs of the devotional excesses of Rome. But in his Sermons Newman argued that the Reformers had gone too far. Stained glass windows, priestly vestments and the centrality of the Eucharist are all Catholic traditions the Oxford Movement reintroduced into Anglican worship. But, for all his passion for Catholic practices, he still had a huge distrust of the Church in Rome.

For Newman the Church of Rome had been presented as the Great Whore, the home of corruption and superstition. And for him the plaster Saints, the miracles, the idolisation of Mary, the statues, were all proofs that Rome was unstable, unreliable, and deplorably corrupt. And these developments, for Newman, showed that the Roman Church had severed its links with the authentic Church of the past.

Newman wasn't alone in his prejudice. Such contempt for the Catholic Church was rife in Victorian England. But, as a candidate for Catholic beatification, they're rather, shall we say, unusual views to hold. So how did a man who called the Pope the Anti-Christ, and who showed such zeal for the Anglican rather than the Roman Church become a candidate for Catholic sainthood?

The catalyst for change was a row with the Hierarchy of the Church of England. Newman took issue with what was known as the *39 Articles* of Anglican faith: beliefs you had to sign up to in order to enter Oxford or Cambridge or to hold an office of state. Catholics couldn't subscribe to them, so they were effectively blocked from positions of power. But Newman argued there was nothing strictly anti-Catholic about the Articles. That outraged the Anglican Bishop. For, if Papists could accept the 39 Articles, what was to stop them infiltrating English institutions. How dare Newman interpret them that way!

For Newman it was too much. It marked the beginning of the end of his Anglican belief. And the start of his journey to Rome.

In April 1842 Newman made a decision to withdraw from the spotlight of Oxford society and move to a village on the outskirts of the city. Littlemore was part of his parish as Vicar of St. Mary's...

Littlemore is now looked after by a Catholic community, the Sisters of the Spiritual Family of the Work...

Newman began a detailed study of the early Church Fathers: Bishops and

theologians who laid the basis of the Faith in the first few centuries of Christianity. But, as he worked, he started to come to an uncomfortable conclusion. When he looked at the origins of the Church, he saw it wasn't Anglicanism which had preserved the true roots of Christianity, but Rome.

Despite the gentleness and the tranquil routine of Littlemore, it was for Newman a time of huge internal conflict. On one hand he'd attracted the wrath of the Anglican Bishop, whom he respected, and on the other he was beginning to realise that the Roman Church, which he had spent years condemning as misguided and corrupt, might actually be the source of truth. His mind was in turmoil. But the one thing he was absolutely sure of was that he couldn't in all conscience continue in the Church of England. So in 1843 he resigned as Vicar...

The world of the Church of England, which had been his life and purpose for over 40 years was no longer his home. He was about to embark on a very different path. One that was to cost him dearly.

I went back to Littlemore to hear the inevitable conclusion to Newman's story of conversion. Sister Mary took me to the room in which he made his first Confession in the Catholic Church...

Sister Mary: It was a great moment, a changing moment in his life. Because it was a moment linked to a great personal cost. Because he knew he had to leave the University because no Catholics were at that moment allowed to be at University. It meant that he would confuse many people and especially hurt many friends and members of his family. We have here a copy of a letter he wrote to his sister Jemima. He said: "*I must tell you what will pain you greatly...*"

Ann Widdecomb: And what was his sister's reaction?

Sister Mary: Well, she found it quite hard but she tried to understand Newman. But the other sister, Harriet, she was very, very upset and she didn't speak to him any more... Never again.

AW: It's hard to imagine today just how shocking it was in the 19th century for someone as high profile and influential as Newman to convert to Catholicism. Post-Reformation laws stopped Catholics from certain professions. You couldn't be a doctor, a lawyer, or teach at Oxford. And I certainly couldn't have become an MP.

One of the reasons why I feel such an affinity with Newman is that for a long time our paths were similar. I too grew up as an Evangelical. I too believed that Rome was full of superstition, if not positive blasphemy. But, like Newman, gradually the doubts grew, and I began to perceive the Roman Church as having the real truth and the real authority. At

that point however our paths diverged, because for me it was fairly smooth... For Newman it was very different.

Keeping Down The Catholics

To find out why his conversion caused such outrage, I went to see Dermot McCulloch, Professor of Church History at Oxford University.

AW: *So what was it like to be a Catholic in the middle of the 19th century?*

Diarmaid McCulloch: In England it would be a bit like being on the outside of a fish-bowl. You're not quite a member of full society. You may be a gentleman whose family have been Catholic right back to the Reformation, but you probably will be an Irish labourer. It's not easy to *trust* a Roman Catholic in 19th century England, because there's a long tradition of Roman Catholics being deceitful, being enslaved to a power abroad, being against everything that is English, against the English way of life.

AW: *So why was Newman's conversion a cause of such outrage?*

DMcC: Well, because he'd been the champion of a particular sort of Anglican. And he'd had a huge Anglican following. I mean he was a bit like a Rock star in religious terms. Young men, particularly at this University in Oxford, worshipped Newman. And for Newman then to betray this new bold vision of Anglicanism that he presented was a terrible betrayal. And there were a lot of people in the Church of England who also said: "*I told you so; this is exactly where Newman's new vision of Anglicanism will take us. And that is to Rome.*"

*

[Soon after his conversion in 1845, Newman became a priest. He spent the rest of his life at the Oratory in Birmingham, except for four years in Dublin (1854-8), as Rector of a Catholic University. He died in 1890.]

AW: His body was laid in state and the people of Birmingham filed to see him in their thousands. In the Obituaries he was already being hailed as a saint. A Cardinal, speaking at his Requiem Mass, said:

"No other man has so changed the religious thought of England. We cannot forget that we owe to him one singular achievement. No one who does not intend to be laughed at will henceforward say that Catholic religion is fit only for weak intellects and unmanly brains."

Today the terms English and Catholic are no longer mutually exclusive. And that, to a very large extent, is down to Newman and his legacy. And I've good pastoral reason to be grateful for that. When I became a Catholic, my family didn't feel the need to disown me. I

wasn't regarded widely as a traitor. And for that we can thank Cardinal Newman and what he left behind.

But is it enough to make a saint?

Well, a century after his death, Newman still divides opinion, even more so now as the day of his beatification approaches. And there's one more controversy still casting a shadow on his reputation.

Beloved Friend

AW: This is Cardinal Newman's private room at the Oratory, where he lived and worked for most of his adult life. It hasn't been touched since the day he died. Next to his writing desk is his private chapel. And it's here that there's a clue to what some think is the biggest hindrance to his claims to sainthood. This chapel says a lot about Newman, because on the right-hand side there we have the people for whom it was most important for him to pray. Amongst them is Ambrose St. John: Newman's closest companion and the man with whom he asked to be buried. He wrote after Ambrose's death: "I have ever thought no bereavement was equal to that of a husband's or a wife's, but I feel it difficult to believe that any can be greater, or any one's sorrow greater than mine."

It's this relationship that's been at the heart of a debate which threatens to overshadow Newman's Beatification. Was there more to it than just a simple friendship? Could it undermine his claim to have lived a holy life? After all it is the current Pope who has labelled homosexuality an intrinsic disorder.

Prof. Diarmaid McCulloch, Saint Cross College, Oxford: For me there's no doubt that Newman was gay. And by that I mean that his identity was gay. I don't care, and I don't know, whether he practised that in any sense, whatever practice might mean. His primary emotional involvements are with men. He revelled in the homosocial society of Oxford. No close emotional relationships with women. And that is a gay identity. And it seems to me that the old philosophical adage applies: Walks like a duck, quacks like a duck, looks like a duck: Can it be a duck. Well, Newman looks patently a gay man in that respect.

AW: *If that is what he was, and if as seems to be the case he certainly didn't practice, is that not in itself an indication of an enormous restraint, in the name of what he believed to be right?*

DMcC: No. No. I think it's a mark of him being in a particular place in a particular society. Who knows what he and Ambrose St. John or any of these other close associates did? Who cares? It's an issue because the Roman Catholic Church makes this particular sexuality into an issue. The last Pope and the present Pope talked about homosexuality

being intrinsically disordered. And therefore it's an embarrassment to have your prime saint candidate intrinsically disordered. When it's blatantly obvious that this man is gay. And does something very unusual, which is to demand to be buried in the same grave as his friend, then I think you need to take that as part of the package. And, say, what's the problem? If we're going to make this man a saint, that is part of the picture. Let us not think of it as an embarrassment. But, of course, it *is* an embarrassment to a Church which has made this a particular issue.

AW: *But Dermot's opinion isn't the only one. Fr. Ian Ker thinks Newman's friendship with Ambrose is easily explained.*

Fr. Ian Ker (Newman Scholar): There were no girls in Oxford so if you were going to have any friends they had to be male friends. There wasn't any alternative. And, of course, when he became a Catholic priest, he naturally found himself in a male community. But they had very close affectionate friendships. Yes, no one's denying that. It's only our age that's lost the concept of friendship, where everything has to be a relationship, a sexual relationship. They wouldn't have understood that. They could freely—not only Newman but all his contemporaries—could freely say that they loved another man. I suppose we would say today, more cagily, 'I'm very fond of him'. Because it could be a bit dangerous to say 'I love him'. It would suggest something else. But they used that expression quite clearly where we would say 'fond'.

AW: I do think Newman would have been baffled by the 21st century's obsession with sex...

Wilson John Haire

FORWARD TO THE 17TH CENTURY

The Pope ploughs a furrow, turns up treasure,
much of a Cromwellian antiquity.
(John Milton-like, versed in iniquity)
True Humanism was in short measure.

Secular ideas conveyed the far-right.
Journalists, letter-writers showed hatred.
Liberal-Imperialist paper was acrid,
ignoring state-authority to bite.

So what was the point of all this loathing.
(said brew of the medieval and Nazism)
Can this Faith be so near cataclysm.

Dressed racism in human rights clothing.
The now-dead Holy Roman Empire named,
though, would they see the British Empire
shamed.

25th September, 2010

Séamas Ó Domhnaill

Eoghan Ruadh Ó Súilleabháin

1748—1784

Aspects of his Life and Work

Part 1

The Great Eoghan Ruadh

Dear Reader,

This is a story about Irish literature in the 18th Century. In particular it concerns the famous Munster poet Eoghan Ruadh Ó Súilleabháin (Owen Roe O' Sullivan).

It is my intention to write a full biography of Eoghan Ruadh so I would be obliged if you would read through the points I make with a critical eye and let me know of any corrections I would need to make, anything I may have overlooked, any further sources if information I could use or any other avenues I could explore in relation to Irish literature in general or Eoghan Ruadh in particular. Please contact me at jimaricel@eircom.net.

As The Crow Flies

Munster is the most southern of the four provinces of Ireland. If you were to travel to Munster from the Philippines you would fly north from Manila, over Hong Kong, China, Kazakhstan, Russia, Belarus, Poland, Germany and land in Amsterdam Airport. Then you would take another flight across the North Sea, southern England, the Celtic Sea and you would arrive at Cork Airport in southern Munster.

Cork Airport is located in the townland of Baile Garbháin (Ballygarvan) in the civil parish of Carraig Uí Leighin

(Carrigaline) in the barony of Ciarraí Cuirche (Kerrycurrihy) in the county of Corcaigh (Cork). Up until around the year 1600 the little kingdom of Kerrycurrihy belonged to a branch of the Fitzgerald family and was an integral part of the larger kingdom of the great Fitzgerald Earls of Desmond (Deas Mhumhain, South Munster).

If you want to reach Munster from America you should fly east across the Atlantic and land at Shannon Airport in the north of the province. Shannon Airport is located in the townland of Rinn Eanaigh (Rineanna), in the civil parish of Cill Chomhraí (Kilconry) in the barony of Bun Raite (Bunratty) in the county of An Chlár (Clare). Bunratty was once the capital of the O'Brien kings of Thomond (Tuath Mhumhain, North Munster).

The action of Eoghan's life takes place mainly in the counties Kerry, Limerick and Cork. He also spent some time in the West Country in England and in the West Indies, but more of that anon.

History In Song

Eoghan's songs and his life story, light up for us the history of the "*Hidden Ireland*" of the eighteenth century. This is the history of our fields and our rivers, of our roads and our towns, of our streets and of our housing estates.

You will find here examples of songs written in the Irish language. If you are



a fluent Irish speaker you will recognise the beauty and the high art of Eoghan Ruadh's compositions:

Do b'eaglach méisi im aonar roimpi
Ar théacht na hoidhche tráth ar neóin
Is falaing den aer bog bhaoth 'na
timcheall
Is éadach uimpi i ndeallramh sróill

If you are a learner, like me, you will find in Eoghan's poetry a rich store of language and a beautiful blending of words and music. This is at once a credit to the education of the outlaw Hedge Schools and Courts of Poetry of the penal days and a homage to the language spoken by the people of Munster in his day.

Eoghan Ruadh was a fine poet. His songs are magnificent and he is recognised as the writer of the finest lyric poetry that Ireland ever produced. Fr. Patrick Dinneen compared the way Eoghan wrote his songs to the way a builder would build a house:

"Eoghan did not go far from home to seek the stones with which he built his house. He used everything that lay about whether it was rough or smooth. He understood that the fault was not with the stones but with the way they were compiled, and explained and put in order. A good stone mason did not mind whether the stones around him were rough; it is well he understood how to break and to mortar them; how to put this stone end-on and that stone edge-wise and to pack and trim the whole and to make every part of the house elegant.

"Eoghan was a word mason. He used the words which were in the mouths of the people and in the common poetry of that time. But he knew well how to weld and beat them together and to organise them wonderfully. He understood that his audience were simple people without education and that it would be no good to him to compose things that would not be understood. There is little interest in what is not understood."¹

If you do not speak Irish, if you come from another country or if the Irish you learned in school is a little rusty, *ná bí buartha*, don't worry {Be happy}. A very nice man by the name of Pat Muldowney has done all the hard work of translating

all of Eoghan Ruadh's songs and other compositions into Her Majesty's English and these translations are used throughout this essay along with the original verses as Gaeilge. Sometimes I have tweaked the translation a little to suit my own figaries (*Gabh mo leithscéal faoi sin a Phádraig*).

An Bhéal Bhinn

Eoghan Ruadh Ó Súilleabháin was born in the townland of Na Mínteóga (Meentogues) in the barony of Maigh gCoinchinn (Magunihy) in County Kerry. He died in Cnoc na Graí (Knocknagree) in the barony of Dúiche Ealla (Duhallow) in County Cork, which is only a few miles as the crow flies from his place of birth.²

Eoghan's whole adult life was spent travelling. From the time he was old enough to leave home he joined the hoards of other men from the upland areas of Kerry who for economic reasons migrated each year to work in the rich agricultural lands in North and East Cork, Limerick, Tipperary and Galway. Eoghan worked as a *Spealadóir* (a mower) which meant that he would travel to take part in the harvest in the autumn. For the rest of the year he would generally run a hedge school either at home in Sliabh Luachra (a district of rich culture on the borders of Counties Kerry and Cork) or other places in Cork or Limerick. He constantly sought the company of people who shared his joy of literature and who appreciated his poetic gift. It was this that caused him to wander far from home as much as his need to earn a living by hard labour.

Daniel Corkery wrote about Eoghan Ruadh that "*his wanderings have not yet been traced on a map; perhaps they never will...*"³ Folklore can provide us with some clues as to the places where Eoghan travelled. Indeed a lot of the biographical details written down by Fr. Patrick Dinneen were gathered as he himself was growing up in the Rathmore area. Eoghan's songs, however provide us with another very rich and perhaps a more accurate guide his life of wandering.

The settings and subject matter of Eoghan's songs provide us with vivid geographic detail and allow us to fix him in time and place. Let's have a look,

for example, at the song known as *An t-Arrachtach Sean* (the Old Monster)⁴, which is a satire on married men. The song was written on the occasion of a hurling match and a poetic contest in Faiche (Faha) near Gníomh go Leith (Gneevegullia) in the barony of Magunihy, Co. Kerry. The married men had won the hurling match and were well ahead in the poetry competition. All of this probably took place during the winter months when there was little farm work to be done. In any case it was Christmas time when Eoghan returned home to Sliabh Luachra from his travels. He wrote his song as a last ditch effort to defeat the old men. The event took place around 1769 when Eoghan was about 21 years old. In the second verse he gives us an insight into the feelings of a young man forced to travel far away from home:

Ciodh singil le sealad óm charaid i
gcéin mé,
Ag caitheamh mo rae gan réimeas ná
reacht,
Gan chiste, gan cheannas, gan racht-
mas ná saoghaltacht,
D'abaidh im thaobh-sa créim agus
cnead...

Though lonesome for a while away far away
from my relatives / spending my time
authority or power / without wealth, without
command, without abundance, without
livelihood / an ache and a sigh grew in my
heart...

The song is full of abuse for "old",
married, men and exalted praise for the
young:

An uair amharcann ainnir do
snaidhmeadh le h-ársach
Faraire bláthmhar álainn ar each,
Go meanmnach acfuinneach abidh
glan ceárfreach
Lannmhar láidir lán-chumais mear,
Bíodhganna croidhe-sin is líonann le
taitneamh dhó,
Tígeann dortadh dflis is caoi guil 'na
haigineadh,
Adeir, galar gan bráth gan chasadh
go leagaidh mo chaired
Cheangail go bráth mé le harrachtach
sean.

Whenever a girl who is married to an old
fellow sees / a fine, handsome fellow on a

¹ *An t-Athair Pádraig Ua Duinnín, D.Litt.: Eoghan Ruadh Ua Súilleabháin, Nuadh-Eagar, i-na dhá imleabhar, ar a chuid amhrán, maille re cóir mhúinte. Imleabhar I. Na hAmhráin, agus Tráchtas ar Cháilidheacht an Fhileadh. Connradh na Gaeilge, i mBaile Átha Cliath, 1923* {The Title of this book mentions "dhá imleabhar" two volumes. I do not know if the second volume was ever published. If you know whether a manuscript or notes from *Imleabhar a Dó*—Volume II are available, please let me know as it may contain some very valuable information. *Go raibh maith agat, SÓD.*}

² *An t-Athair Pádraig Ua Duinnín: Beath Eoghain Ruaidh Uí Shúilleabháin* (1902). The main biographical details of Eoghan Ruadh have come to us from the hand of Fr. Dineen. His date of birth has not been otherwise verified.

³ Daniel Corkery: *The Hidden Ireland*, page 202. MH Gill & Son, Dublin 1956.

⁴ Air: "O'Sullivan's March".

steed / lively, powerful, sprightly, pure, active / brave, strong, in full ability, swift / her heart leaps and fills with love for him / a sweet effusion and weeping comes to her mind / she says, may sickness without recovery afflict my relatives / who tied me forever to an old monster

In the final verse Eoghan slaps off his opponents from Glenflesk and from Baile Bhúirne and encourages the team of young men in their match with the oldies:

Cois Fleasca, mar thuigim, níl file ná fáidh
Do b'ursa chum prás do tháthadh le ceart,
Níl taitheach 'na bhfriotáil 's níl fuinneamh 'na ndán,
Tá cuisle na dáimhe tráighthe aca, is feas,
An tráth d'iomchraid gan cunntas gach chúil-ghearradh tarcuisneach
Thug trú Bhaile Bhúirne dá ndúthaigh go masluightheach,
Is mar phearsan den fhuirinn do chluichfeadh an búr
Le cumann do b'umhal mo laugh-sa 'na measc.

By the Flesk, as I understand it, there is no poet or wise man / who is a stalwart able to weld brass (slang for correctly making a poem) / There's no substance in their words and no force in their poems / The flow of poetry has ebbed among them, it is clear / when they tolerate without reckoning every offensive slander / that the wretch of Ballyvourney insultingly spread in their district / And as a man of the team, that would take on the foreigners, / with humble friendship my shout amongst them.

There is a song in English which Eoghan wrote towards the end of his life:

Give ear ye British Hearts of Gold
That e'er distain to be controlled
Good news to you I will unfold
'Tis of brave Rodney's glory...

For some reason, Eoghan ended up in the British Navy at the Battle of the Saintes in the West Indies on 12th April 1782. Admiral George Rodney won a surprise victory against the French who were under the command of Admiral de Grasse. Eoghan was a marine or a soldier

serving on Rodney's own flagship and wrote the song in honour of the Admiral in the first flush of victory.⁵

In the years around 1770 Eoghan's journeys would take him to the border region of the three counties Kerry, Cork and Limerick. He spent time in such places as Ceann Toirc (Kanturk) in the barony of Duhallow, Móin Ruaidh (Moanroe) and Áth an Mhuilinn (Millford) both in the barony of Coill Mhór (Kilmore), Co. Cork. It was in Millford that he came across Muiris and Donnachadh Ó Núnáin. Eoghan wrote a Barántas for Donnachadh.⁶

While much of Eoghan Ruadh's life was spent travelling the roads (and the sea as well) he did not pass blindly through places. He was always reading the landscape through which he passed. He was an expert practitioner of the science of places which in Irish is called *Dinnsheanchas*. This word is rich in meaning. It is a compound of two words:

a. *Dionn*: A fortress, a royal palace.
Dionnán: a hillock

b. *Seanchas*: History, lore, ancient law, a record or register, a minute description, a pedigree, an ancient tale; act of story telling, gossiping, inquiring about one's condition or health...

Dinnsheanchas is "the history of famous places, topography".⁷

A tourist might view the countryside of Ireland as a series of lovely landscapes. A colonist might see it in terms of productivity and profit. To the native Irish however, the countryside was a living history of the people from time immemorial. It was a school book and a register, an entertainment and a lesson. "*Dinnsheanchas* reflects a mentality in which the land is perceived as being completely translated into story: each place has a history which is continuously retold."⁸

In his *aisling*-vision which is sung to the air of the "*Spealadóir*", Eoghan refers to the practitioners of *Seanchas*. Fr. Dinneen uses the first line of the following verse in his Dictionary as an example of the meaning of *Seanchas*: Poets and

learned men versed in matters of history or genealogy.

Acht éigse 's suadh an tseanchuis
I ngéibhinn chruaidh 's i n-anacra
Go tréith i dtuathaibh leathan Luirc
Gan reim mar ba ghnáth

But the poets and bards of ancient learning / in dire bondage and in hardship / weak, in the broad lands of Lorc / without the authority that was their traditional right.⁹

Barúntachtaí

You will probably have noticed by now a lot of reference to the type of land division known as a Barony. There are four provinces in Ireland. Each province is divided up into various Counties, each County is divided up into Baronies, each Barony is divided up into Civil Parishes and each Parish is divided up into Townlands. Where ever you are in Ireland you will always be in one of these. For example Eoghan Ruadh was born in the townland of Meentogues in the parish of Kilcummin in the barony of Magunihy in the county of Kerry in the province of Munster in Ireland.

While the baronies of Ireland have little administrative function nowadays, they have great historical value. In the Baronies we see the fossilised remains of the little native kingdoms as they were in the 1500s immediately prior to the English conquest.

Up until the reign of King Henry VIII (1491–1547) English government in Ireland was confined to the area around Dublin known as the Pale. Outside of the Pale, Ireland was a patchwork of independent lordships. Each lordship was known in Irish as a *Pobal* or *Oidhreacht* and was largely independent of the other lordships and certainly of the English Government.¹⁰

According to Irish Law the land in each lordship, both Gaelic and Anglo Norman, did not belong to one man but to the family group which occupied it. The people considered themselves to be the Clann (children) of the Taoiseach (lord or chief). They identified themselves completely with him and were fiercely loyal no matter how tyrannical or otherwise he may be.¹¹

The roots of these lordships stretched

⁵ The spirit of this song appears to be in complete contradiction of the Gaelic Jacobite political views expressed in the main body of Eoghan's literary work which is of course written in Irish. I will discuss this question at a later occasion.

⁶ An t-Athair Pádraig Ua Duinnín: *Eoghan Ruadh Ua Súilleabháin, Nuadh-Eagar, i-na dhá imleabhar, ar a chuid amhrán, maille re cóir mhíniúgte. Imleabhar I. Na hAmhráin, agus Tráchtas ar Cháilidheacht an Fhileadh*. Connradh na Gaeilge, i mBaile Átha Cliath, 1923.

⁷ Rev. Patrick Dinneen: *Foclóir Gaeidhíle agus Béarla*. Irish Text Society 1927.

⁸ *The Oxford Companion to Irish Literature*, page 150. Clarendon Press, Oxford 1996.

⁹ Pat Muldowney: *Eoghan Ruadh Ó Súilleabháin – Na hAilsingí*.

¹⁰ Kenneth Nicholls: *The Development of Lordship in County Cork, 1300–β1600*. Cork History & Society, page 157, Geography Publications, Dublin, 1993.

¹¹ M.E. Collins, *Ireland 1478 - 1610*, page 24. The Educational Company, Dublin, 1980.

back hundreds and sometimes thousands of years. People rarely travelled far from home. To move from one lordship to another, even if it was only a journey of a couple of miles, would be like to going to a foreign country.¹²

Slán Chois Mháighe

The poet Aindrias Mac Craith was born around the year 1708 in the townland of Baile an Fhantaigh (Fanstown) in the parish of Cill Bríde (Kilbreedy) in the Barony of Cois Máighe (Coshma)¹³ in the county of Limerick. He lived until 1795.

Andrias was famous and was well known by his nickname: *An Mangaire Súgach*—The Merry Peddler. He was one of the leading lights of the Court of Poetry which assembled in the village of Cromadh (Croom) on the banks of the river Máigh (Maigue).¹⁴ One of his best known songs begins with the line: "Slán is céad ón taobh so uaim". The song is usually referred to by the title: "*Slán Chois Mháighe*". It is a greeting or a farewell from Aindrias from his place of exile in the village of Baile an Fhaoitigh (Ballyneety) to his friends in Croom. It is addressed to his great friend

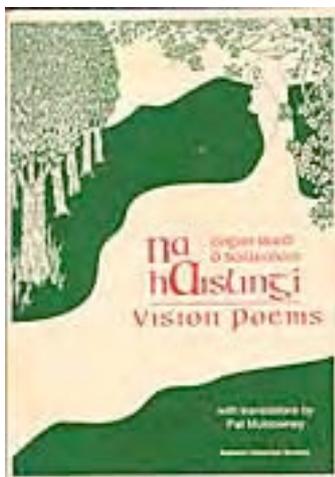
Seán Ó Tuama who was the head of the Croom Court of Poetry. You can sing it to the air of "*The Bells of Shandon*".

Only ten miles separate Croom from Ballyneety,¹⁵ yet an important boundary line lies between them. Croom is located in the barony of Cois Máighe (Coshma),¹⁶ whereas Ballyneety is located in the barony of Uí Chonaill Gabhra (Connello). So the journey from one village to the other involved moving to a different country. The title of the song (and its associated tune) is usually given in English as "*Farewell to the Maigue*", as if the poet were saying good bye to the river itself or at least to a specific place on the banks of the river. A more accurate translation would be "*Farewell to Coshma*", that is to say, the Barony of Coshma. The sense of strangeness between one barony and another can be felt in the following verse from of "*Slán Chois Mháighe*":

Don tsráid nuair théim mar aon ar cuaird
Ní háil leo mé is ní réidhid lem chluain;
Bíd mná le chéile ag plé dá lua—
"Cé háit, cé hé, cá taobh ór ghluais?"

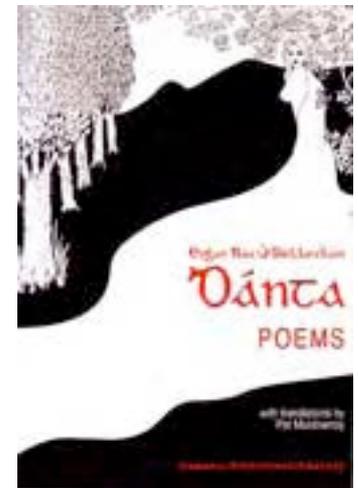
When I visit the village as others do / in hostile mood my ways they view / the gossips for gab have something new / "what place? who is he? from where removed?"¹⁷

If you look at the map of County Limerick¹⁸ you will see that there are two baronies which intertwine with each other. One is known as Déise Beag (Small County) and the other is Coshma. Coshma developed as a separated part of the great lordship of Gearaltaigh Chill Dara—the Fitzgeralds of Kildare.¹⁹ Small County was part of the lordship of Gearaltaigh Dheasmhumhain—the Fitzgeralds of Desmond. Coshma could be looked upon therefore as a part of a foreign though allied country which separated two parts of the Desmond lands, i.e. Small County and Connello.²⁰ The Kildare branch of the Fitzgeralds originated in Co. Limerick and only moved to Cill Dara around the year 1316. In Limerick their capital was Croom and in Kildare it was Maynooth. For hundreds of years, until their suppression by the English, the battle cry of the men of Kildare was *Crom Abú!*, whereas the battle cry of the Fitzgeralds of Desmond was *Shanid Abú!* To this day the motto of Maynooth GAA Club is *Crom Abú!*



Eoghan Rua Ó Súilleabháin: *Aislingí / Vision Poems* With translations by *Pat Muldowney*, Introductory material by *P. Dinneen*. Note On Script by *N. Cusack*. Also: *Conflicting Views Of Ireland In The 18th Century: Revisionist History Under The Spotlight* by *B. Clifford*. *Eoghan Rua Ó Súilleabháin: Collected Writings, Vol. 1.* 216pp. Index. ISBN 1 903497 07 8. AHS, 2002, €20, £15.

Eoghan Rua Ó Súilleabháin: *Danta / Poems* With translations by *Pat Muldowney*. Supplementary Material by *Seámus O'Donnell* and others. *Eoghan Rua Ó Súilleabháin: Collected Writings, Vol. 2.* 230pp. Index. ISBN 1 903497 57 9. AHS, 2009, €20, £15.



¹² The words of a 20th century English writer in relation to an Italian Swiss canton come to mind:

"This valley of the Ticino ought to stand apart and be a commonwealth of its own like Andorra or the Gresivaudan: the noble garden of the Isere within the first gates of the Dauphine ... it was a place worthy of a special name and of being one lordship and a countryside." Hillaire Belloc, *The Path To Rome*, 1902.

¹³ Máire Comer Bruen & Daithí Ó hÓgáin: *An Mangaire Súgach*, p. 5. Coiscéim, Baile Átha Cliath, 1996.

¹⁴ Risteárd Ó Foghlúadh: *Éigse na Máighe*, page 35. Oifig an tSoláthair, Baile Átha Cliath 1952 (athchló 1978).

¹⁵ Criostoir O'Flynn: *The Maigue Poets – Filí na Máighe*, page 123. Obelisk Books, Dublin 1995.

¹⁶ Literally: "beside the (river) Maigue" cf. Rev. Patrick Dinneen: *Foclóir Gaeidhíle & Béarla*, p. 253. Irish Text Society 1927.

¹⁷ Criostoir O'Flynn: *The Maigue Poets – Filí na Máighe*, pages 129 - 130.

¹⁸ Irelands History in Maps: <http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~irlkik/ihm/>

¹⁹ Ath Dara (Adare) is the main town in Coshma and Croom is next in importance. The Fitzerald Lords of Kildare built and maintained the great castles at Adare and Croom through constables. There is no direct road between Adare and Croom. Instead it seems that the Maigue River itself formed the main transport. The Maigue is navigable up as far as Adare. Perhaps Adare developed as an inland port along the lines of Antwerp. The Fitzerald lordship of Desmond lay in the rich agricultural lands in Counties Limerick and Tipperary known as the Golden Vale. Maybe the Senior (Kildare) branch of the Fitzgeralds held Coshma for themselves in order to control the Golden Vale trade.

²⁰ M.E. Collins, *Ireland 1478 - 1610*, page 25. The Educational Company, Dublin, 1980.

Stephen Richards

HERE I AM AMONGST YOU: *Songs, Music and Traditions of an Ulsterman. Len Graham.* Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2010. pp. 328

Joe Holmes And Leo Graham

Four Courts Press seems to have started out as a specialist academic publisher on historical—usually Irish—and theological subjects. A glance at its list of current publications would suggest that it has steadily expanded its operations beyond its original base. This book by Len Graham, celebrating the life of Joe Holmes and through him the rich Ulster singing tradition, is a very commendable example of the more popular end of the spectrum.

The price might not be so popular, at 54 euro for the hardback, and 22.50 for the softback edition which is what I opted for. Still, I would think that the hardback would be a handsome-looking volume. The paper is good quality, if a little shiny, the black and white photos and illustrations are a joy, and the research that has gone into it is massive. It's marred only by the author's irritating insistence on referring to "Joe and I" when the sentence demands "Joe and me". Another version of *Me and Bobby McGee* I suppose! And maybe that analogy isn't inapt, though without the love affair gone wrong subplot of the Kristofferson song. Parts of the book read like a bucolic Ulster screenplay for a road movie.

The publication date was July of this year. My attention was drawn to it only by a piece on RTE radio, not by any publicity here in the North. I believe it has also been favourably reviewed in the *Irish Times*, for what it's worth. The publishers have made a serious effort to promote this book in the southern media, despite the intense northern localism of the subject matter.

Paths Converge

Len Graham has been a figure at the edge of my consciousness ever since the late seventies. His renditions of traditional songs that I heard on the radio were honest and unostentatious, delivered in a resonant baritone. I remember I used to come across the odd LP of his in the folk section at Andy's Records in Cambridge market. At that time I believed on the basis of something I had heard that he was connected with Portrush, but he actually came from Glenarm, the southernmost village of the Glens of

Antrim, just a dozen miles from where I'm sitting, as the crow flies across the hills. It's the archetypal Ulster "*place apart*", a pleasantly backward community, with an old lime works, an offshore salmon fishery, and a MacDonnell castle. Graham absorbed the songs that came his way and by his late teens was singing round the country. A more modern example of a Glenarm singer making an impact on the wider stage is Ben Glover, who I believe is now living most of the time in America. As for Len Graham, he's living with his wife, also a traditional singer, in Mullaghbawn (*An Mullach Ban*) in Armagh.

Joe Holmes was born in 1906 in Killyrammer near Ballymoney. By the age of fourteen he was working at his first job, "*carrying the red danger flag in front of a steam roller for a North Antrim road contractor*". He later progressed, if that's the right word, to working as a scutcher in flax mills in Killyrammer, and, later, in Ballymoney town. This was about the most dangerous job you could be doing in the linen industry, and I gather from my mother that the scutchers were often rough tough characters without much of what they call these days a cultural hinterland. Joe was obviously an exception. He was a fiddler, having taught himself on a fiddle that his brother Harry brought home from the Great War. His mother was a well-known local singer, but Joe's future was blighted by a schoolteacher who informed him he couldn't sing, and so for the next forty five years he never sang in public. During all that time he kept his mother's songs in his head.

That's the way it might have stayed had he not met the nineteen year old Len Graham, who was singing at a social evening organized by the Antrim and Derry Fiddlers in Dunminning north of Ballymena in the Winter of 1963. Joe asked Len if he could give him the words of a song called *The Murlough Shore*, and it wasn't long before Len discovered that Joe was one of the finest traditional singers he had heard. For the next fifteen years until his comparatively early death in 1978 Joe led a freewheeling life,

travelling round the country in company with Len, Geordie Hanna, Eddie Butcher and other luminaries, singing at festivals everywhere else he could. For much of this period he was still holding down a job, now as greenkeeper at Ballymoney Bowling Club, but this didn't seem to cramp his style overmuch. He never married, and after his mother's death he didn't have any family responsibilities to hold him back. The anarchic child of nature was disguised by the omnipresent cloth cap and pipe. Not anarchic in the crude, Mick Jagger, who-breaks-a-butterfly-on-a-wheel kind of way: Mick turned out to be a typical scion of the English establishment, from whose ranks he had maybe never departed very far. But Joe just went on in his own sweet way, doing what he wanted to do, without any ambition to "make it" in terms of fame, fortune or financial reward, and never thinking he would be memorialized by a book like this.

Sweet Drummaul

The greater part of the book is made up of the songs that Joe Holmes sang, each one headed by the music on the stave, and followed by a commentary from Len Graham on the derivation and alternative versions of the song, and often including stories about experiences on the road with Joe and others, and reminiscences of some of the other musical old-timers from County Antrim. All in all this is a beguiling approach.

If I started to refer to the individual songs there's a danger I might not know where to stop, but I can't resist picking out the one entitled *Come Tender-hearted Christians*, a lament for the fate of Roddy McCorley, hanged at the bridge in Toome on account of his involvement in the 1798 Rebellion. For one thing it has a verse with an obliging reference to the townland of Drummaul, where my maternal grandmother came from, near Randalstown. A fair amount of information is contained in that same verse, packed into four lines. The words are put into the mouth of McCorley himself, posthumously as it were:

*Farewell unto you sweet Drummaul, if
in you I had stayed,
Among the Presbyterians, I'd ne'er have
been betrayed,
The gallows tree I'd ne'er have seen,
had I remain-ed there,
For Duffin you betrayed me, McErlean
you set the snare.*

Len recounts how when he and Joe sang this song in Bellaghy, at the Wolfe Tone GAA club, it caused a bit of a stir,

as one might be disposed to imagine. Those were the days when the singers and the fiddlers played and sang promiscuously in Orange Halls, GAA halls, and everywhere else that would have them.

Songs Of The People

The most comprehensive collection of Ulster songs is Sam Henry's *Songs Of The People*. This was the product of a regular column in the *Northern Constitution* from 1923 to 1939, Henry being a customs official in Coleraine. I remember the book from the early 1980s, when it was published I think by Blackstaff, although I note from Len Graham's bibliography that the publisher is stated as being the University of Georgia Press, Atlanta, in 1990. The home-grown book must have been only a selection, because I note from the Internet that the US edition, edited by Gale Huntington, contains the full collection of 800 songs and the volume is stated to weigh three and a half pounds.

It is certainly the Henry collection that anyone with a serious interest should acquire, but the additional fascination of this "*Joe Holmes collection*" is that the songs are mediated through the memory and experiences of one man. Sometimes Graham's commentary is rather sparse, but more often he allows himself to ramble along the byways of the origins and variants of the song, referring to versions that crop up in other parts of these islands, and in places as far afield as Arkansas and Newfoundland.

Graham tends to scatter his gems with both hands as he goes. I wouldn't have known that the eighteenth century Ulster Presbyterian emigrants to America weren't actually called the Scotch-Irish, not called that until about 1850 anyway. The reason of course is that there wasn't any other significant Irish people group in America until then, so they were simply known as the Irish, or "*the wild Irish*". Where does that leave Washington's glowing reference to "*the Scotch-Irish of my native Virginia*"? Maybe another cherished Ulster myth bites the dust.

As for the songs, you won't find here those that might be considered (by me anyway!) to be the greatest of the Ulster songs. I know that list-making is considered to be an obsessively male thing to do so I apologize in advance, but for me the really great songs lyrically and melodically are *My Lagan Love*, *The Flower of Magherally* (a townland near Banbridge), *The Flower of Sweet Strabane*, and *The Banks of the Bann* (otherwise *The Brown Girl*). This last song

doesn't really have its own tune but is sung to the "*ancient Irish air*", which most will know from the hymn *Be Thou My Vision*. This (the song, not the hymn) contains the memorable verse:

*My name is Delaney, a name that won't
shame me,
And if I had saved money, I'd have plenty
in store,
But drinking and courting, night rambling
and sporting
Are the cause of my ruin and absence
from home.*

And as for the heroine:

*On the banks of the Bann, where first I
beheld her,
She appeared like fair Juno, or a
Grecian queen.*

This last image would need a Pre-Raphaelite like J.W. Waterhouse to do it justice. It's representative of much that's to be found in Joe Holmes's songs. For the most part we're dealing with star-crossed lovers and their enforced partings, emigration from native shores; some more humorous songs on subjects such as disguises at sea and errant spouses; and the odd "*murder ballad*" thrown in, as in *Appalachia*.

A Golden Age

What is striking is the lyrical competence of many of these songs. It's dangerous to generalize about dates of origin, especially as there are so many instances of cross-fertilization, but it seems to me that most of them date from the post-Napoleonic era, but are pre-Famine. If I had to pick the most prolific decade for them I would say the 1830s. The country had settled down after the turbulent previous forty years or so, the population was increasing remarkably, there was a faint promise of prosperity, and, in the North at least, there was serious linen production getting under way, but in cottages not in mills. The hedge schools were still doing their work in producing a peasantry with classical aspirations, and the National Schools project was not yet dead.

Catholic Emancipation had been achieved but O'Connell's Repeal movement was just getting off the ground, and the deep divisions it was to give rise to hadn't quite emerged. Similarly the new English-speaking Catholic Church was just beginning to flex its muscles but was far from reaching its zenith. The 1859 Revival that was to change the character of Ulster Protestant society still lay ahead. It would be an exaggeration to say that life in the countryside of the North of Ireland in the 1830s was a

pastoral idyll, or that there wasn't extreme poverty among certain classes, but these songs somehow convey a picture of a society at peace with itself. The experts may know more about this, but for the lay reader it would be almost impossible to tell which community a song might have emerged from. It almost seems as if there was just one community, not two. The later decades of the nineteenth century were to be decisive in forging the unstable mess that Ulster became.

"*Pastoral*", though, does seem to be the *mot juste*, in that the great Ulster songbook originates mainly from rural society. No doubt the songs ended up in Belfast and Lisburn, carried by those who travelled there to get work in the mills, but I can think of very few examples of Belfast songs except for children's street songs, which are almost a separate field of study, and I think there's only one Belfast song included in this book.

Ignoring The Troubles

In the early 1960s when Joe started out on his late-flowering singing career the festering communal tensions that characterize life in Northern Ireland were much less visible, the synthetic textile industries were beginning to move in, and life was fairly pleasant once again, but for a certain amount of low-level discrimination. Of course by 1970-71 that landscape had changed utterly, and the monsters had risen from the vasty deep. But this all seems to have made very little practical difference to Joe and his friends. They just continued on their way, effortlessly dodging the slings and arrows that were flying around.

The only literary parallel I can think of is Tom Bombadil in *Lord Of The Rings* (he was unfortunately excised from the movie). This is a character who reigns supreme in his own limited sphere and is oblivious to the crisis that is gripping Middle Earth. Joe Holmes's orientation was presumably Presbyterian and Unionist. There's no indication in the book that he was particularly fervent in either mode, but at the same time he doesn't appear to have become a Nationalist just because he hobnobbed with Nationalists. His political/religious position is not treated by Graham as if it's relevant at all.

This transcendental attitude wasn't unique. It was reflected also in the life of the Antrim and Derry Fiddlers, who have an entry in the *Encyclopaedia Of Ireland*, no doubt thanks to Len Graham. Their heyday was probably from the mid-50s to the mid-70s. During that period a majority of the members came from the

Protestant community, but their core repertoire was Irish traditional fiddle music.

The great legendary figure of the Antrim and Derry was Mickey McIlhatton (1901-75), a shepherd from Skerry West in the Antrim hills. The even tenor of his life was interrupted on only two occasions, first in the 1920s when he was interned for two years on the prison ship *Argenta* ("the Dawson Bates College") in Larne Lough for unspecified Republican activities; and, secondly, when he did time in Crumlin Road for potheen making in the late 60s. His fellow musicians appear to have taken all this in their stride.

Graham tells the story of the friendship that developed between McIlhatton and the former Commandant of his old prison ship, Captain William Gallagher. Indeed Gallagher was invited from time to time to go on shooting expeditions with Mickey in the Glens. On these occasions Gallagher would always insist that Mickey walk ahead of him. Mickey could never work out the reason for this!

So it wasn't as if none of these people had any political instincts, rather that the politics doesn't seem to have got in the way of their music.

Cultural Release

The late Miles Kington, who I think was born in Northern Ireland, had a theory that the way to end the Troubles would be for the whole of Northern Ireland to be taken over by the National Trust, because we all know that nothing bad ever happens on National Trust property. And of course the Trust already owns huge swathes of the place. I always reckoned there was a logical flaw in this somewhere, but there's also an underlying truth. The "shared space", both geographically and culturally, has been reducing instead of increasing. The "narrow ground" has been getting narrower. In political terms this was a problem that the Campaign for Labour Representation attempted to address, but the descent into communalism has been apparent everywhere.

The purpose of having shared cultural values isn't that we be re-educated as apolitical middle class types. The reason many "cross-community initiatives" have had little to show for their efforts is that they have been so self-consciously virtuous, with stated aims of bringing about reconciliation, flowers in hair etc. The human psyche doesn't work like that. We need to become involved in "things" for their own sake, and not for the sake of some unrelated by-products. The question posed by Don McLean in *American*

Pie (the song, not the movie), *Can music save your immortal soul?* is one of the many questions to which the answer is no. In the playing or the listening, though, it may enrich our lives and make us more interesting people to be around.

For us to do things together may not change our political orientation, nor should it be expected to, but we might be able to conduct our controversy in a more civilized way. In that course of the last forty years that might have led to many fewer people being killed.

Ourselves Alone

One problem for many Protestants is that the Catholic Church, not content with its own exclusive theological claims, is perceived as exercising some degree of cultural hegemony in relation to Gaelic games and Irish music, all in the cause of Irish nationalism. It isn't easy for outsiders to pick and choose from what seems to be a total package. Of course the accusation of "a cold house for Protestants" is denied by the political spokespersons of the Catholic community, but the impression remains, and it's one that is hard to brush aside, especially in the context of Gaelic games. I don't think it was the intention of the founders of the Gaelic League that such strong barriers be erected to keep out Protestants.

In relation to the Irish music scene, I suspect that Protestants have mainly themselves to blame for the fact that the Catholic community has taken this over almost completely. The CCE (*Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann*) had a strong Protestant representation to begin with, and indeed it was much less associated with religious and political symbolism than the GAA, but it appears to me that the Protestants as a community, as opposed to individuals here and there—and as opposed to their Scotch-Irish cousins—simply lost interest in their musical heritage, or channelled it into loyalist band music. If so, then it's better that Irish traditional music should have survived as a living force, even if sponsored by the Church, than that it should have been submerged under the waves of Troubles and assorted cultural trash from the 1970s on.

Additional sections of the book deal with the fiddling tradition, and here we have transcripts of about fifty of the tunes most popular in County Antrim; with the Killyrammer Christmas rhymers and mummers, in whose activities Joe played a large part; and with the playing of shinty, or shinny, which was the name for narrow stick hurling, and was carried on in North Antrim into living memory. McCambridge's Gaelic air and lament,

Ard a'Chuin, in which the poet pours out his longing to be back in Cushendun, has this stanza:

*Many's a Christmas I would be,
In Cushendun when young and foolish,
Hurling on the white strand,
My white hurl in my hand.*

That was a reference to shinny, not the formalized hurling of the GAA code.

The last song Joe Holmes and Len Graham sang together was *The Parting Glass*, in the Guildhall in Derry in the New Year of 1978. Joe died a couple of days later. The Epilogue contains an unattributed poem the last verse of which reads:

*And when he died
Musicians gathered at the corner,
Slip-jigging reel-fast feet
Halting to an ache of shuffles.
A fiddle playing softly
On the wind alone was sweet
And all the birds were quiet
When he died.*

Wilson John Haire

HOMEWORK

What did they say,
when you were at school.
Anything said about us today.

It won't last, stay cool.
It's just for a bit.
Things'll be normal again soon.
They were just having their usual fit.

Smell the stale smoke, see the charcoal
blow in the wind.

What's that din.
Keep your voice down.
Don't leave the room.

Is that a frown.
Can we explain
without you acting the clown.

What would be fair.
To move,
to where.
We're mixed. You choose.
Can't live in that area.
But I live in yours.
Ave Maria.
No known cure.

You and daddy say your prayers.
You said yours at school. But they're mine.
Say your proper prayers this time.

Daddy's not supposed to be here.
Neither are you, dear.
And I'm a traitor, that's clear.

It's wise not to go to Mass, knowing
there are eyes everywhere,
ears than can hear the grass growing.
The very pigeons stare.

Now.

What did they say,
when you were at school.
Anything said about us today.

22th May, 2010

Julianne Herlihy

Part 5

The Fall of the Irish Catholic Church

Catholic Culpability?

"The evil that men do lives after them,
The good is oft interred with their bones".

Mark Anthony.

"As long as society is founded on money, we won't have enough of it."

Leaflet, Paris strike, December 1995.

"We thought we were dying for the fatherland.
We realised quickly it was for the bank vaults".

Anatole France.

Rhodes-Mandela

It is interesting to go outside of our society and look at those who hugely influenced movements that have impacted also on ours. In the TLS, 27th November, 2009, Andrew Porter reviewed a big book on perhaps one of the greatest imperialists of his day: *Legacy: Cecil Rhodes Trust And Rhodes Scholarships*, by Philip Ziegler, Yale University Press, 2008. Porter in his hagiographic review insisted that Rhodes Scholars have "outstripped" everyone in their influence and he especially mentioned those of the Catholic Church. After all, even Bill Clinton, twice the President of the United States of America, was a Rhodes Scholar and so was his daughter Chelsea.

But then the trend towards post-colonialism pushed the Rhodes Trust to move towards a drastic image overhaul and they decided to include a new focus on South Africa. Now that it was in its post-apartheid phase—which they had done nothing whatever to bring about—they needed a more generally accepted mission. They found their man in Nelson Mandela who shamefully acquiesced in the whole subterfuge and in 2003 the 'Mandela-Rhodes Foundation' was added to the initial Rhodes Trust and its scholarship foundation, drawing on money for initial capital to "develop complementary university bursary and fellowship schemes in South Africa itself". As Mandela who, according to our former President Mary Robinson, is one of "the elders of the global community" —like herself—it is appalling that the former—who knows well where Rhodes' wealth came from—should have prostituted himself to this kind of pure jingoistic Imperialism.

In 1912, at the opening of the Rhodes Memorial, Earl Gray stated that "no man born during the nineteenth century had exercised a greater influence for good on the character of the present". But G.K. Chesterton, a Catholic writer, was having none of this, proclaiming Rhodes had no principles,

"he had only hasty but elaborate machinery for spreading the principles that he hadn't got. What he called his ideals were the dregs of a Darwinism which had already grown not only stagnant, but poisonous... it was exactly because he had no ideas to spread that he invoked slaughter, violated justice, and ruined republics to spread them."

I needn't add that Oxford University is the centre for the whole Rhodes exercise and to those interested there are some extremely interesting photos in this book. Illustration 18 has a smiling Tony Blair, Nelson Mandela and Bill Clinton "at the centenary celebrations of the Rhodes Trust, Palace of Westminster, 2nd July 2003". Illustration 19 sees Nelson Mandela being "welcomed by a cappella group of Rhodes Scholars on his first visit to Rhodes House, 1st July 2003". Illustration 20 shows a "coming-up dinner" (?) "for Rhodes Scholars in the Milner Hall at Rhodes House, Oxford University". Rhodes, Milner and now Mandela—what a triumph for the English State whose *manifest destiny* is as strong as it ever was and under whose undermining spirit modern Ireland finds itself once again caught up in its snares.

Bishop Colton and Politicians

What is this modern Ireland that the historians/academics/journalists/politicians are so happy to have produced? Besides an attempt to relegate the Catholic Church's interests at every stage and to denounce it even when it rightfully states its purpose—what *else* is going on? Well the politicians of Cork didn't quite get it right as they thought when they stated that they would not accept any Catholic clergy interfering with their *paid gigs*—well that was that. The members of Fine Gael on Cork County Vocational Education Committee (VEC) elected their colleague, Tom Sheahan, onto the VEC and as a result Canon Salter of the Church of Ireland lost his seat. This was all done democratically but the Bishop

of Cork, Paul Colton, slated Fine Gael and, threatened with a belt of the crozier of the Church of Ireland, Fine Gael quaked in their shoes and came to an accommodation as quick as a flash. They would give Canon Salter "a role as an observer on the committee", which was very generous considering what their response would have been to the Catholic clergy, as we know only too well . . . This was not good enough for the Bishop who accused "the councillors of pursuing a *political agenda* rather than seeing that the community was represented". Now if he thought that paid politicians could not pursue political agendas—then what kind are they paid to pursue—ahem—religious ones by any chance? The Bishop is not taking this lying down as he explained to the *Evening Echo*, 29th September 2010. He denounced "vested political interests" and even went on to add that "the entire system of appointing VEC members should be overhauled". Quite.*

I remember reading about the Derry-born Bishop Paul Colton in a book *Untold Stories, Protestants in Ireland 1922-2002*, Edited by Colin Murphy and Lynne Adair. The Liffey Press, Dublin 2002. The former fixed his identity so definitely in a foreign field that I was astounded. He visited the War Cemetery at Tilly-sur-Seulles in Normandy and according to him it—

"reinforced this sense of identity and led to an exploration of family history with my eight-year-old twin sons. I told them, "Some say the Coltons were at the battle of Hastings and came to Ireland in the sixteenth century. Who knows?" Photos were poured out of a box at home: a great-grandfather in the Boer War, a grand-father who was in the King's African Rifles (and subsequently served in the LDF); great-aunt Jenny from Ballyvourney who was a cook in the Auxiliary Territorial Service in the Second World War. Family certificates read like a Dublin gazetteer . . . There's a plaque presented by Guinness to my grandmother in memory of her first husband who had worked in the engineer's department—Sergeant Daniel Griffith of the 9th Royal Enniskillen Fusiliers, killed in action in 1917. The other side of the family, Ulster Presbyterians, migrated to Wexford and made a name for themselves in commerce there."

Colton tries to come across as a somewhat genial chubby man but he has clout, he is Chairman of the Governors of Middleton College, which is a mixed-

* The upshot of the story was that Cllr. Sheahan was obliged to restore the seat traditionally allocated to the Church of Ireland.

sex boarding/day college where his twin sons attend. He has been involved in the Hard Gospel movement and St. Finbar's Cathedral has been able to draw down some serious money from Cork City Council—some say about €5million a few years ago. His Bishop's Palace is a gem and has been done up since he and his family took up residence—there is even a beautifully renovated gate-lodge which is actually a two-storey house. Even in these days of recession where building has come to a halt, the whole of St. Finbar's is covered in scaffolding in what seems to this citizen to be a big renovation. Where the money comes from is another thing altogether—perhaps the city fathers will reveal all in their next audit.

Mrs. Jennifer Sleeman: Mass Protest

When the Clonakilty woman, Mrs Sleeman announced that she wanted all women on Sunday 26th September 2010 to *boycott the Mass* in protest at what she perceived as the Catholic Church's attitude to women, she was given media attention to the point of saturation. We were all gobsmacked. As if this was not enough of a shock, we then were told that she had a son who was a monk in Glenstal Abbey and that he "*supported her even in her quest for women priests*". Mrs Sleeman, formerly of the Protestant faith, first declared her motivation was that she was made to feel like a second hand person in the Catholic Church. Then she wanted women priests and thirdly she found herself "*horrified by the Murphy/Ryan Reports*". Finally she "was tired of belonging to an organisation 'run by old celibate men divorced from the realities of life'.... When the day came, not only Clonakilty Masses had full attendance, but so had all of Ireland's Masses. I had gone to Mass as usual and thought there was slightly more people present but had forgotten that this was *the day*. But apparently RTE had a tip-off and put on their News that there had been a walk-out of the Pro-Cathedral in Dublin. All twenty, according to the organiser, who later went on to apologise to the Church and its people in a very generously worded statement that was reported only in a Catholic paper. Unlike Mrs Sleeman who said the purpose was never about numbers (after the whole thing was a damp squib) but ahem ... the message.

Talking to the Irish *Daily Mail* 1st October 2010, Father Sleeman said he had been a monk for 40 years but he didn't try to stop his mother, even though he claimed he got death threats. (I hope the local Gardai are doing an investigation on Father Sleeman's behalf because it is so easy now to fix where phone calls

come from and who are making them and then put those responsible before the courts in an open and accountable way.) But I think Father Sleeman is being disingenuous. He and his mother were interviewed by a BBC crew who came all the way to Clonakilty for a TV interview. What a scoop it would have been for the BBC if all went to plan, and just before the Pope's visit to Britain too. And Father Sleeman is very high up in the ranking of Glenstal Abbey. He isn't just any old monk but the second in command—and possibly even the most important as he is the Bursar to the community. In other words, he holds the money strings and from all accounts is one tough man.

I think the solution is that Mrs Sleeman—and her son—should go to whatever Church that can best accommodate their put-upon feelings. Some of the female columnists in the national daily papers also went to Mass and for one—Brenda Power, the Irish *Daily Mail*, 28th September 2010, even though she wrote that she didn't realise that it was 'the day of the boycott' (wasn't it ironic using that word which has such resonance in Irish land history?) but, after seeing a much bigger attendance of females, twigged what was going on. Power claimed that she was amazed at the number of "*women readers, singers, collectors, Eucharist ministers*" etc, as though all these changes were new to her. She also claimed that there were "*pointed prayers of the faithful celebrating prominent religious women, female religious leaders and unsung mothers*" and it was this that rung the bell for her so to speak. I can tell her that this is in all the celebrations of the Mass. However, she reverts to form by going on about the appalling abuse of children in Ireland and then the cover-up. The context is always forgotten and deliberately so.

In the *Observer* newspaper in 1967 there was an article about how homosexuality could now be successfully treated by psychiatry. The Catholic Church like everyone else took this to be the case and gave their 'sick priests' over for treatment. The bishops were not experts in this field and believed the profession when they said their treatments were eventually successful. Finally the UK acknowledged slowly that homosexuality was not a criminal offence and went on to decriminalise it.

Writers like Somerset Maugham and Noel Coward spent their lives mostly abroad in Catholic continental Europe because it was congenial to their tastes. There is a new biography out about Maugham and in the next issue I will

deal with the experiences of people like him in England. One Irish journalist, David Quinn, was interviewed extensively by the foreign media who descended on Ireland when the abuse was being widely aired. Stories about the Catholic Church's *deviancy* are 'sexy' in today's media lexicon. Quinn had documentation to show that the Swedish Government published a report in January 2010 which "*catalogued child abuse in the country's State-run institutions and in foster-care in the past 50 years*". This fact was news to their also Protestant neighbours Norway and Finland. (See *Studies*, Autumn 2010, Edited by Fergus O' Donoghue SJ, for a thorough assessment of the influences at work both in the Church and society.) Once homosexuality was accepted, I think that there had to be a new illness or *evil* and the whole evolution of paedophilia was inculcated at that junction. As the film star Rupert Everett wrote in his memoirs *Red Carpets And Other Banana Skins*, child buggery is part of a rite of passage for the English 'gentleman' when fagging in their boarding schools and army barracks.

Modern Irish Society

The media have still their sport with Seán Fitzpatrick and Senator Ivor Callely—and now it is the Taoiseach, Brian Cowan TD himself. One can hardly believe the extent of journalist cruelty as they jump for joy at the sight of a picture of the Taoiseach, in a private party function, whose photo was *snatched* and put up for display on the Internet by some *scuit* or another. From there the whole thing went viral and even RTE had to investigate. Really? Some American comedian joked that Taoiseach Cowan looked like "*a drunken moron*". And that picture was produced in the media *ad nauseum*.

That this man has high office, has a wife and family seems only to increase the media's delight. If I thought that this was unconscionable—there was worse to come. A man about whom I will not speculate got a person or persons unknown to film him '*dancing on the grave of Charlie Haughey*' and put it up on the Internet. Naturally, most of the media used the pictures. So this is the new dispensation. The new modern Ireland where sacred things are sacrificed for the edification of some people's idea of humour. This new brave Ireland is also one that decided that a former radio shock jock, Gerry Ryan, who died suddenly was the "*people's icon*". Mr. Ryan famously stated before his untimely death that he couldn't be expected to live on "*€600,000 per year*". He also according to the papers left a not inconsiderable tax bill. But the overall

tone of the media to one of their own was really open adulation.

I remember poor Padraig O'Flynn, who was actually a brilliant Commissioner for his remit in Brussels, being positively mauled by Gay Byrne—being led up the garden path by the latter and innocently admitting that he had three houses to upkeep. The media screamed blue murder and stirred up the people and that was an end to Padraig's career. Well, after all, he hadn't gone to TCD and just who did he think he was—we mustn't let the Fianna Failers get above their station after all.

Buddhists and West Cork

When Celtic Ireland was flying, all sorts of things were being put in the way of some people and the Dublin media especially lauded them. In the *Irish Times* magazine, 27th June 2009, there was a two page spread about a new Buddhist retreat in the Beara peninsula of West Cork. What caught my attention was the black-bold font headline '*People find it amazing to have this space to talk about death because you can't talk about death in Ireland*'.

So the Irish and their famous wakes are now thought to be inarticulate about death. Talk of selling ice to the Eskimos! But of course there was another story involved and it was that of an English-woman and her husband who came to Ireland—

"and built over 20 years this series of buildings, creating a retreat centre that now has a hostel, offices cottages and a mediation room with kitchens and tearooms. The couple then invited Sogyal Rinpoche, the author of the 'Tibetan Book of Living and Dying'—the book has sold more than two million copies—to visit and gifted the centre to his organisation, Rigpa. He choose the name Dzogchen Beara, which means the highest teachings in the Buddhist tradition, great perfection."

Well one hopes that this is what it means. And there the story would have stayed but, imagine my surprise when I read in the *Irish Daily Mail*, 28th September, 2010, that our Tibetan Master, named Orgyen Tobgyal Rinpoche—presumably the same man from the *Irish Times* story was now intent on getting a new temple. Cork County Council has given the go-ahead to the Tibetan Buddhist community to build a €1.8 million temple next to its existing retreat centre in Allihles in the wild Irish virgin landscape besides the roaring Atlantic Ocean. There is an artist's impression in the paper and it looks awful—just completely out of place for this part of Ireland. The centre's Director Mark Padwick told the

paper that they were now focusing on fundraising to meet the project's costs. People, said Padwick, needed "*meaning*", especially now in our straitened times.

By complete co-incidence I was reading *The Catholic Times*, 27th December 2009-3rd January 2010, and there was an article on the front page, *Buddhists In Church Attack*. The article went on to state that over 1,000 Buddhists in Sri Lanka "*armed with clubs, swords and stones ferociously attacked a Catholic Church destroying the altar, statues and pews*". The Vatican newspaper, *L'Osservatore Romano*, reported—

"Father Jude Denzil Lakshman, parish priest of Our Lady of the Mystical Rose, Crooswatta said: 'I can still hear their shouts in my ears: "Cut him to pieces, kill him"'. The attacking Buddhists left some of the parishioners wounded and smashed their bikes with a final tally of six Catholics in the

hospital with their injuries'..."

The archdiocese noted "*that Air Force personnel were deployed immediately to bring the mob under control and guarantee the safety of the faithful, which include 293 families. So far the Police have arrested 11 suspects from Buddhist extremist groups that have attacked the Church in the past*". So the image of Buddhists as red and yellow robed pacifists is not universally valid, and there is a danger that Ireland can be too tolerant while we ourselves experience intolerance here at home and abroad.

Readers should note that it is virtually impossible to get planning permission for buildings within one mile of the sea-coast in Ireland especially in areas of scenic beauty. So the question is how did the Buddhist's temple get the go-ahead?

To be continued.

Catherine Dunlop

Review: *Madeleine Bunting, A Model Occupation: The Channel Islands Under German Rule, 1940-1945*
Harper Collins 1995

Jackboot In Jersey!

Madeleine Bunting is a *Guardian* journalist who has investigated how the British behaved in the only part of their homeland to come under Nazi occupation in World War II. Her sympathies in the book are clearly with the Russian prisoners in forced labour camps on the Channel Islands; her interviews with them are very moving and the warm welcome she received from them remains for her, she says, the most powerful recollection of writing this book. One can imagine, in contrast, the less than warm reception English historians receive on the islands.

Madeleine Bunting makes it perfectly clear that resistance to the German occupation would have been futile and counterproductive. Yet, she persists in blaming the islanders for their wartime behaviour, which she describes as shabby. The question arises as to how a conquered population is to behave under occupation—how far they should cooperate with their rulers. Undoubtedly, when you are comprehensively beaten in war, honour and glory go out of the window for the duration. There can little doubt that the Islanders had no choice but to do as they were told; the word 'collaborated' is wrong: they obeyed, or complied. The word 'collaboration' is ambiguous, since it can be employed to refer to a free and willing partnership. They were

put in a position where 'shabby' behaviour, i.e. survival, was the best option. What were the alternatives? Suicide, or pointless resistance, but those who act in such way as to bring drastic retribution onto their fellowmen for no appreciable gain do not deserve admiration either. The question is, could or should the Islanders have been less enthusiastic about co-operating with their conquerors?

A few facts will make this clear. There were 60, 000 islanders left on 1st July 1940 when the Germans landed. At the highest point, there were 37, 000 German soldiers on the islands, on Guernsey the ratio was almost 1-1, not a very favourable ratio for fighting. Britain had demilitarised the islands: all armament and military personnel taken to Britain. The terrain is flat, with no hiding places. There were no boats available and the beaches were mined and fortified, making escape near impossible. Moreover, the islands had depended entirely on Britain for economic survival, exporting tomatoes, early potatoes and flowers, and importing everything they needed. When the link was cut, there was no possibility to acquire goods, except through the German link with occupied France. There was no choice but ask the Germans permission to trade with occupied France, trade which had to be paid for by borrowing (from French banks), by selling food to the Germans, and by working for them for

wages; the alternative was starvation.

Given the situation, should the Islanders have maintained a hostile attitude towards their occupiers? For five years? With normal human beings who behaved in a friendly fashion? The island authorities decided to make the best of a bad situation and not to maintain a climate of hostility. One of the island leaders said: "*May this occupation be a model to the world*", hence the book's title.

The London Home Office told the island authorities to govern in the interests of the inhabitants, so they opted to cooperate willingly with the Nazis, and to get the population to cooperate willingly. They had to work fast to do this, since up to 1st July 1940, the mood had been defiant and patriotic; in order to establish the new mood, they made an example of a foreigner, an Irishman who knocked out a German officer who had knocked his hat off in a public place. The Jersey Courts condemned the Irishman to six months' imprisonment and the judge berated him for jeopardising good relations with the Germans. On Guernsey an example was made of shop manager who disciplined an assistant who was half German and who would abandon his customers whenever a German came into the shop, to act as interpreter; the shop manager, who told him to stop doing this as bad manners, was denounced and tried by the local court and punished, thanks to a law that was hurriedly passed, with retrospective effect, to "*make an offence any behaviour by a civilian likely to cause a deterioration in the relations between the occupying forces and the civilian population*".

These two cases were widely reported in the island press. The population being very small, homogeneous and respectful of their local authorities, the Germans realised that coercion would not be necessary and allowed the local authorities to continue being in charge, the national anthem to be played, and prayers said in Church for the British royal family. Some of the ruling families set the example by inviting German officers to their houses. The view was that, as 10,000 islanders were serving in the British armed forces, honour was safe anyway.

Britain did not encourage resistance and did not even mention the islands in BBC broadcasts.

There was also fear of punishment; a few individuals who, for example, had not handed in their radios or weapons were deported to camps in Europe and some died.

The result was that relations between the occupiers and the islanders were good; the islanders found it difficult to see the Germans as the evil monsters of propaganda. Women in particular found

they had never been treated with such politeness. The islanders lived safe and healthy, and for the Germans, the Channel Islands were the one place in Europe where they did not always have to go about wearing a helmet and carrying weapons. It was literally for them a holiday resort!

What more is there to be said? Detail the compromises that were made? One island clergyman wrote: "*It will be nice when the war is over, then we shall be able to lead Christian lives again*". Exactly. Under threat of force against you and those close to you, you do things you would not countenance otherwise, and this continues as long as the threat is present, even if it is not continuously expressed. Moreover, relations with the enemy are not the only moral problem posed by a war situation. On the islands people found that pre-war moral standards were difficult to uphold. Through opportunity and necessity, people stole from each other; neighbours, including men belonging to the police force, looted the houses of evacuees. The black market flourished, fortunes were made. One farmer's bank account with a debit of £340 in 1940 showed a plus of £70,000 in 1945. There were informers. People broke regulations. Women were unfaithful to their absent husbands with the Germans.

After the liberation there had to be another about turn in mindset. The islanders, being British, had to be re-integrated into the bosom of the nation that claimed a pure record of fighting alone against evil, and stability had to be maintained despite a demand, on Jersey in particular, for the punishment of collaborators. This was done through a policy of forgive and forget. The islanders would forgive the fact that they were abandoned to their fate and the way this had been done. When they were demilitarised in July 1940, this was not made public and consequently suffered a bombing by the Germans. The British nevertheless made propaganda of the bombing: "*Germans bomb demilitarised zone!*"

Britain did not liberate the islands until after the death of Hitler, more than a year after D Day. Since links with France were cut after June 1944 and links with Britain not reopened, there was a severe shortage of food. Churchill in his typical role of starvation master had forbidden Red Cross parcels to be sent to the islands (they would be taken by the Germans); parcels were eventually allowed from the end of December and received by the local population.

The British for their part would forget that British people had obeyed the enemy. Indeed, the extent of the fraternisation meant that lists of names and place of

origin of all inhabitants were drawn up and given to the Nazis; locals helped to repair or build military installations, and they turned a blind eye to the forced labour camps established on the islands, camps in which over a thousand Russians and other foreigners died of starvation and ill treatment. They would also forget that the islanders had handed over to the Germans two British secret agents, along with the friends and family who were sheltering them. (The Germans responded by treating the secret agents as ordinary prisoners of war; the agents survived.)

In order to push away these awkward facts, records were to be closed for a hundred years (archives were eventually opened in 1992 and 1993), and some files were destroyed. No trials for treason or war crimes were held, despite a demand for them on Jersey, to avoid making public what had taken place. The Civil Affairs Unit of the Liberation Force issued a (false) report saying there was no evidence of treachery or treason: the report to be made public before the bulk of the Liberation Force was withdrawn. To further maintain order and stability, the local leaders—who belonged to the same ruling families which had governed before, during and after the war—received honours and some were knighted. Jersey and Guernsey set up War Profit Levies of up to 80%, but records of how much this tax raised remain secret. The tax investigators were all seconded, from Britain, for short periods, ensuring continuous and thorough investigation was impossible.

Madeleine Bunting says that Britain should acknowledge this part of its history in order to establish stronger bridges with Europe through a shared wartime experience (see "*Our part in the Holocaust: One Channel Island at least is owning up to its wartime shame*", *The Guardian*, Saturday 24th January 2004. Presumably the editors are responsible for the lurid title, since the article is written more sensitively). But the British Channel Islands experience seems to have little impact on how collaboration elsewhere has been handled.

Madeleine Bunting still seems to believe that the islanders had a choice under occupation, after demonstrating quite clearly that they had not. The question is, how did the islanders, and the rest of Europe, come to be in a situation where they had little alternative but to do what they were told by the occupier.

The real point is that war causes a breakdown in civilised behaviour, and those that cause wars are responsible for all those breakdowns. There is little point in scrutinising who did what in the war, the real question is, who started it, who set in motion these terrible events?

The Berlin-Baghdad Express

The Berlin Baghdad Express by Assistant Professor Sean McMeekin has the subtitle *The Ottoman Empire and Germany's bid for world power, 1898-1918* and it essentially is an attempt to put a historical narrative on John Buchan's *Greenmantle*—the spy thriller written by Britain's Director of Propaganda which described the Great War as the Germans, the Jews and Islam in a plot for world domination.

Like his predecessor, John Buchan, McMeekin inhabits an Anglophile world. This is clear even before he starts to talk about Turkey. For instance, on page 11 he refers to the Kaiser's "*notorious encouragement of the rebellious anti-British Boers in South Africa with the Kruger telegram in 1896*". This was when Kaiser Wilhelm congratulated the Boers for resisting the aggressive attempts by the British to incorporate them in the British Empire. The telegram outraged jingo England and it seems to have done the same to Sean McMeekin.

We have recently had Sean Moylan referred to as a "*rebel*" when he stood up for the democratic will of his country. Now the Boers are called "*rebellious*" because they did not desire to be conquered by the British Empire. That is probably even worse than calling Moylan a rebel since the British did not even claim jurisdiction over the Boers at the time—they tried to claim extra-judicial powers within the Transvaal on behalf of the Uitlanders in order to extend British sovereignty over the Boer States. But it seems to be that the definition of a "*rebel*" these days is someone who is not prepared to go along with the British will in the world.

There are frequent references in the book to "*British Egypt*" and Turkish "*threats of invasion*"—despite the fact that Egypt was still a part of the Ottoman Empire in 1914, but had been occupied by Britain and painted red on its maps. Only someone who is completely absorbed in the British way of seeing the world could see Egypt as more part of the English than the Islamic world.

But while McMeekin inhabits the Anglo world, which sees evil intent elsewhere, it is hard to ignore entirely what Britain was doing and there are references that just do not correspond with the general argument advanced. Take the following passage for example:

"Whereas Hitler was willing to concede the British their global, sea-

based Empire in exchange for recognition of his own domination of the Eurasian landmass, Wilhelm wanted the British Empire too, including its crown jewels of Egypt and India. It may have seemed like a pipe dream, but Wilhelm had a trump card up his sleeve: Islam. Long before the formal crowning of the Triple Entente in 1907, the Kaiser had been sizing up the enemy coalition coalescing around him. Russia, France and particularly Great Britain all shared one colossal Achilles' heel: they each now ruled over millions of unruly Moslem subjects ... Germany, by contrast, could reasonably claim innocence in the Islamic world, having only a smattering of Islamic subjects in her own tiny African Empire" (p3).

So Hitler, it appears, was a moderate in his megalomania, compared to the Kaiser—despite the fact that he was acting largely in self-defence.

The general argument therefore is that the Kaiser wished to use Islamic resentment over foreign rule to destabilize the empires of his enemies and conquer the world through an opportunistic appeal to Moslems. The view that the Kaiser wished to conquer the world in a kind of envy of Britain and France and Russia, who had carved it up for themselves, was one of the mainstays of early British propaganda in the Great War. However, this was a very fanciful idea that could only have been given currency when emotions were worked up by the propaganda that was churned out in August 1914. It quickly ceased to be employed after the War.

However, it is freely admitted by McMeekin that the Kaiser's embrace of the Moslem world was possible because it was the *Entente* Powers who occupied Moslem land and subjugated the Islamic peoples. It is also conceded that the 1907 agreement with Russia (after the 1904 agreement with France) produced the encircling of Germany that threatened the Kaiser. And in the next page McMeekin also says, in relation to the Ottomans:

"Menaced by the Russians in the Balkans, the French in North Africa, and the British in Egypt and Arabia, the 'sick man of Europe' was desperate for a strong European allies who could stand up to the Entente bullies... it was a match made in heaven... the signing of the long feared Anglo Russian con-

vention in August 1907 only heightened the sense of urgency..." (p4).

The intrusion of these facts into a narrative which suggests a German-Islamic *jihaddist* bid for world power through the Baghdad Railway provides an altogether more logical and sensible conclusion: Germany, under threat from the encircling policy of the *Entente*, and Turkey, under threat from the imperialist objectives of the *Entente*, were pushed together in an alliance of sympathy and convenience.

McMeekin unearths some uncomfortable facts that tend to subvert his own argument. On page 63, for example, he notes that, as early as 1906-07, "*The British were already thinking along the lines of installing a new, Mecca-based Caliph, nearly a decade before Kitchener famously proposed the idea in the first winter of the Great War*". As evidence for this he cites the employment of various fundamentalist Moslem writers in the Egyptian press denying the right of the Caliph in Constantinople to rule the Moslem world. This is a useful piece of information because it dates British attempts to destabilize the Ottoman Empire through religious devices earlier than the 1911 attempt at holy war of the English inspired in southern Arabia, which I drew attention to in *Britain's Great War On Turkey*.

He also makes these useful points about the pro-British nature of the Young Turk Government (Committee of Union and Progress) which took power in Istanbul in 1908:

"Many of the CUP officers who led the original revolution of July in 1908 were great admirers of England. Even Enver Bey, who would later become notorious as Germany's man, was still marked by Anglophilia at the time... the political wing of the movement was even more pro-British, to the extent of wanting to annul the German Baghdad railway concession and give it to English firms instead. The biggest Anglophile of all, meanwhile, was Djavid Bey, the Minister of Finance, who went so far as to propose a 'permanent alliance with Britain' in 1911. According to Fitzmaurice (Dragoman to the British Embassy) and Lowther (British Ambassador) however, Djavid was a 'Crypto-Jew' who 'stood at the apex of Freemasonry in Turkey'. Although Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, was willing to entertain the alliance idea, the Foreign Office, influenced by Fitzmaurice said no" (p77).

One of the interesting aspects of all this, that McMeekin conveniently ignores, is the fact that John Buchan was one of a kind with people like Fitzmaurice and Lowther.

The anti-Semitism of the British

ruling class, which saw the Jews of Europe and the Ottoman Empire as dangerous financiers and revolutionaries, in the pay of Germany, was one of the underlying motivations in the establishment of the Jewish state by Britain.

A reading of the Ambassadorial correspondence of people like Fitzmaurice and Lowther, Imperialist publications and contemporary English literature (such as the novels of John Buchan) shows that England saw the Young Turks, many of whom were from the great Jewish centre of Salonika, as part of a great Jewish/Masonic/Bolshevik/German plot against the British Empire—a kind of Prussian Zionist Communist *jihad*.

Britain's final solution to this Jewish problem was to adopt the Zionist programme of the small group of anti-assimilationist Jews in Europe and confine the Jews to a homeland in Palestine. That, it was believed, would take them out of the realm of the German and the socialist and ultimately "*tame the Jew*".

But in making war on the Ottoman Empire, and in adopting the Zionist objective, the British Empire not only destroyed the prosperous and content Jewish communities across the Ottoman possessions but also sowed the seeds for generations of conflict with the local inhabitants of Palestine—who would find themselves the chief victims of this great act of conquest and ethnic cleansing.

Having presented the Turkish Government as being friendly to Britain, McMeekin can only explain the alliance with Germany to be the result of English bungling and German deviousness (since he finds it impossible to conceive of Britain as having hostile and expansionist intent toward the Ottoman Empire).

On this note there is a complete lack of trying to understand the British view of things in totality. If McMeekin had consulted the many publications in the British sphere he might have got a grip on why England felt such a threat from Germany, the Berlin to Baghdad railway, and its relations to Turkey. He would have seen that the 1907 agreement with Russia along with the 1904 *Entente* with France, designed to culminate in a war on Germany, condemned Turkey to the same war. This was largely because Russia's price in participating in a war on Germany was Constantinople. And the capture of Constantinople was impossible without a war on the Ottoman Empire.

He would also have seen from the British point of view the danger that the German influence in the Ottoman Empire was having in relation to long-term British objectives in the region. Britain intended, before the alliance with Russia, to gradually absorb pieces of the Ottoman Empire it desired. It was reticent to

produce a general collapse in the Empire because it saw the Ottoman State as a useful buffer against Russian expansion in the region. However, once the alliance with Russia was concluded, all bets were off and, since England had to resign itself to Constantinople going to Russia, it had to make provision for the parts of the Ottoman Empire it had its eye on itself. In this context, the German connection was problematic for Britain because it threatened to rejuvenate the 'sick man of Europe' just when all the beneficiaries were gathering about his death-bed.

The next important issue dealt with by McMeekin is the course of events that led to the British Declaration of war on Turkey itself.

And here again he presents evidence contrary to his own line of argument. Regarding the German-Turkish agreement at the start of the Great War, which is often called an alliance, to distract from Ottoman neutrality, McMeekin writes about the German Ambassador, Wangenheim:

"In a historic decision, he affixed his signature on 2 August 1914 to a treaty in which 'German obligates itself, by force of arms if need be, to defend Ottoman territory in case it should be threatened.' Wangenheim had not done his homework. Not only was he probably tricked by Enver into providing the unconditional territorial guarantee which had been the holy grail of Ottoman diplomacy for decades, it seems he may not have read the treaty's fine print regarding Turkey's own obligations towards Germany... the draft treaty had been ingeniously worded by its Turkish authors so that the Ottoman Empire would declare war only if Berlin had itself gone to war according to the terms of her own alliance with Austria. Since Germany had proactively declared war on Russia on 1 August, several days before the Austrians had done the same, the treaty of 2 August did not, strictly speaking oblige the Turks to fight. It was a brilliant victory for Turkish diplomacy, if a devious one" (p108).

I seem to remember that there was another provision in the treaty which managed to help the Ottomans preserved their neutrality. This was the provision that Bulgaria had to enter the war on Germany's side before Turkey was required to take a part—another provision that bought time for the *Porte*.

Now what this suggests, to any reasonable mind, is that Germany, having found itself encircled, and with Russia, France and Britain deciding to make war on it, was desperate for allies. At the same time, the Ottoman Government—which had tried to secure defensive alliances with the *Entente* (but had been

rebuffed, and by this had been confirmed in its belief that these powers had hostile intentions towards it)—took protection from the one power that was offering it. But at the same time the Government at Istanbul had no desire to join the war and simply wished to preserve itself from the conflagration that was about to occur.

So Turkey had to walk a tightrope between the desire of their protectors, Germany, for them to enter the war and *Entente* determination to find any *Casus bellum* at an opportune moment by which they were drawn into the war.

And that takes us to the arrival of the two German ships, Goeben and Breslau at Istanbul a few days later.

The War with Turkey was declared by Britain on 5th November 1914. The occasion for the declaration of war was an incident in the Black Sea in which two formerly German ships fired on Russian ports. These ships had been sailed to Istanbul by their German crews. This was after Winston Churchill had impounded two battleships which English dockyards were building for the Turkish Navy. The German ships, trapped in the Mediterranean by the declaration of war, had been shadowed by the British fleet and forced into neutral Istanbul where they were handed over to the Turks. The Turks accepted them in place of the two battleships seized by Churchill. But, while accepting these ships, Turkey remained neutral in the War. Nevertheless, Britain established a blockade of the Ottoman capital.

McMeekin again, whilst attempting to damn the Turks, makes out a good case for their behaviour:

"the *Porte* now faced a fateful decision. If the Ottoman government denied entry to the Goeben and Breslau, it risked alienating the German government with whom Enver had just signed a far-reaching alliance treaty. If, on the other hand, the Dardanelles were opened, Turkey would be violating the laws of neutrality, thus risking war with the *Entente* powers. It was an agonizing dilemma, in which either choice must necessarily antagonize one side or the other in the European war" (pp109-110).

In the end the *Porte* resolved the dilemma by allowing the German ships to enter the Straits, preventing their destruction, and taking them as a 'present' from the Kaiser to replace the two ships seized by Churchill, to avoid the *Entente* having an excuse to declare war by accusing Istanbul of violating neutrality.

McMeekin concedes that:

"Churchill was itching for a fight... but was not in a strong position in the cabinet" and he suggests that "the closure of the Dardanelles on 27 September 1914 could easily have been construed as an act of war, had Churchill's

more cautious colleagues not been so keen to preserve Ottoman neutrality" (p117).

This could only have been written by someone unaware of British foreign policy toward the Straits during the 19th century. It had been British policy to insist on closure of the Straits in times of war and in various treaties to prevent the Russian Navy from gaining access to them. It would have been very difficult for England to use this as a cause of war against Turkey when they had insisted upon it for the last half a century and fought wars to demonstrate their insistence. In fact, only a few years previously, during the Italian invasion of Ottoman Libya the Straits had been closed without a murmur from the British Government.

Edward Grey set down British intentions toward Turkey in early October in an internal memo at the Foreign Office: "*To delay the outbreak of war as long as we could, to gain as much time as we could, and to make it clear, when war came, that we had done everything to avoid war and that Turkey had forced it*" (A.L. Macfie, *The Straits Question In The First World War, Middle Eastern Studies*, July 1983, p49).

That was the extent of cautiousness which Churchill's colleagues in the Cabinet had. The war against Turkey was to take place—but it was to be engaged in at an appropriate time and with an appropriate justification (for matters of record, of course).

Churchill tended to be keen on 'route one' in these matters, but his 'weak' position in the Cabinet seems to have been an irrelevancy. After laying a blockade on the Dardanelles to prevent the German ships coming out, he organised a series of meetings on September 1st-3rd to discuss a pre-emptive strike on Constantinople—to "*Copenhagen*" it, as Nelson had done in destroying the Danish fleet in its port in neutral Denmark in 1801. On the last day of October Churchill gave the order to "*commence hostilities with Turkey*" without informing the Cabinet or formally declaring war, or even consulting the War Council, and the Royal Navy began bombarding the Dardanelles on 3rd November.

McMeekin comments on the Turkish move to avoid becoming embroiled in the War as a result of the arrival of the German ships in the following way:

"The grand vizier in a clever coup illustrated the powerful leverage of neutrality. So long as Turkey refused to be embroiled in the war, she could keep the powers guessing as to her intentions, and name a price for either coming in or staying out. Ideally, the threat of Ottoman intervention would seem real enough to satisfy the Germans and scare the Entente, while not

quite tipping over into actual hostilities ... Djavid Bay, the finance minister, visited all three Entente summer residences in August 1914 to discuss possible terms for securing Turkish neutrality. These pro-Entente overtures may or may not have been sincere. Djavid Bay, in particular... thought he may be able to... get a solid guarantee of Ottoman territorial integrity from the Entente powers, along with their agreement to the abolition of the Capitulations ... The longer Djemal, Djavid and the Grand Vizier could keep the powers guessing as to the Porte's real intentions, the higher the asking price for neutrality—or belligerence—could go ... The Capitulations... remained non-negotiable for France, Britain and Russia" (pp113-5).

So, it appears that the Turks wanted to remain neutral and saw great benefits in staying out of the War and tried their best to manoeuvre around the developing conflict.

For McMeekin to return his story to a latter-day *Greenmantle*, with conspiratorial Germans and Ottomans, he has to resort to the Enver argument about Turkish intervention. This line of argument is as old as *Greenmantle* itself and casts Enver (with German gold) in the role of a conspirator working behind the backs of the Sultan and Cabinet to make Turkey a full ally of Germany.

So McMeekin argues that Enver gave Souchon, the German Admiral who commanded the Goeben and Breslau (and who had now become a Turkish Admiral), authorization to enter the Black Sea and engage the Russian fleet.

The obscure incident in the Black Sea that followed is one that British sources have never bothered to thoroughly investigate—whilst at the same time a mountain of investigative effort went into producing narratives about the German incursion into Belgium that produced the British declaration of war in August 1914.

What we do know is that the Turkish ships encountered Russian vessels attempting to lay mines around the approaches to the Straits. The Turkish ships engaged the mine layers and sank them. The Turkish ships then appeared to have become engaged against the port of Odessa from which Russia naval activity and military preparations were originating. It is unclear what events occurred between the two incidents. Presumably, however, this encounter had much to do with Russian naval attempts to cut off Turkish maritime routes across the Black Sea, which were essential to supplying the defences of Eastern Anatolia, where large Russian forces were massing. It was much more difficult to supply this region by land due to the

underdeveloped nature of the road system and the difficult terrain that supplies would have to cross to reach the border with Russia. So it was essential that the Turkish Navy keep the sea route open to the East as well as protecting Istanbul from a naval or amphibious assault launched from Odessa, where Czarist forces were accumulating.

The Sultan sent a note of apology (agreed by the Ottoman Cabinet, including Enver) to the Russian Government on 1st November. This note basically apologized to the Russians for the incident whilst also holding them responsible for starting it. The Ottoman Government agreed to an independent inquiry into the incident and to abide by its decision. However, the next day the Russians declared war on Turkey and Britain and France followed suit a couple of days later.

McMeekin does not conceal the fact that Russia was building up for an attack on Turkey and had plans in place for an assault on the Straits and the Ottoman capital. However, he puts the Black Sea incident down as an attempt by Enver and the Germans to provoke the Russians into war so that a global jihad could be launched against the British Empire.

I am not aware of any biography of Enver—at least in the English language—despite his pivotal role in Turkey's participation in the Great War (according to Britain). So it is very difficult to definitely say when Enver became convinced that Ottoman attempts at preserving neutrality were doomed to failure. McMeekin himself concedes that Enver was not always determined on entry into full alliance with Germany. The Germans themselves were shocked to find themselves at war with England. The Turks were also shocked to find the Germans at war with England. But it seems that Enver realized before his colleagues that the game was up and the *Entente* was intent on dismembering the Ottoman Empire whether Turkey entered the War or not. In such circumstances co-operation was surely a logical and justifiable policy, based as it was on recognition of fact.

The fact that Enver may have conceded to circumstances earlier than his colleagues has been used to suggest that he conspired against them. But wasn't it the simple fact that, given the dispositions of the *Entente* in relation to Germany and the Ottoman Empire, Enver just happened to be right and there was no avoiding the War?

Much of the remaining part of McMeekin's book is made up of spy stories, conspiracies, holy war and proto-Nazi links between Germany and the

Islamic world. In fact, a rather disappointingly small proportion of the book is actually about the Baghdad Railway itself. The problems of the Middle East, today, are made the responsibility of the Germans and the Ottomans, despite the fact they lost the War and were not responsible for the political settlement imposed on the region afterwards.

In 1914 Turkey became the enemy of England as a result of its relationship with Germany. Now it seems that Germany has become responsible for the Middle East because Islam has become

the enemy of the West. It is in this account that fiction merges into propaganda and then history and then back again. Surely John Buchan would have approved.

Forgotten Aspects Of Britain's Great War On Turkey. 1914-24, *From An Irish Perspective* by Dr. Pat Walsh. 540pp. Index. ISBN 978-085034-121-8. Athol Books, 2009. €25, £20.

See also Pat Walsh's series on Naval Warfare, currently running in *Irish Political Review*

Joe Keenan

The Politics Of Darwinism

Part Three

Black War, Black Line, White Bastards

In consideration of the Darwinian SCIENCE of Man, how's this for science:

"On the Extinction of the Races of Man.—The partial and complete extinction of many races and sub-races of man are historically known events. Humboldt saw in South America a parrot which was the sole living creature that could speak the language of a lost tribe" (Charles Darwin, *The Descent Of Man*, Chapter VII. On The Races Of Man, London 1879, p211).

In fact never mind the science—what about the Parrot!

But no, let's have Darwin go on.

Having proved from the Parrot that at least one partial or complete extinction of one of many races and sub-races of man is an historically known event (known at any rate to the Parrot) the Great Scientist remounted his Malthusian hobby horse and revisited those scientific classics—struggle for existence, natural selection and survival of the fittest—to give us a master class in the science of genocide.

"Extinction follows chiefly from the competition of tribe with tribe, and race with race. Various checks are always in action, as specified in a former chapter, which serve to keep down the numbers of each savage tribe—such as periodical famines, the wandering of the parents and the consequent deaths of infants, prolonged suckling, the stealing of women, wars, accidents, sickness, licentiousness, especially infanticide, and, perhaps, lessened fertility from less nutritious food, and many hardships. If from any cause any one of these checks is lessened, even in a slight degree, the tribe thus favored will tend to increase; and when one of two adjoining tribes becomes more numerous and powerful than the other, the contest is soon settled by war, slaughter, cannibalism, slavery, and absorption. Even when a weaker tribe is not thus abruptly swept away, if it once begins to decrease, it generally

goes on decreasing until it is extinct.

"When civilized 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 civilized nations, some are plain and some very obscure..." (ibid, pp211-212).

Licentiousness! As in "keep doing that and you'll go extinct!" Oh well, that's natural history with the teleology taken out of it; there's science for you.

Having taken teleology out of natural history and made a scientific discipline of something that had merely been, in England at least, a hobby for amateur gentlefolk, there should clearly be no place in Darwin for all the subjective nonsense of human value systems. But there is a lot of space for such subjective nonsense. Really there is room for very little else. And so...

"The grade of civilization seems a most important element in the success of nations which come in competition. A few centuries ago Europe feared the inroads of Eastern barbarians; now, any such fear would be ridiculous. It is a more curious fact that savages did not formerly waste away, as Mr. Bagehot has remarked, before the classical nations, as they now do before modern civilized nations; had they done so, the old moralists would have mused over the event; but there is no lament in any writer of that period over the perishing barbarians" (ibid, pp212-213).

And so we reach Darwin's considered account of the causes which lead to the victory of civilized nations. Nothing too obscure about this. Indeed, we are given a case study in which everything is made plain. Well, it could be said that everything is made plain only for those who already knew the details of it all. But then, who of any consequence in England

in the 1870s had anything much to learn about the practical application of the science of genocide?

In an article in *The Evolution Debate* (*Evidence?*, Church & State, No. 99), Jack Lane referred to the extermination of the natives of the island known to those who invaded it, first as Van Diemen's Land, then as Tasmania. It was part of England's Australian colonies. Now it is part of Australia.

He quoted from two books:

"In 1830 Tasmania was put under martial law, a line of armed beaters was formed across the island, and an attempt was made to drive the aborigines into a cul-de-sac..." (Moorehead, *The Fatal Impact*).

"The final extermination {of the Tasmanians} was a large-scale event, undertaken with the co-operation of the military and judiciary... Soldiers of the Fortieth Regiment drove the natives between two great rock formations, shot all the men and dragged the women and children out of fissures in the rocks to knock their brains out..." (Ziehr, *Hell In Paradise*).

And commented...

"I would assume that Seán {Swan} would regard it as mere moralising not to accept this type of behaviour with equanimity as we are simply dealing here with one of 'those peoples who fail to adapt quick enough (who) will be destroyed, either intentionally or unintentionally'. Could the progress of the world not have waited a little while in these cases? The fact is that cultures/economies are only destroyed when the peoples are destroyed. Otherwise they adapt. And the specific people that destroyed peoples were Darwin's inspirers, peers and admirers. Thankfully such behaviour cannot be accepted as any kind of inevitable law of economics or politics—it was specific and exceptional. Seán is putting ideology before facts."

All of which is very much to the point. But it could be elaborated on. It has been elaborated on. Darwin elaborated on it only 40 years after the event.

The Tasmanian genocide is the case study which Darwin included to illuminate Chapter VII of his *Descent Of Man*. It is short on detail and absent of humanity. But then that's science for you...

"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!" (ibid, p213.)

In *A History Of Tasmania*, Volume 1: *Van Diemen's Land from the Earliest Times to 1855* (Melbourne: Oxford UP, 1983), LLOYD Robson called Flinders Island the world's "first concentration camp" (p220, quoted in "*Black Armband*" versus "*White Blindfold*" *History in Australia*, by Patrick Brantlinger, Victorian Studies, Vol. 46, No. 4, Summer 2004), which is fair enough. But just look at the figures. It was a death camp.

(I had thought the world's first concentration camp was the reservation compound Kit Carson forced the Navajo survivors of his war against them, and the death march he forced upon them, to build at Bosque Redondo in New Mexico. Flinders Island predates that by 30 years. Go Team Oz!)

What Darwin called the "*famous hunt by all the colonists*" was the "*Black Line*" strategy which marked the end of the "*Black War*" of 1824-30. The details of that, which Darwin had no need to recall to his readers, are given by Ian Herson in *The Savage Empire, Forgotten Wars Of The 19th Century* (Sutton Publishing, 2000). From which, for ourselves, apparently so far removed from the practicalities of the genocides that made this world we live to consume in, a brief recapitulation can do no harm. Or maybe not so brief a recapitulation, but still no harm.

"The first European known to have landed on the large island to the south of Australia was an employee of the Dutch East India Company name Abel Jans Tasman. While on a voyage of exploration he made landfall in November 1642 and marked the unknown territory on his maps as Van Diemen's Land...No contact with the

natives was made. The aborigines were left in peace for over 150 years, although various expeditions followed Tasman's to fill in the blank spaces on their seafaring maps.

"However, in 1802 the British administration at Port Jackson on the mainland became suspicious of a French scientific expedition, and decided to encourage settlement of an island nominally under the British flag. The new territory was scouted by men such as Matthew Flinders who founded the harbour in the north of the island...

"Contact between the early settlers and explorers and the aboriginal inhabitants were brief, rare and largely friendly ...

"The aborigines were a loose-knit confederation of tribes with up to ten distinct languages. A typical clan consisted of several extended families, with around eighty people in all. Men and women coupled for life and looked after their children and ageing relatives. The most populous regions were coastal, but there is evidence that some tribes inhabited the most inhospitable areas. Europeans described them as of average height and dark-skinned, but with facial features quite different from those of mainland Australia. The women, as described above, wore kangaroo skins around their shoulders, mainly to carry children and equipment, and little or nothing else. The men went completely naked save for decorative strips of skins and shells. Both sexes adorned themselves with charcoal and ochre.

"They were a healthy people and early visitors saw no signs of starvation ...

"After one peaceful encounter {...the Frenchman, François...} Peron wrote: 'The general union of the several individuals of the family, the kind of patriarchal life which we had witnessed, had strongly affected our feelings: I saw realised with inexpressible pleasure those charming descriptions of the happiness and simplicity of a state of nature, of which I had so often read, and enjoyed in idea'...

"Settlers began to stake out their claims around the mouth of the River Derwent in the south, and the Esk in the north. Clashes with the aborigines over food supplies occurred when the early settlers faced bouts of famine. European sealers in the north kidnapped women and children for sex and servitude. But the real violence began when the London and Australian authorities realised that the remoteness of Van Diemen's Land made it ideal for convict colonies. Prisoners were steadily imported to what swiftly became one large open gaol. Other settlers were twice-convicted prisoners from Port Jackson. Many convicts simply walked out of the penal settlements and roamed the island's rugged interior, becoming bushrangers. Others were allowed to roam freely as stockmen and herders for their masters...

"The bushrangers killed Tasmanian men and children for sport and raped

the women (called *gins* by the whites). Males were tied to trees and used for target practice. One former bushranger recalled: 'I would as leave shoot them as so many sparrows. At the same time, I derive much amusement from this form of sport.' The murder of a husband was usually followed by the rape of his wife. A correspondent wrote of one incident: 'The Bushranger Carrots killed a black fellow, and seized his gin; then cutting off the man's head, the brute fastened it round the gin's neck, then drove the weeping victim to his den.' In an incident that shocked even some of the most hardened murderers an aborigine baby was buried up to its neck in sand in front of its mother and its head kicked off...

"But it was not just the lowly criminal classes who engaged in such sport. In some areas hunting aborigines was regarded as a family entertainment among gentlemen and their ladies. The white women would prepare picnics while the gentlemen and their convict servants hunted the blacks with dogs or shot them from a distance. If none were found in the bush, occasionally a previously captured woman would be paraded before the marksmen. One settler had a pickle tub in which he kept the ears of all the blacks he had shot...

"The aborigines fought back, often to rescue stolen womenfolk or avenge a rape. A convict stockman who flogged a black girl with a bullock whip to prepare her for the 'marriage bed' was speared to death while carrying water ...

"The first organised conflict occurred in 1804, at Risdon, 5 miles from Hobart. A settler called Burke complained that large numbers of aborigines were menacing him because he had built his hut on sacred hunting grounds. A detachment of troops was sent out under Lieutenant Moore, a notorious drunkard. In the late morning a mass of aborigines was seen swarming down from the heights, driving a herd of kangaroos towards a hollow where they were slaughtered for a feast. The aborigines were unarmed except for the waddies or clubs used for killing kangaroos, and with them were their families. The soldiers of the New South Wales Corps, most of whom were as drunk as their officer, opened fire either in panic or for sport. At least fifty men, women and children were killed...

"For twenty years the skirmishes and bloody raids continued, dying down in one part of the island, only to flare up in another. Sometimes the disputes arose over the herding of cattle across aboriginal lands; at other times they resulted from brutal outrages committed by convicts and settlers. Every time the aborigines retaliated, retribution followed. Soldiers and vigilantes, pursuing supposed murderers, fired indiscriminately into any aboriginal encampment they encountered...The Wesleyan builder G.A. Robinson reported:

"A party of military and constables got a number of natives cornered

between two perpendicular rocks, on a sort of shelf, and in the end killed 70 of them. The women and children had pressed themselves into the crevices of the rocks, but were dragged out and their brains dashed out on the convenient rocks.'

"Another incident was described to Brough Smith:

"A number of blacks with women and children were congregated in a gully near Hobart and the men had formed themselves into a ring around a large fire, while the women were cooking the evening meal of opossums and bandicoots. They were thus surprised by a party of soldiers, who without warning fired into them as they sat, and then rushing up to the panic-stricken natives started to go in at them with rifle butts. A little child being near its dying mother, the soldier drove his bayonet through the body of the child and pitchforked it into the flames.'

"By 1820 the aborigines of Tasmania were facing extinction. Epidemics of diseases introduced by the white men swept through the tribes, killing more than marauding parties of bushrangers and soldiers could ever do. The once-plentiful game dwindled as civilisation encroached, causing starvation and further illness. Tree-felling and new cultivation squeezed them into smaller and smaller pockets of terrain, ending their nomadic way of life. And they stopped having children. No one knows the full reason. Constant pursuit and despair made the women barren, according to some sources. When tribes were being remorselessly chased, infants were an encumbrance they could not afford; according to other sources, infants were slain at birth because their parents couldn't feed them. Crude forms of contraception were employed, according to yet others. Historian David Davies reckoned there were 7,000 aborigines left in 1817 {about a third of the population just 15 years before, when the English began to take an interest in them, JK}; seven years later there were just 340. Whatever the reason the remaining population aged and dwindled, with little fresh blood invigorating the tribes. Where once there were thousands, now there were hundreds. And still the carnage continued.

"The whites' fear and contempt of the blacks was heightened by the activities of Mosquito, an Australian aborigine who was transported to Tasmania for the murder of a black woman. He quickly became the leader of a gang of desperate Tasmanians who hung around the townships to drink and steal. Many settlers regarded his rampage in 1824 as the start of the Black War. He was an unlikely, and unworthy, hero. His men were blacks who had lost all fear of the white man; according to his white prosecutors he dispatched them to raid and murder. The Oyster Bay region on the east coast was terrorised for a while and Mosquito's cunning helped him to elude all forces sent against him. His outrages were compounded by his

henchman Black Jack, who delighted in torturing to death white captives and whose catchphrase was 'I'll kill all the white bastards.' They were finally captured ...tried for murder in Hobart and hanged in public...

In 1824 a new Governor, Colonel Sir George Arthur, was appointed...

"Towards the end of 1828 the increasingly frustrated Governor Arthur issued a new proclamation placing a bounty on aborigines who would not stay within strict boundaries. Authorised hunters were employed to bring them in alive. Captured adults were worth £5 each and children £2...

"...The aborigines also became superb guerrilla fighters. They knew the terrain and could move with astonishing speed—there were some recorded instances in which raiders travelled 50 miles a day on foot. The very scarcity of the aborigines, their mobility and their cruel experiences at the hands of the whites meant that the old military tactics of surprise, night ambushes and massacre were no longer effective against them. Something drastic had to be done to solve the problem once and for all. The result was 'The Line'.

"Arthur was persuaded to authorise an audacious plan to form a line of soldiers, militia and civilian volunteers right across the island, to drive the aborigines before them—like 'beating' game in a country estate shoot—towards the narrow-necked Forester's Peninsula in the south. There they could be easily rounded up. Government order 166 was issued on 27 August 1830 to 'repel and drive from the settled country those Natives who seize every occasion to perpetrate murders, and to plunder and destroy the property of the inhabitants'. Arthur asked that consignments of convicts should be of useful classes—'not Irish'—so that they might aid the enterprise. Volunteers were offered no special reward, only the thrill of the chase.

"The Line operation started on 7 October with the Oyster Bay and Big River tribes as the principal targets. A chain of rallying posts was thrown across the island from St Patrick's head on the east coast to Campbell Town on the west. In all, 3,000 armed men were deployed, comprising units of the 63rd, 57th and 17th Regiments, several hundred constables, volunteers and 738 convicts. The non-military parties were organised into groups of ten, each with a guide. The daily ration for each party was one and a half pounds of meat, three ounces of sugar, half an ounce of tea and two pounds of flour. Alcohol was brought by the men themselves. Supplies were organised by General Browne, who efficiently provided drays and pack-horses, although boots suitable for the rough terrain were in short supply, as were heavy duty trousers and jackets. Most units, however, were well armed. A central depot was established at Otlands, containing 1,000 spare muskets, 30,000 cartridges and 300 handcuffs.

"In fits and starts the various components of the Line began to push south. They quickly found that it would be no easy country shoot...

"Despite the repeated issue of new regulations which decreed the correct distance between men, campsites and fires, the Line was impossible to secure through the day and night...

"The Line plodded on, and occasionally there was some limited success. {...two aborigines were shot, one was captured and one 'settler' was speared in the leg...}...

"...Governor Arthur personally led several sorties in the hope of a triumphal return to Hobart with chained captives. Finally, after criss-crossing the area he had to concede defeat—the aborigines had melted away, slipping through the Line while the soldiers blasted empty glades.

"They and other clans, by now enraged, attacked farms behind the Line...After four white men were speared near Launceston, a northern magistrate wrote: 'I have no person I can send after these Blacks. I have no-one that I can spare, nearly all the constables being out of the country, catching the Blacks in Buckingham.' Such reports of endangered homes caused an upsurge in desertions along the Line.

...
"The Line operation had cost the Government £30,000 and the Colony as a whole over £70,000. It had involved, including back-up forces reinforcements, suppliers and transporters, upward of 6,000 Europeans. And the net result was two aborigines captured by Walpole's party...

"Governor Arthur believed that, disappointments aside, the Line had achieved an important objective. In his parting order of 26 November he said that the remaining aborigines, having seen at first hand the military and numerical power of the white man, would be persuaded to surrender without more bloodshed." (Ian Herson, *The Savage Empire*, pages 46 - 57).

And Governor Arthur was entirely correct. If the Black Line strategy had not been devised *pour encourager les autres*, it certainly had that effect. Before and during and most especially after the Line operation George Augustus Robinson, bricklayer, preacher and man of business, persuaded the greater part of the surviving aborigines, some 203 individuals, to surrender (the per capita bounties paid to him made Robinson a rich man). These and some other survivors were moved in 1832 to the Flinders Island Death Camp, with Robinson, at £100 per year, presiding. Within six years 220 aboriginal inmates of the camp had been whittled down to 93 and Robinson was appointed Chief Protector of Aborigines at Port Philip on the Australian mainland.

After Robinson's departure the death rate stabilised and in 1847 the last 44

aboriginal inhabitants of Tasmania were transferred to Oyster Cove. The last man of these, William Lanney aka King Billy, died of alcohol poisoning in 1869. His head was stolen by the Royal College of Surgeons which had some desire to study it. He was skinned. His hands and feet were cut off. What was left of him was buried and then very quickly removed by person or persons unknown, probably members in good standing of the medical profession.

On 6th May 1876 Truganina, widely held to have been the last Tasmanian, died and was buried in the grounds of Hobart's women's penitentiary. Two years later she was dug up and put on display in Hobart Museum.

Hernon's narrative of the genocide is a very useful journalistic summary of its representative detail. But it is incorrect in two ways, one general and one particular. On the general level, Hernon takes the view that the aboriginal extermination was completely successful. More particularly, his description of the career of Mosquito (or Musquito) as a criminal rampage is entirely mistaken.

The destruction of the original inhabitants of Tasmania was an act of genocide. But it was not complete.

The officially accepted (by the United Nations) definition of genocide does not require the total extermination of a people. Article II of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide states...

"In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group."

The Tasmanian genocide which was not a total extermination of native Tasmanians is at the heart of Australia's "*History Wars*". The revisionist historian, former Leftie Keith Windschuttle, has claimed that there was no genocide in Australia generally or in Tasmania in particular. He insists (in *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History*, Volume 1: *Van Diemen's Land, 1803-1947*, 2002_) that the dysfunctional primitivism of the Tasmanian aborigines led to their inevitable extinction. Tasmania was not invaded by whites, it was peacefully settled. The aborigines had no concept of property and so could not be dis-

possessed of land they had no way of owning. They had only a very rudimentary social organisation and so could not have waged war against the invasion which was in any case a matter of peaceful settlement. Aboriginal response to that peaceful settlement was senseless violence and an anti-social epidemic of theft and prostitution such that the criminals had to be put down as a matter of public order and decency. And, crucially, the Tasmanian people, though there was no act of genocide on the part of the white settlers and colonial authorities, completely disappeared from the face of the earth, with none remaining to look for reparations or apologies or otherwise disturbing the good conscience of the whites who were only sort of accidentally involved in the inevitability of it all.

The political context of the "*History Wars*" is a reaction to the thirteen years of Labour Government (1983-96, under Bob Hawke and Paul Keating) in the course of which the nature of Australian destruction of Aboriginal society was finally addressed. That was done in the Mabo ruling of 1992 which accepted that Australia was not *terra nullius* "or practically unoccupied in 1788", thus giving Aborigines the right to claim "*native title*" and possess territory. There was also the High Court's decision in the 1996 Wik case that "*native title may have survived on the estimated 42 percent of the Australian land mass covered by pastoral leases*", and reports on Aborigine deaths in custody and the wholesale theft of generations of Aboriginal children.

"*Reconciliation*" having gone too far, moving past words to potentially expensive actions, Windschuttle has been sponsored by the National Liberal Coalition and its successors to roll back the inconvenient historiography which accompanied and fuelled it.

I had hoped to cover these "history wars" in some greater detail, but pressing time and some slight ill health mean that will have to be postponed.

So, very briefly, an alternative view of Hernon's criminal, Mosquito, the guerrilla leader, Musquito.

"Musquito was not simply a black-tracker. He was actually a formidable resistance fighter—someone with a very strong sense of 'nationalism', if that word is useful in this context. A Gai-Mariagal man, by 1805 Musquito had become notorious for leading 'outrages' against settlers in the lower Hawkesbury River area, and was named in Government Orders..." (Naomi Parry, '*Many Deeds of Terror: Windschuttle and Musquito*', *Labour History*, journal of the Australian Society for the Study of Labour History, No. 85, Nov., 2003).

That issue, No. 85, of *Labour History*

included a series of short articles as a forum on Windschuttle's revisionism. Two issues later Windschuttle came back at Parry's article in particular. In a *tour de force* of an article in that same issue (No. 87), she quite literally demolished his positions and his use of evidence to support them.

I would hope there will be world enough and time to revisit these matters. In the meantime, after a fairly hefty tour around the details of Darwin's case study in the science of genocide our conclusion should in a sense be Darwin's.

"...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 troops of the Spanish horse. The New Zealander {the native New Zealander, i.e. the Maori, JK} 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" (op. cit, pp221-222).

New Conditions. That's the way to do it. Sooner or later their failure to adapt to New Conditions will lead to their extinction. So give them New Conditions. New Conditions (along with penning, raping and shooting them) will get the job done.

Now, there's genocide for you. Nice and neat. And scientific. *

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Tony Blair

Blair finds blood on his hands. He turns to Cherie and says "Look, I've got stigmata."

by Baggie Luan MF6mh
http://www.indymedia.ie/article/97574&comment_limit=0&condense_comments=false#comment273023

(Thanks to **Nick Folley** for passing this on.)

The position of Protestants in the Irish State and its hands-off policy of regulated sectarianism

"Protestants... were left as orphans"¹

"In the widest sense the transformation of attitudes to authority, which found its way into the mainstream of [Irish] politics with surprising speed, suggests a reassertion of attitudes in some areas of life in the Republic that are - with a lower case p at least—protestant."

R.F. Foster, *How the Catholics became Protestants*, in *Luck and the Irish*, Penguin Books, 2007, p.37.

"The problems of the unmarried mothers had been explained comprehensively by Mr. Michel Viney in the *Irish Times*, although the articles had dealt primarily with the Roman Catholic population."

Mrs. Katherine F. Glover, SRN, Matron, 42nd annual meeting of the Bethany Home, *Irish Times*, 29 April 1965.²

Protestant Privilege?

During Anglo-Irish treaty negotiations in 1921 Britain threatened 'terrible war' if acceptance of partition between north and south and an oath of allegiance to the British monarch was not forthcoming from the Irish side. The southern Irish Free State's political elite was born of such compromise and victory in a subsequent civil war. A pulverised industrial infrastructure, endemic poverty, mass emigration, lack of economic development, combined with a perceived failure to complete the national revolution, ensured that a sense of fragility endured.

Conservative and right wing social forces were consolidated in the attempt to ensure survival.³ The Roman Catholic Church, which had become institutionally robust during the final phase of British rule, was the strongest conservative force in the new state. Having failed to rule successfully through Protestantism, the British Government attempted to cultivate institutional Catholicism in the mid to late 19th Century. While this too was a political failure, it facilitated Catholic organisation, which, combined with a Protestantism in retreat, ensured a century of triumphant growth. From a position of outlawed non-Britishness to that of incorporation under imperial rule, Independence proved a further stepping stone for a Roman Catholicism that became identified as 'Irish'. It offered Catholic solutions to social problems affecting Catholics, the vast majority.

Autonomous religious bodies exercised control over health, education, welfare provision and youth detention. Religion invested society with a sense of meaning, one generally supportive of, and helping to mould, the *status quo*. In the absence of a destabilising republican stamp of approval, a Catholic ethos emerged and substituted.

Was the State that emerged from this process conservative because of Catholicism, or was the latter merely the most significant influence? The emergent dominance of the Roman Catholic Church and its more recent erosion were considered central to the suppression and then advent of a more secular and

pluralist polity. In *Luck And The Irish* (2007), Roy Foster linked southern Irish authoritarianism to a nexus of Catholicism and nationalism and its demise to the emergence or a return to an implicitly liberal protestant sensibility.⁴ In Foster's 'widest sense', Protestantism was considered to be part of a subterranean strain of liberalism. If that is so, examining what Protestant organisations did should supply evidence of a submerged liberal ethic, repressed by this alleged alliance between nationalist ideology and the Catholic Church.

The growth in Roman Catholic Church power, alongside the conservative social forces its influence further consolidated, became, in the 1940s, a formidable bulwark against the development of a comprehensive secular public welfare system, an important object of the exercise.⁵ The tensions caused by religious obscurantism began to undermine the Church during the 1960s. However, a fixation of Catholicism per se allowed the important role of the state and the social and economic forces it represented to escape attention.

I will suggest here as an alternative to Foster's view that the state was engaged in a marriage of socio-economic and ideological convenience. It did not favour Catholicism so much as use it. Institutionally, Protestant churches behaved in much the same way, albeit on a smaller scale. They were said to have kept their heads down to avoid opprobrium. This is a mistaken view.

If Protestants did not complain much, it is because the setup, however irritating, was, in a comparative economic sense, advantageous. Protestants carried into the new Irish state the residue of privileges inherited from British rule. Though less than 4% of the southern population, Protestants punched above their demographic weight. For example, as late as 1972 and 1973, 25% of senior executives in banking and industry, respectively, were Protestants.⁶

Between 1926 and 1991 the proportion of the Protestant population within the three highest socio economic occupational groups rose from 32.5 to 39.5%, twice the Roman Catholic proportion on both occasions. Though constituting 4.4% of the non-agricultural labour force in the 1991 Census, Protestants

¹ Comment of Warren Nelson, Rev. T.C. Hammond's biographer, on Southern Protestants after the founding of the Irish Free State in 1922, *T.C. Hammond, Irish Christian, His life and legacy in Ireland and Australia*, Banner of Truth Trust, 1995, p66.

² Viney's seven extensively researched articles on the subject were quickly published by the paper in 1964 as *No Birthright, a Study of the Irish Unmarried Mother & Her Child (The "Irish Times" Articles)*. Viney noted briefly that the Church of Ireland had the services of two 'confidential' homes for unmarried mothers, whose identity was kept private. They were the Magdalen Home on Dublin's Leeson Street and the Bethany Home, Orwell Road, Rathgar, Dublin. I discuss the Bethany Home later.

³ See John Regan, *The Irish Counter Revolution 1921-1936, Treatyite Politics and Settlement in Independent Ireland*, Gill & Macmillan, 2001.

⁴ R.F. Foster, *How the Catholics became Protestants*, in his *Luck and the Irish*, Penguin Books, 2007, p37. Foster bases his observations on Tom Inglis, *Moral Monopoly, the Rise and Fall of the Catholic Church in Modern Ireland*, 2nd ed, UCD, 1998, p204-6.

⁵ Adrian Kelly, *Catholic action and the development of the Irish welfare state in the 1930s and 1940s*, *Archivium Hibernicum*, Vol 53, 1999. See also Lindsey Earner-Byrne, *Mother and Child, Maternity and Child Welfare in Dublin, 1922-60*, MUP, 2007, p130-144.

⁶ Jack White, *Minority Report*, Gill & Macmillan, 1975, p162, citing *Hibernia*, 2 Mar 1973, IT, 31 Jul 1973.

were 6.6% of proprietors, 9.5% of managers and 8.6% of the professions, excluding nursing. Former Taoiseach Garret Fitz Gerald pointed out, "in many professions Protestant over representation is on a far larger scale". These areas included, medicine, senior levels of government, journalism, architecture, insurance, acting, music, insurance and professional and business services. In agriculture Protestants were over represented in "ownership of all farms down to the 50 acre level", owning 17.6% of farms over 200 acres.⁷

In the 2006 census Church of Ireland members were 2.95% of the total, but were statistically over represented in Managerial & Technical and Professional categories, at 3.48 and 4.36% respectively, while progressively under represented in occupational categories below these two. Fitzgerald, noted, "the advantages thus enjoyed by Protestants... [have] never been publicly challenged, so far as I am aware they have never even been publicly adverted to". He asserted, "any suggestion that the advantages enjoyed by the Protestant minority in the Irish state should be reviewed or in any way contested would—rightly—be seen as intolerably bigoted".⁸ Protestants at different points along the socio-economic scale had interests to protect little different from Roman Catholic comparators. More at the higher end, however, interacted in its own particular manner with inequalities produced by sectarian health, education and welfare provision.

The declining southern Irish Protestant community had particular concerns. The Roman Catholic Church's now defunct 1908 *Ne Temere* decree required a Protestant intending to marry a Roman Catholic to agree that children be brought up as Roman Catholics.⁹ In consequence Protestant clergy and parents shunned association between theirs and Catholic teenagers. Máire Roycroft refers to "the isolation the Church of Ireland imposed on itself, which was nevertheless understandable".¹⁰ It encouraged separatists on both sides and it especially encouraged the smaller of the communities to experience its social life through secluded church institutions. Protestants developed their own relatively well-resourced and increasingly state-supported parallel organisations.¹¹ It was a sectarian structure based on social separation that was encouraged by state policy and by Protestant churches. The comparative advantages enjoyed by Protestants ensured that positive discrimination could be and was practised on a wide scale.¹²

Protestant input has been considered peripheral to the dynamics of social change in 20th Century Southern Ireland.¹³

⁷ Garret Fitzgerald, *Reflections on the Irish State*, IAP, 2003, pp150,151. *Belfast Telegraph*, 13 Dec 1995.

⁸ 2006 Stats from <http://beyond2020.cso.ie/Census/>, accessed April 25, 2008. Fitzgerald, op cit.

⁹ Bowen, op cit, p45, pp40-6 generally.

¹⁰ In *Untold Stories, Protestants in the Republic of Ireland*, edited by Colin Murphy, Lynne Adair, Liffey Press, 2002, p193.

¹¹ See Niall Meehan, *Shorthand for Protestants*, History Ireland, Vol 17, No 5, Sep-Oct 2009. See also Homan Potterton, explaining that "a social in Celbridge" was "a dance attended exclusively by Protestants, which took place in a church hall where tea and sandwiches were served and alcohol was entirely unknown", *Rathcormick A Childhood Recalled*, Vintage, 2004, p72.

¹² See Bowen (1983) and my *Shorthand for Protestants*, History Ireland, op cit.

¹³ For example, in Richard Breen, et al, *Understanding Contemporary Ireland, State, Class and Development in the Republic of Ireland*, Gill & Macmillan, 1990, the Church of Ireland is listed in the index with two entries, disestablishment and schools, on two pages. The Catholic Church has 14 on 42 pages, the largest being 'relationship with the state' on 18 pages. 'Catholics' are listed separately again with three entries and another 8 pages. Miriam Moffitt's forthcoming, *The Society for Irish Church Missions to the Roman Catholics, 1849-1950*, Manchester University Press, 2010 should address the information imbalance.

The erosion of the status and privileges of the Church of Ireland during the 19th Century has been analysed, but accounts taper off progressively thereafter.¹⁴ Consequently, Protestants largely evaded mainstream scholarly attention that was fixated on a relationship between Irish brands of conservatism and Catholicism.¹⁵

Liberal Approach?

Protestant clergy were liberal to a point. Bishop Day of Ossary noted in 1937 that he had supported the landmark Lambeth Conference decision in 1930 to permit married Anglicans limited access to contraception, in a motion stipulating "complete abstinence from intercourse... in a life of discipline and self-control" as the "primary and obvious method". Day added, however, "personally, I loathe and detest the idea of birth control, and would never advocate it in any circumstance".¹⁶ While an example of the exercise of individual conscience, it was also, perhaps, a case of having your cake abroad, while eating it at home. Protestant clerics were as fixated on curbing and controlling Sexuality as Roman Catholic counterparts. Abandon in this regard was associated with alcohol. In 1938 the Bishop of Derry warned in Dublin of the effects of "toney wine" and "young women in a good social position being ruined by cocktails". In pursuit of this (Freudian) theme, that same year the Dublin Presbyterian synod was exercised by "young people of both sexes becoming addicted to what might be termed the "cock-tail habit". The Rev J.C. Breakey warned, "such selfish irresponsible empty headed pagans were preparing the way for communism". He noted, "a large measure of agreement" between Protestant and Roman Catholic churches "and a certain amount of co-operation" on the question of sobriety. 1926-27 Moderator, Rev R.K. Hanna, who had sat on the Managing Committee of the Bethany Home, was concerned also to "give the devil his due", since "the government here had a censorship of films which was quite effective". However, said another, censorship of "evil literature" was undermined by cross border smuggling.¹⁷

Ireland's demarcated Christian traditions could be said, therefore, to have had parallel priorities in their institutional relationship with the southern Irish state. Attitudes among the religiously committed in both communities differed mainly in how they regarded each other, little in terms of those they targeted for attention. Clergy and self-appointed volunteers set about regulating sexual activity outside marriage. Single mothers and their 'illegitimate' children were separated from their families and community, before being separated from each other. The Church of Ireland associated Bethany Home organised the

¹⁴ Irene Whelan, *The Bible Wars in Ireland, the Second Reformation' and the Polarization of Protestant-Catholic Relations, 1800-1840*, Madison, 2005; David W Miller, *Varieties of Irish Evangelism*, Field Day Review 3, 2007; Miriam Moffitt *Soupers and Jumpers: the Protestant Missions in Connemara, 1848-1937*, Nonsuch, 2008. See also Maria Luddy, *Women and Philanthropy in nineteenth-century Ireland*, CUP, 1995.

¹⁵ See J.H. Whyte, *Church & State in Modern Ireland*, Gill & Macmillan, 1971 and 2nd ed, 1979; Tom Inglis, *Moral Monopoly, the Rise and Fall of the Catholic Church in Modern Ireland*, 2nd ed, UCD, 1998. For a critique of Roman Catholic child welfare provision, the main emphasis of recent commentary, Mile Milotte, *Banished Babies*, New Island, 1997; Eoin O'Sullivan and Mary Raftery, *Suffer the Little Children: the inside Story of Ireland's Industrial Schools*, Continuum, 2001.

¹⁶ *IT*, 29 Jan, 3 Feb 1937.

¹⁷ *IT*, 11 May, 17 March 1938. See also Carol Coulter (pp63-6), May McClintock (116-9) in *Untold Stories, Protestants in the Republic of Ireland*, Liffey Press, 2002. McClintock noted use of "the local Garda" to prevent "bodily contact" at social gatherings for the young that prohibited dancing.

adoption of such children or nursed and fostered them out. At the 1928 annual meeting the Reverend H. Watson said, "if they had not the home, the children would be sent out into the world with the brand of Cain".¹⁸

Boston College academic, James Smith, makes the point that this "containment culture" focussed on single women and their children. It effectively criminalised childbirth while largely ignoring actual and mainly male crimes of rape, incest and paedophile assault.¹⁹

Children who came to the attention to the authorities were often sent to religious-run and state-funded industrial schools. This was not, according to an *Irish Times* editorial in 1940, "as a punishment, it should be marked, but because the character of the boy, or girl, is more likely to develop satisfactorily in such a school".²⁰ "Over the period from 1936 to 1970, a total of 170,000 children and young persons (involving about 1.2% of the age cohort) entered the gates of the 50 or so industrial schools. The period for which they stayed varied widely, depending on the ground of entry; but the average was more than seven years."²¹

The State's Commission of Enquiry Report into Industrial Schools found them to be places where systematic physical and sexual abuse and neglect took place, where the Department of Education had "a deferential and submissive attitude", in which "demands by Managers for children to be committed to Industrial Schools [were] for reasons of economic viability". The Commission also concluded, "This failure led to the institutional abuse of children where their developmental, emotional and educational needs were not met".²²

The state therefore, in alliance with religious institutions, had a robust system of ideological and coercive control. The 'moral' element of this control system was intrinsic to its operation.

Homes For Protestants

In an attempt to rectify the information deficit with regard to specifically Protestant input I looked at the Church of Ireland's *Society of Irish Church Missions to the Roman Catholics* (ICM) that (in addition to proclaiming the superiority of their Christian brand) ran a number of orphanages and taught in others, such as the proselytising Smiley's Homes. I have examined also the Bethany Home (sometimes 'House') in Dublin that also had ICM involvement. It was, according to Kurt Bowen's definitive study of the Church of Ireland in southern Ireland, "the major facility for Protestant women in need of institutional care".²³ It was evangelical, in that it sought to wean away from 'sin' unmarried mothers, prostitutes and others detained for crimes ranging from petty theft to infanticide, towards the reformed faith.²⁴ Church and state, in the form of clergy and the courts, referred women to the Home, while clergymen also sat on its Management Committee.

¹⁸ *IT*, 2 Feb 1928.

¹⁹ James Smith, *The Politics of Sexual Knowledge: the origins of Ireland's containment culture and the Carrigan Report (1931)*, *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, Vol 13, No 2, Apr 2004, p209.

²⁰ *IT*, 9 Sep 1940.

²¹ *The Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse* (2009), Chapter 3, Gateways, <http://www.childabusecommission.ie/rpt/01-03.php>, (accessed 18 May 2010).

²² *The Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse* (2009), *Executive Summary*, <http://www.childabusecommission.ie/rpt/ExecSummary.php>, (accessed 18 May 2010).

²³ Kurt Bowen, *Protestants in a Catholic State, Ireland's Privileged Minority*, Gill and Macmillan, 1983, p132.

²⁴ On the Bethany Home, see my *Church and State bear responsibility for the Bethany Home*, *History Ireland*, Vol 18, No 5, Sep-Oct 2010, and (in particular) extended version, *Church and state and the Bethany Home*, at historyireland.com.

Bethany Home Managing Committee minutes from 1924-66 illustrate an administrated ethos. Unfortunately, minutes from February 1937 to April 1944 are lost.²⁵ It was a period when the home was subject to critical public scrutiny. This is reflected in archival material and newspaper reports. Post-1940, Roman Catholics were officially excluded from the Home. The State's Deputy Chief Medical Adviser entered the Home three times in 1939 and criticised "Bethany's proselytising activities", but also defended its then controversial child welfare regime. He was directly responsible for Bethany's change of admission policy. In January 1940 the High Court declared the home "sectarian".²⁶ Hettie Walker, Bethany's very evangelical Residential Secretary, stated in court that the policy change was due to "persistent, unfriendly, innumerable and unnecessary requirements of public officials" and a threat of exclusion from a new system of Local Authority-based public funding.²⁷

Is this evidence of the suppression implied by Foster? Perhaps not. The medical adviser, William Sterling Berry, was a member of the Church of Ireland. His presence in the Home in 1939 was due to a sharp increase in childhood illness and mortality. Of Bethany's 219 child deaths (traced to unmarked graves in Mount Jerome Cemetery) from 1922-49, over one-third, 86, occurred during 1935-39.²⁸ This was a problem shared with Catholic institutions that the 1934 Maternity Act was designed to monitor and also presumably to reverse. William Berry's response was simply to level the field of play as regards sectarian provision. His efforts in this regard were not part of his statutory responsibility. However, they were fully reported in a "confidential, for the Department's own use", memo. We may assume, therefore, that this was regarded as an appropriate non-statutory exercise of his official function. Maintaining and protecting separate sectarian provision was more important than its content.²⁹

A departmental Inspector, Alice H. Litster, also a member of the CofI, noted critically that Bethany was removing children from the state to England in 1940. In 1948 she shepherded the Home towards recognition for public funding purposes.³⁰ After that point, child mortality decreased to negligible levels. Were

²⁵ The Representative Church Body (RCB) Library of the Church of Ireland, which holds the minutes, reported that the individual donating them did not possess the missing volume. I am indebted to Maria Luddy and her colleagues for their compilation of a bibliographic database on women's history during the 1990s, which alerted me to the existence and subsequent re-discovery of these minutes. I am grateful also to Janet Maxwell of the Representative Church Body (RCB) of the Church of Ireland, and to Raymond Refaüssé and Susan Hood of the RCB Library for facilitating my perusal of the minutes, and for their efforts in successfully recovering them, after it was thought initially the entire set of minutes had disappeared. I would like to thank Catriona Crowe, Head of the National Archives, for agreeing to act as a source of advice on copying the minutes and on redacting confidential matter within them. Names of mothers and children were obscured. It was also decided that staff members subject to disciplinary procedures should be similarly obscured.

²⁶ *Bethany Home*, *History Ireland*, op cit.

²⁷ See my *Church & State and the Bethany Home*, *History Ireland*, Vol 18, No 5, Sept-Oct 2010. *Irish Independent*, 23 Jan 1940.

²⁸ *Ibid*. I counted 219 unmarked graves in Mount Jerome cemetery from cemetery records. See *History Ireland*, op cit.

²⁹ *Ibid*.

³⁰ Dept. Health file, Unmarried Mothers and their Children, INACT/INA/01/474129; BMCM, 9 Apr, 11 Jun, 10 Sep 1948, 14 Jan 1949. Though regarded as comparatively enlightened, in 1934 Litster condemned 'feeble minded' Roman Catholic Magdalene women "for their 'weak intellect' and 'lack of moral fibre'". She 'concluded with a further call for 'the power of detention in special cases'. Paul M Garrett, *The Abnormal Flight: The Migration and Repatriation of Irish Unmarried Mothers*, *Social History*, Vol 25, No 3, 200, p 333. See also Lindsey Earner Byrne's *Mother and Child, Maternity and Child Welfare in Dublin, 1922-60*, MUP, 2007.

Catholic and Protestant children of the nation treated equally in this situation? They were, equally badly and separately, as were their mothers.

The creation and then transformation of the 'problem' of illegitimacy involved religious practitioners and volunteers, doctors, nurses, charitable givers and, increasingly, state officials. Women subject to the objectives of this institutionalisation, and more particularly their children, were branded by it for the remainder of a lifespan that for some was foreshortened. Strict denominational separation was expected, but friction occurred when boundaries were transgressed. Separation created space for anti-Roman Catholic ideologies, while the policy of the Irish state encouraged its institutional expression. In a context that discouraged sectarianism between the confessional groups, however much there was within, evangelical Protestants appeared to entice the vulnerable across the divide. Such activity had a long gestation.

Irish Church Missions To The Roman Catholics

Many Roman Catholic health, education and social service organisations came into being in competition with the previously mentioned ICM that was part of the Church of Ireland. The latter had spent most of the 19th and part of the 20th Century adjusting with difficulty to a decline in status, numbers, income, and influence. A futile attempt at control eventually subverted the initially multi-denominational intent of the 1932 National School system.

The ICM arrived mid-century and fought a spirited rearguard action aimed at reversing inexorable trends.³¹ It aggressively pursued points of theological difference, while teaching and also feeding and clothing the Irish poor. ICM schools taught, "twenty-four Reasons for leaving the Church of Rome", combined with loyalty to the British Empire. An address to its founder from an ICM orphanage declared:

"Welcome to the Saxon here
Whom once we learned to hate and fear
But now a happy and free band
We love and bless their noble land."

ICM activity is cited as 'souperism', conversion to Protestantism for material gain, principally alleviation of hunger.³² The ICM's influence can be traced in the Bethany Home.

Formed in 1849 and directed from London, the Irish Church Missions gained impetus from moral panic in England at the thought of post-Famine Irish migrants spreading their religion. Fear of Anglo-Catholic influences within the Church of England was also a factor. The British Government's newfound interest in the Irish Catholic Hierarchy, expressed through the 1845 Maynooth Grant (a subsidy for the production of priests) caused particular alarm.³³ ICM historian Miriam Moffitt explained that it,

"was centred in the evangelical wing of the Church of England, and its object was to convert the Roman Catholics of Ireland to what it held to be a scriptural faith. It perceived the Irish famine of 1845–47 not only as an opportunity to convert the Romanists of Ireland but also as a judgment from God on Irish Roman

Catholics for having stubbornly clung to their religion: "*The truth of the Scriptures was verified in the groans of the dying, and their wails for the dead,*" which the ICM saw as a fulfilment of biblical prophecy."³⁴

According to the ICM, its object was,

"To adopt any measure that may tend to the conversion of the Roman Catholic population of Ireland by means consistent with the principles of the Church of Ireland and England..."³⁵

The founder, English millenarian clergyman Alexander Dallas, explained, "It is a war of extermination; and so it ought to be, for the contest is between truth and error." How to stop the contagion: "the best method is to carry the war into the enemy's country". Instead of illiterate and idle papists,

"an enlightened people will supply their place; and instead of demoralising the inhabitants of England, by the vices and deceptions of Romanism, and feeding the cravings of a vulture like priesthood, [they] will disseminate (if they are educated in Ireland in the truths and doctrines of vital Christianity) peace and goodwill amongst men."³⁶

In the 1850s and 1860s the ICM made deep thrusts into the West of Ireland and later Dublin, with 'mission stations', schools, orphanages, and homes for "ragged" boys and girls. It was in effect the second wave of what was termed The Second Reformation, the first having begun in the 1820s under the direction of The Irish Society (that gave Bible instruction in the Irish language and amalgamated with the ICM in 1917), the Scripture Readers Society and the Hibernian Bible Society.³⁷ If the first wave failed to prevent Catholic Emancipation in 1827, the second failed also, with Church of Ireland disestablishment between 1869-71. The latter was accompanied by formal separation from the Church of England.³⁸ The Church of Ireland became in consequence more distinctly Protestant or 'low church' and less observably Anglo-Catholic in order to avoid association with the local Roman kind.³⁹ The C of I began simultaneously to

³⁴ Miriam Moffitt, *The Society for Irish Church Missions to the Roman Catholics: Philanthropy or Bribery?*, International Bulletin of Missionary Research, Vol 30, No 1, Jan 2006, p32.

³⁵ *Dublin Charities, being a handbook of Dublin philanthropic organizations and charities, compiled and published by the Association of Charities*, John Falconer, 53 Upper Sackville Street, 1902, p.185.

³⁶ Dallas and Edward Bickersteth of the ICM, cited in *ibid*.

³⁷ *IT*, 18, 26 Apr 1917. The Scripture Readers Society amalgamated with the Irish Society in 1904. The Irish Society broke off an earlier attempt at amalgamation in 1856. The ICM considered allowing Roman Catholics to read the bible in Irish as unacceptable, they should first convert. Desmond Bowen, *The Protestant Crusade in Ireland, 1800-70*, Gill and Macmillan, 1978, p 225.

³⁸ See Jennifer Ridden, *The Forgotten History of the Protestant Crusade: Religious Liberalism in Ireland*, Journal of Religious History, Vol 31, No 1, March 2007; Moffitt, *op cit*. Fergus Campbell's, *The Irish Establishment*, OUP, Oxford, 2009, pp242-296 on the increasingly anti-Catholic rhetoric of the Church of Ireland.

³⁹ See, Bowen, 1983, and Peter Nockles, *Church or Protestant Sect? The Church of Ireland, High Churchmanship, and the Oxford Movement*, The Historical Journal, Vol 41, No 2, Jun 1988, pp457-493. Presbyterians, it should be noted, also became involved. Pioneering missionary, Rev Henry McManus, said, "it would be a positive sin" for "one church to monopolise such a work... Let each take up a part of the moral waste for itself". His church was "herself Irish and therefore free from objections naturally entertained against foreign churches". Henry McManus, First Irish Missionary of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, *Sketches of the Irish Highlands: descriptive, social, and religious, with special reference to Irish missions in West Connaught since 1840*, Hamilton Adams and Company, 33 Paternoster Row, Edinburgh, 1863. However, since some Church of Ireland clerics used "Presbyterian and Cromwellian novelties" (Nockles, p477) in services it would appear that this opportunism was largely superfluous.

³¹ Bowen, *op cit*, p 13. Also, Brian Inglis, *The Story of Ireland*, Faber, 3rd ed, 1970, pp 189-191, for an account of these schools as an 'instrument of conversion' (p 190). See also Garret Fitzgerald, *IT*, 13 Feb 2010.

³² Miriam Moffitt, 2008, p 28, 31, 46. Also discussed in detail, Gordon McCoy, *A History of Protestant Irish Speakers*, 2009, at <http://www.ultach.dsl.pipex.com/ForLearners/A%20history%20of%20Protestant%20Irish%20speakers.doc> (accessed, 11 may 2010, link defunct, available in Google cache).

³³ A.E. Hughes, *Lift up a Standard, One Hundred Years of the Irish Church Missions*, ICM, 1948, p 80.

emphasise its Irishness. It attested it was no mere offshoot of the British state, while at the same time reiterating its allegiance to it, in particular to Britain's constitutionally Protestant monarch. Within such a regime, the ICM flourished.

However, English fascination with Irish Catholics waned after the Crimean War in 1853 and the 1857 Indian mutiny. Attention turned instead to converting 'heathens'.⁴⁰ The 1861 census was a disappointment to the ICM. In 1859 Dallas claimed that the West of Ireland Tuam diocese was 50% Protestant. Such views may have been encouraged by the impoverished natives displaying themselves to ICM dignitaries in exchange for food or clothing. They then, as occurred after an 1860 visit by Dallas to Roundstone Co Galway, "appear[ed] at mass the following Sunday". Such light-minded, though clearly self-interested, quasi-ecumenism subverted the very serious intent of the ICM. Prior to the census the ICM forecast 2.5m Protestants and 3.5m Catholics. It in fact revealed 4.5m Catholics, 0.7m in the Established Church of Ireland and 0.53m Presbyterians. The ICM spent £300,000 between 1849 and 1861 (representing £22m in 2007 terms) and, in effect, "had very little to show for it" Moffitt noted, "the ICM could not easily withstand the dual accusation of bribery and ineffectiveness". She continued, "even the Protestant media asked how the number of Protestants in counties Mayo and Galway could decrease by 25% when such huge resources were being spent to proselytise the area".⁴¹ One ICM explanation was that in subsequent mass emigration, "it was the Protestants and converts from... Rome who were specially driven from their homes".⁴²

The ICM thought that Protestant enlightenment would engender loyalty to Britain, as endemic disloyalty was regarded as another effect of the form of Christianity professed by most of the Irish. The process helped to reinforce a binary opposition between Catholic and Protestant in Irish society in the modern period, which acted as historical shorthand to explain every other sort. It is a convenient view whose usefulness I question. It tends to assume a sectarian homogeneity in the outlook of most Irish Protestants and assumes that nationalist opposition to ostensibly Protestant, though in fact unionist, sectarianism, is itself sectarian.⁴³

In addition to provoking Catholic counter measures, it also aroused opposition within the Church of Ireland. "Her ministers sought the wretched hovels of the poor, and commenced her barter in human souls" commented Cork Protestant Thomas Biggs. The ICM was confronted by a "steadily increasing Protestant party", which "despises this nasty business as much as any Catholic".⁴⁴ The language used by the ICM to criticise Catholicism in the mid- to late-19th Century was preserved and reinvigorated in the 20th within the UK in Northern Ireland, whose ruling Unionist Party codified such sentiments into systems of discrimination directed at its one-third Roman Catholic population.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Moffitt, 2006, p 35.

⁴¹ Moffitt, 2006, p 35.

⁴² A.E. Hughes, *Lift up a Standard, one hundred years with the Irish Church Missions*, ICM, July 1948, p 27.

⁴³ See, for example, Jacqueline Hill on 'exclusive dealing' directed at Protestant opponents of Catholic Emancipation (pp 65-88), in Fintan Lane, ed, *Politics, Society and the Middle Class in Modern Ireland*, Palgrave, 2010.

⁴⁴ Moffitt, 2006, p 35. Biggs in Moffitt, 2008, p 96, 97. See, in particular, *Protestant opposition to the Irish Church Missions*, pp 94-99.

⁴⁵ Michael Farrell, *The Orange State* (second ed.), Pluto, 1980, *Arming the Protestants*, Pluto, 1983; Bob Rowthorn, Naomi Wayne, *Northern Ireland, the Political Economy of Conflict*, Polity, 1988; Paul Bew, Peter Gibbon, Henry Patterson, *The State in Northern Ireland 1921-*

The organisation had an opposite effect in the South to the one originally and confidently envisaged, a victim of the all too human and pervasive law of unintended consequences. However, opposition to Home Rule during the late 19th Century gave the organisation its second wind.

The ICM In The 20th Century

Before the 1861 Census, ICM annual funding declined from £40,000 to £26,000, and a gradual retreat from the West ensued.⁴⁶ However, despite a continuing decline in the southern Protestant population during the 19th Century,⁴⁷ by Century's end the ICM was organisationally entrenched. It benefited from a stream of bequests, for example in 1890, "£35,000 of a huge £51,000 legacy from Mrs Hopper of Clifden", dedicated to a new "itinerating evangelistic fund".⁴⁸

The rescinding of legal and political handicaps affecting Roman Catholics and the demand for Irish self-rule was portrayed as a 180-degree reversal of sectarian fortune. It has been suggested that, with other evangelicals, the ICM used public reaction to denunciations of Romanism in the 1890s to indicate that Irish Home Rule would be Rome Rule.⁴⁹ Even in the absence of the desired hostility, the ICM complained in 1914 that nationalist "party leaders... in order to impress English voters" had "pressure brought to bear on Romanists" to abstain from confrontation and thus appear "no longer intolerant".⁵⁰ These efforts associated the Church of Ireland with an anti-democratic outlook, a view exacerbated by formal opposition to British proposals for Home Rule.⁵¹ It encouraged an association of ethnic and religious identity.

This dimension gave Irish proselytism a particularly sharp political edge. Such efforts associated with a purely sectarian allegiance to the British state had consequences. An Irish Peer commented, "in the long run, I believe it will be discovered that The Irish Church Missions Society has done irreparable damage to the Church of Ireland".⁵² To an extent the ICM was a political liability. However, it reflected a significant body of thought, which it sustained and which in turn sustained the ICM. The point may be illustrated by moving forward a couple of decades and back again.

In 1937 Miss Ellen Wright of Bournemouth, England, formerly of Ireland, left an estate worth £49,326. Her will distributed various sums to family members and £500 each to the ICM and to Dublin's Adelaide Hospital. Miss Wright directed that "if any of these beneficiaries... become or marry, or have married a

72, MUP, 1979. See also, Richard L. Jordan, *The second coming of Paisley: Militant fundamentalism and Ulster politics in a transatlantic context*, unpublished PhD thesis, Louisiana State University, 2008.

⁴⁶ Moffitt, 2006, p 36.

⁴⁷ R.B. McDowell, *The Church of Ireland, 1859-1969*, RKP, 1975, p 119-121.

⁴⁸ Kelly, 2005, p.107, citing the ICM's *Banner of Truth*, 1 Apr 1890, pp54-6.

⁴⁹ See Mathew Kelly, *The Politics of Protestant Street Preaching in 1890s Ireland*, *The Historical Journal*, Vol 48, No 1, 2005, pp.107-8. A later ICM figurehead, Thomas Chatterton ('TC') Hammond, who sat on the Bethany Home Managing Committee, cut his evangelical teeth street preaching in Cork. Hammond's sympathetic biographer noted that it "became embroiled in the Home Rule politics of the day", Warren Nelson, *T.C. Hammond: Irish Christian, his life and legacy in Ireland and Australia*, *Banner of Truth Trust*, 1994, p37.

⁵⁰ *IT*, 9 May 1914. Conor Cruise O'Brien would later echo this propaganda by suggesting that in order to "appeal, in tone and form, to liberal opinion", "political Catholicism in the South... generally... discreet, pervasive, sly" had to "learn the liberal language" during the 19th Century. *States of Ireland*, Panther, 1974, p183.

⁵¹ Bowen, 1983, pp 16-18.

⁵² Peer cited in Moffitt, 2006, op cit, p35, see also, notes 27, 42.

Roman Catholic", they would "forfeit such benefit" The news appeared within a usually unremarkable newspaper column on recent wills, except that this part was highlighted.⁵³

Two years later newspapers devoted considerable space to the contestation by her daughter of the last will and testament of Mrs. Marie Georgina Duckett of Raglan Road, Ballsbridge, Dublin. Mrs Duckett left her considerable £100,000 estate to various Protestant church missionary societies, including the ICM, and disinherited Mrs. Olive Georgina O'Grady. Her mother implicated Olive in dancing, gambling, card-playing, horse-racing and employing Catholic servants. In the High Court it was argued in her defence that the determinedly Low Church Mrs. Duckett had a history of charitable giving. In 1908 she donated £2,000 to what became known as the 'Marie Duckett wing' of the Adelaide Hospital. However, it transpired that, when it came to Mrs. Duckett's attention in 1914 that Irish Catholic British soldiers wounded in France were treated there, "she became indignant that the Adelaide, a Protestant hospital, was admitting such persons... From that time she took no more interest in the hospital". The testifying Adelaide surgeon was asked if Mrs Duckett had any "objection to Catholic soldiers going to France" in the first place. He replied, "I don't think so". Mrs. O'Grady settled the case for £30,000, while the somewhat embarrassed missionary societies got the rest.⁵⁴

Mrs. Duckett's views on the conduct of the First World War, before Irish Independence, were published after it, on the eve of the Second World War. They were not exceptional. In 1917 the ICM annual meeting claimed, "on the Society's Roll of Honour were the names of over 300 brave lads, the fruits of the Mission's work, mainly in Dublin".⁵⁵ This view of the duty of young people in ICM care did not extend to others with a duty of pastoral care on the battlefield itself. In the House of Commons on 10th May 1917, Andrew Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer,

"denied... receipt of any official information to the effect that the presence of Catholic chaplains at the front was having a demoralising effect on soldiers of other persuasions".

He was responding to something else said at the April 1917 ICM meeting. Archdeacon Daunt of Cloyne asserted that 518 Catholic British Army chaplains were too many and therefore demoralising. The utterance gave rise to protest and ridicule, culminating in Bonar Law's weary Westminster denial. On the same day it was announced that Sinn Fein won the South Longford by-election. The ICM's sectarian support for the war effort, that included associating German militarism with German Roman Catholics, deflected those tasked with promoting British interests to sceptical mainly Catholic Irish subjects. Exactly one year after Archdeacon Daunt spoke, the Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP) withdrew permanently from Westminster in protest at the imposition of Conscription. In the December 1918 General Election Sinn Fein won 73 of 105 Irish seats. The Demise of the IPP and rise of Sinn Fein paved the way for the Irish War of Independence and Ireland's division into two states in 1922.⁵⁶

T.C. Hammond, A Bigot For God

A sympathetic biography of 1919-36 ICM Superintendent T.C. Hammond suggested that, after 1922 in the South, "Protest-

ants, mainly unionists" were "left as orphans, cut off from the friends and institutions with whom they had grown up".⁵⁷ They were not necessarily at one with Hammond, however. At the Church of Ireland Dublin diocesan Synod in October 1920, during the War of Independence, Hammond moved to "reaffirm loyalty" to King George and to 'deplore' the—

"unhappy campaign of murder and terrorism which has deprived loyal citizens in the South and West of Ireland of the support and sanction of the ordinary law; and hereby calls upon the general Synod to take such steps as may appear to it desirable to secure protection for the lives and property of Churchmen who are subjected to injury and intimidation for their political and religious opinions".

There were initial attempts to rule the motion out of order. In an effort to save his text, Rev. Hammond retreated. He did not wish to imply that "acts of violence" were confined to any particular section of the population and conceded,

"It was a matter of very deep regret to many of them that associated with the campaign of terror there were some, happily only a few, who regarded themselves as members of the Church of Ireland".

After this significant admission, Hammond then claimed that the motion's "loyal citizens" included members of "the Church that had secured the allegiance of the majority of the people". Even that was not enough. There followed a series of backtracking amendments, firstly to delete the words from "and hereby calls" down to "opinions". As this would have ruled the motion out on a technicality, it was suggested instead to "deplore the unhappy campaign of murder and terrorism in the South and West of Ireland". A Brigadier-General Crosbie could not accept this "invidious distinction" and "objected to the aspersion that was cast upon the South and West of Ireland", where he came from. "The North is far worse than the South and West", he said. This led the Earl of Belmore to interject, "Not the North-West, but the North East", where anti Catholic pogroms had commenced in Belfast earlier in July 1920. Eventually, a motion deploring the "unhappy campaign of murder and terrorism in Ireland" was passed.⁵⁸ The resulting pledge of allegiance to the Monarch could have been interpreted as including condemnation of those who acted in his name and/or in his service, principally counter-insurgency forces known as the 'Black and Tans' who engaged in atrocities that included burning Protestant-owned businesses.⁵⁹ Clearly, the episode indicated a politically divided church community.

The attempt to portray the south as a bastion of anti-Protestant prejudice was a propaganda point for Ulster Unionism. It was designed to blunt criticism of sustained Unionist anti-Catholic violence that broke out after July 1920 in Belfast. Since southern Protestants could not be persuaded to support the effort, the campaign fell at the first hurdle. The former Unionist leader, now Lord Carson, who had initiated the 1920 anti-Catholic violence, later came to the assistance of the ICM when its boys' orphanage at Ballyconree, Co. Galway, was burned on 22nd June 1922 by Anti-Treaty forces during the Irish Civil War. Moffitt noted that the Home's Boy Scouts saluted the British flag each morning, while its residents "marched to Clifden church on Sundays behind the Union Jack" The boys were relocated initially to London and then to the Burnside Home near Sydney in Australia. The ICM's *Banner of Truth* newspaper

⁵³ *Irish Independent*, 23 Feb 1937.

⁵⁴ *Irish Independent*, *IT*, 15, 16 June 1939.

⁵⁵ *IT*, 18 Apr 1917. This was a considerable attrition, in that in 1915 it was claimed that 200 had joined the colours and that "some" had "laid down their lives", *ibid*, 14 Apr 1915.

⁵⁶ *IT*, 20 Feb, 17 Apr, 12 May 1917, *Irish Independent*, 11 May 1917, *Southern Star* 28 Apr 1917. David Hogan (*pseud*, Frank Gallagher), *The Four Glorious Years*, Irish Press, 1953, pp.26-7.

⁵⁷ Warren Nelson, *T.C. Hammond, Irish Christian, His life and legacy in Ireland and Australia*, Banner of Truth Trust, 1995, pp36,66.

⁵⁸ *IT*, 19 Oct 1920.

⁵⁹ See Niall Meehan, *Frank Gallagher and Land Agitation*, Dublin Review of Books 11, Autumn 2009, http://www.drbr.ie/more_details/09-09-20/Frank_Gallagher_and_land_agitation.aspx.

noted, "Thus ends a chapter of Christian work amongst boys in Ireland which has lasted for seventy years, and which made the greatest possible difference in the lives of hundreds of boys who are now worthy sons of the British Empire in different parts of the world". It is unlikely that training boys for export in the service of the British Empire, including its army, would have endeared itself to those fighting that Empire between 1919-21.⁶⁰

In his 1948 centenary celebration of the ICM, A.E. Hughes reported that the "breaking away of the twenty-six counties... from their former position in the Great British Empire" was compensated for by "the Church of Ireland [that] knows no partition". The CofI, he wrote, prays each Sunday "for God's blessing on King George VI". However, the 1949 declaration of the Republic of Ireland put an end to the practice that in any case had also divided southern church adherents.⁶¹

Throughout this period the ICM continued as a significant, though occasionally contentious, part of the Church. In 1929 "two archbishops and ten bishops" were "among the vice-Presidents of the Society", while the ICM noted that "Bishops and Archbishops... were constantly patrons of the Society up until 1984".⁶²

The ICM was ever vigilant against High-Church tendencies within the Church of Ireland. An October 1926 "stormy meeting in Dublin" on the "Anglo Catholic movement", in which speakers were continually harangued and interrupted, concluded with "Three cheers of the Irish Church Mission... given with great enthusiasm". It was a largely self-contained constituency that incorporated Orange Order terminology to denounce supposed or potential enemies within: "tell us about King Billy", "No surrender" and "Not an inch across the border".⁶³ This is not surprising since Hammond was a leading Dublin member of the organisation, whose spiritual home was the ICM. In 1915, while denying he was "the leader of the [Dublin Diocesan Synod's] Orange section", he responded, "I would be proud of the privilege if I were".⁶⁴ In a July 1916 Orange Order service in the Molyneux Church, Dublin, Hammond complained, "the daily newspapers railed against them as bigots and as intolerant". He resolved, "let them be bigots, but bigots for God".⁶⁵

Hammond was also a leader of the Church of Ireland's Anti Ritualistic Association, in which capacity he opposed fellow clerics who engaged in 'Romish' or Anglo Catholic practices.⁶⁶ This tradition was carried on by Bethany Managing Committee member, W.H. Going, an Honorary Treasurer of the YWCA and member of the Diocesan Council of the Dioceses of Waterford, Cashel, and Emily. In 1935 he successfully petitioned a Church of Ireland Court to convene and charge a Sandymount,

⁶⁰ Moffitt, 2008, p166. After a 1922 *Irish Times* report of Carson's concerns was reprinted on 27 Jul. 2009, the *Sunday Independent* columnist, Eoghan Harris restated Carson's opinion on the plight of southern Protestants, 2 Aug 2009. The relocation of poor children and orphans to the Empire was commonplace in Britain at that time and came to an end in 1967.

⁶¹ A.E. Hughes, *Lift up a Standard, One hundred years with the Irish Church Missions*, ICM, July 1948, p80. Daithi O Corrain, "If a house be divided against itself that house cannot stand": the Church of Ireland and the political border, 1949-73, in Mervyn Busted, Frank Neal and Jonathan Tonge, ed, *Irish Protestant Identities*, MUP, 2008, pp85-7.

⁶² *IT*, 21 Feb 1930. *Alexander Dallas and founding of the ICM*, <http://www.icm-online.ie/resources/articles/69-alexander-dallas-and-founding-of-the-icm.html> (accessed 8 Feb 2010).

⁶³ *IT*, 26 Oct 1926.

⁶⁴ *IT*, Nov 16, 1915.

⁶⁵ *IT*, Jul 3, 1916.

⁶⁶ *IT*, 26 Aug 1910, 2 May 1911, 15, 29 Jul 1911, 3 Jul 1916, 15 May 1923, 10 May 1933, 24 Feb 1936. *IT*, 9 Mar, 21 May, 5 Jun 1935.

Dublin, Vicar with "conducting public worship... not in accordance with the rubrics of the Church of Ireland".⁶⁷ The Bethany Home existed in parallel and in sympathy with the considerable welfare activity of the ICM.

The Bethany Home And The ICM In Independent Ireland

In 1902 the ICM reported an annual income of £22,577, including £10,281 from dividends and legacies. A description that year of ICM-related child welfare activity reported, "the Birds Nest is the largest of the homes of this kind in Dublin", in which "the children of mixed marriages and of Roman Catholics are given the preference". Other 'Mission Homes and ragged Schools' included the Elliot Home, Townsend Street; Boys Home, Grand Canal Street; Nead le Farrige Home, Girls Home, Townsend Street; and the Coombe Boys' Home.⁶⁸ Education culminated in a "customary public examination in Scripture knowledge, and in secular subjects". In 1914 Rev. Hammond, examined "new testament subjects".⁶⁹

In 1909 the ICM's then Dublin Superintendent explained the connection between Mrs. Smyly's Birds' Nest Orphanage, York Road, Kingstown, and the ICM:

"...the Home Committee gathered in the children and collected funds for their support, while the Irish Church Missions provided teachers and superintended the education. The Birds' Nest was the largest of nine kindred homes which together supported upwards of five hundred children, and which, with four free day schools giving food to all who needed it, required an expenditure of £12,000 a year."⁷⁰

As 1919-36 ICM Superintendent, Hammond concentrated on evangelism. Protestantism, he said, "denied that the only hope of humanity rested in a sacramental system developed by evil efforts". Roman Catholics had first to recognise their errors before being accepted as Protestants. When they did, the ICM advertised it publicly with, for example, "reception of converts including ex-priest". Hammond stated in 1927 that the ICM,

"helped the poor, comforted the sick, relieved the perplexed, and saved souls, for which they thanked God. Those who were present on Sunday night witnessed the entry of eleven converts into the Church of Ireland. The Church of Rome was tyrannous; but as a moral force it was paralysed in this country".⁷¹

However much helping, comforting and relieving was going on, this was a recipe for antagonism.

T.C. Hammond's religious commentary was built around social service and educational activity. The Bethany Home that operated from 1922 to 1972, was a product of this evangelical tide, something traced through the prominent ICM personnel, including Hammond, who sat on Bethany's Managing Committee, and the brand of religious doctrine promoted.

The Church of Ireland Archbishop of Dublin presided at the 4th May 1922 afternoon opening in Blackhall Place, Dublin. He declared Bethany Home a "door of hope" for "fallen" women. The Archbishop directed that bequests of £498 and £300, donated through him, be invested in specific stock, the latter sum under his name and that of the treasurer. T.C. Hammond also spoke. The Dean of Christchurch presided at the evening meeting where he heard the Chairman of the Managing Committee,

⁶⁷ *IT*, 9 Mar, 21 May, 5 Jun 1935. The Vicar stated that his was a trustee church coming under the rules of the Church of England. Going (an affluent Tipperary flour miller and provender) died on 24 Jan 1942, *IT*, 27 Jan 1942.

⁶⁸ *Dublin Charities*, op cit. *IT*, 5 Jul 1922. Moffitt, 2006, op cit, p. 35.

⁶⁹ *IT*, 30 Apr 1914.

⁷⁰ *Dublin Charities*, op cit, p.185-7. *IT*, 6 Feb 1909.

⁷¹ *IT*, 3 Jul 1926, 18 May 1927, 5 May 1928, 11 May, 8 Aug 1932.

Rev. E.J. Young, say, "This is really the Prison Gate Mission carried on under another name—Bethany Home". The Prison Gate Mission was part of the Church's "charitable dimension", according to Raymond Refaüssé, the Church of Ireland Representative Church Body Library archivist.⁷²

The Home had in effect a multifarious purpose, taking in 'illegitimate' infants, while 'rescuing' their mothers, female convicts and members of what the Reverend R.K. Hanna termed "the poor prostitute class".⁷³ The activity, Christian charity with conditions attached, continued uninterrupted as the old State passed into the new. The Irish authorities were content to facilitate it, because they were conservative more so than simply Catholic.

William Berry's entry to the Bethany Home in 1939 was proof that this was and remained the case. Such liberalism as developed in Irish society from the 1960s onwards was an organic development, a reaction as much against Protestant as Catholic control over their respective populations.

Though the southern state had a Catholic sectarian character, therefore, it was so (it could be argued) in order to preserve a social structure in which some Protestants retained a relatively superior socio-economic status. It was the main bulwark against radical social change and produced inevitable tensions. The ICM commented on opposition to clerical domination of Irish society during the 1940s:

"It may be that labour politics and a rationalistic communism have weakened priest rule."⁷⁴

Unfortunately, noted the anti-Catholic grouping, "This does not signify any turning to the Gospel". Indeed, left-wing and liberal ideas, augmented by republican activists, socialists, women, and young people who found Irish society increasingly stultifying, did begin to win through during the 1960s.⁷⁵ There is little evidence of Foster's liberal Protestant ethic playing a role in this process. In so far as liberal Catholics have come to consider Protestantism generally to be a more liberal form of Christianity, the experience of the 'Protestant parliament for a Protestant people' in Northern Ireland might temper it. Consideration of the lived experience of southern Protestants might lead observers to consider similarities more so than differences.

Such consideration might reframe this discussion to include the State that facilitated sectarian welfare services, that was quite adept at sucking religious bodies into provision that was more properly the remit of the State itself. This can be illustrated in a letter from the Church of Ireland Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Barton, to the Minister for Justice, Gerry Boland. A Protestant female on remand and detained in an establishment run by nuns was brought to the Minister's attention. She alleged that the nuns suggested "she should become a Catholic". Rather than investigate the allegation, that was brought to his attention by the Bishop, Boland asked Barton to "arrange for some suitable

⁷² *The First Report of Bethany Home (Dublin Prison Gate Mission, with which is incorporated The Dublin Midnight Mission)*, Dublin, Printed by R.T. White, 45 Fleet Street, 1923, pp3,4,7,11,12. MCM, Oct 1931. *IT*, 3 Feb 1939. Raymond Refaüssé, *The Representative Church Body Library and the Records of Author(s)*, Archivium Hibernicum, Vol 49 (1995), pp115-124, p122.

⁷³ *First Report of Bethany Home*, op cit. See Luddy's analysis, op cit, with regard to female philanthropy in the nineteenth century.

⁷⁴ A.E. Hughes, *Lift up a Standard, One Hundred Years with the Irish Church Missions*, ICM, 1948, p10.

⁷⁵ In his appreciation of the rise and importance of the Irish Women's movement and other secular movements during the 1960s and 1970s, Foster forces a neo-Weberian argument to suggest that this was a reflection of the Reformation arriving in Ireland after "four hundred and fifty years", *How the Catholics became Protestant*, op cit, p66. Martin Luther and King Henry the 8th were not noted proto-feminists.

Protestant institution to accept girls committed on remand or on short sentences". Dr. Barton replied as follows:

"The Palace,
18 Shrewsbury Road, Dublin
9 April 1945

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter of March 2nd, with regard to my naming a suitable Home to which Protestant girls on remand might be committed by Magistrates, I have delayed replying pending certain enquiries which I wished to make. I now give you a suitable Institution for this purpose:-

Bethany Home, Orwell Road, Rathgar, Dublin.

This Institution is already under Government inspection, and is already recognised by the Court as a place to which such girls can be sent, and receives a number of them.

Thanking you for your care in this matter, and hoping that this arrangement will prove satisfactory."

While the Churches may have believed themselves to be gaining control, it was a case in reality of the State abdicating it.

See also on some similar themes:

* *Church & State and the Bethany Home*

* *DRB review of Fergus Campbell's The Irish Establishment 1879-1914*

* *Frank Gallagher and land agitation, A response to Getting Them Out, Southern Loyalists in the War of Independence*

At <http://gcd.academia.edu/NiallMeehan/Papers>

Report

Let State Pay!

"Cofi Appeal To Bethany Residents

The Church of Ireland yesterday called on former residents of the Bethany Home to disclose all information of allegations of abuse to the Government, which it says may help encourage the inclusion of the home on the redress scheme.

The church says it has uncovered further evidence which supports claims that former residents at the home should receive compensation from the State because it held a responsibility for regulating the home...." (Irish Times 9.10.10)

Appeal

Memorial Fund Launched for memorial to 219 Dead and Forgotten Bethany Home Children, Buried in Shame and in Secret

The **Bethany Survivors Group** is appealing for donations to a Memorial Fund for 219 forgotten Bethany Home children buried in unmarked graves in Mount Jerome Cemetery, Harold's Cross, Dublin. Donations can be made to a Bank of Ireland account: **Sortcode 906734, a/c no. 63175318**.

We would be grateful for any support that you may wish to give to this cause. This memorial will help people come to terms with their past, and would help with the healing process.

Donations can be made in any bank to
BETHANY SURVIVORS

The Bank Ireland

Sortcode 906734, a/c no. 63175318

Please keep bank receipt as a record of your donation - if you can please make contact afterward at the email, web or postal address below.

Derek Linster - derek.linster@talktalk.net - www.dereklinster.com

**Chairperson Bethany Survivors Group
TELEPHONE: 0044 1788817311 - 0044 7857682601
42 Southey Rd, Rugby, Warrickshire, CV22 6HF,
England**

Peter Brooke

Abu Suleyman al-Irlandi's poems

A Tribute To The Invincible Human Spirit

Somewhere around the 23rd-24th September the Muslim website www.cageprisoners.com published four poems by Abu Suleyman al-Irlandi, including one based on an eighteenth century American revolutionary poem: *The Irishman's Epistle To The Officers And Troops At Boston*, originally published anonymously in 1775. The new version—*A Mussulman Paddy's Epistle to Barry*—included the lines (not based on anything in the version of the original I have seen):

O'Bama 'tis one thing to be full of hope
But to ride in your Humvees on bridges
of rope
And send out your wee'uns in full
fightin' gear
When they hear the takbir they pass
water for fear
And look at ye now buildin' bridges to
hell
Did ye think ye'd outdo the great Fionn
mac Cumhaill?

So who is *'Abu Suleiman the Irishman'*? He is John Walker Lindh, the 'American Taliban', arrested in 2001 and currently serving a twenty year sentence in a US jail. It's not the first time he has appeared in verse. The American country singer, Steve Earle, celebrated him in his song *John Walker's Blues* (on the Jerusalem album, released in 2002):

I'm just an American boy raised on MTV
And I've seen all those kids in the soda
pop ads
But none of 'em looked like me
So I started lookin' around for a light
out of the dim
And the first thing I heard that made
sense was the word
Of Mohammed, peace be upon him
[...]

We came to fight the Jihad and our
hearts were pure and strong
As death filled the air, we all offered up
prayers
And prepared for our martyrdom
But Allah had some other plan, some
secret not revealed
Now they're draggin' me back with my
head in a sack
To the land of the infidel

Earle had to protest that he wasn't glorifying Lindh but there is something invigorating about the sheer sound of

the song and the video came complete with the appalling photo of Walker strapped naked to a stretcher, blindfolded, his hands bound in front of his genitals, one of the enduring images of the war. (It wasn't special treatment handed out to Lindh. It was standard practice. He just got photographed because he was an American, just as he got a trial because he was American.)

Lindh was born in 1981 and according to his father he got interested in Islam after seeing Spike Lee's film about Malcolm X when he was 12. He converted at the age of 16 and then visited Yemen and Pakistan from where he joined the Taliban, initially to fight the Northern Alliance and consolidate Taliban control of the country, but this was just before the US invasion. Lindh was twenty years old. He was taken by the Uzbek chieftain Abdul Rashid Dostum and lucky to survive the experience. When eventually brought to trial he signed a plea bargain which barred him from protesting his treatment at the hands of the US military. His father, however, tells us:

"John's bullet wound was left festering and untreated; he was blindfolded and bound hand and foot with tight plastic strips that caused severe pain. He was stripped naked and duct-taped and, in this condition, blindfolded, bound naked to a stretcher and then left in the cold in an unheated metal shipping container on the desert floor in Afghanistan."

The Red Cross was denied access.

His spirit, however, appears notably unbroken and the poems yield little to the sensibilities of his captors. The *Mussulman's Epistle* rejoices that the Americans are being beaten by the Taliban:

So lie on the ground like a parcel of
noodles
And sing how the Yankees were beat
by Pushtoodles

Pushtoodles of course being the Pushtun people of the Afghanistan/Pakistan border.

The Ballad of the Fleas—quite a long

poem—describes the arrival of the Yankees in Afghanistan and the reign of terror they unleashed:

For wolves may foam and bark and bite
And gnash and gnaw and hiss
But if a sheep should dare bite back
He'd be a terrorist.

The *Ode to Omar Khadr* celebrates 'a wee lad in the fine town of Khost' taken to Guantanamo:

Top brasses spray spittle with all of
their curses
"He's worse than the worst of the worst
of the worst
He's worse than a storm-trooping Third
Reich cadet
More wicked than Eichmann more than
Pinochet
He endangers our freedom if he's left
alone
He's spent more years in prison than
Big Al Capone
We must needs make haste to hoist
Khadr on the gibbet
He threatens our country and all that's
within it"

But perhaps the fiercest poem is the *Iftar at the White House* describing the (in his view) Quisling Muslim leaders celebrating *iftar* (the breaking of the fast at the end of the day during Ramadan) with 'Barack O'Hulako' (the reference being to Hulagu Khan, the Mongol chief who destroyed Baghdad in the thirteenth century):

All smiley faced grinning
Proud patriots brimming
With glee from the dining
Lapel pins a-shining
One steps up proclaiming
Most solemnly naming
His heartfelt emotions
With bows and devotions

"Our Lord how we love ye
Hope to see more of ye
If you'd be so kindly
We'll come prompt and timely
Our object and mission's
To make your boots glisten
You'll find that among us
My tongue is the longest ...

Well, fellow Paddies! It could almost make you wish you were a Muslim ...

(The poems can be found at <http://www.cageprisoners.com/our-work/alerts/item/611-update-john-walker-lindh> and Frank lindh's description of his son's ordeal at <http://www.alternet.org/story/31211/?page=entire>)